

The Graver here hath well thy Face design'd.
But no hand FULLER can expresse thy Mind
For That a RESURRECTION giues to those
Whom Silent Monuments did long enclose.



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THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN;

From the Birth of

JESUS CHRIST,

Untill the YEAR

M. DC. XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

By THOMAS FULLER

Servant to D. D. at this time



LONDON,
Printed for IOHN WILLIAMS at the signe of the Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, Anno 1656.

Bible Soc.

THE

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TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS,

ESME STUART,

DUKE OF

RICHMOND.



Have ſometimes ſolitarily pleaſed my ſelf, with the peruſing and comparing of *two* places of *Scripture*.

Acts 22. 22.

The wicked *Iews* ſaid of S^t. *Paul*;

Away with ſuch a Fellow from the Earth, for it is not fit that he ſhould live.

Hebrews 11. 38.

S^t. *Paul* ſaid of the Godly *Iews*;

Of whom the world was not worthy.

Here I perceive *Heaven* and *Hell*; *Mercy* and *Malice*, *Gods Spirit* and *mans Spite*, reſolved on the *Queſtion*, that it is not fit that *good men ſhould live long on Earth.*

However, though the *Building* be the *ſame*, yet the *Bottome* is *different*; the ſame *Concluſion* being inferred from *oppoſite*, yea *contrary Premiſſes*. *Wicked men* think this world *too good*, *God* knows it *too bad*, for his Servants to live in. Henceforward I ſhall not wonder, that Good men *die* ſo *ſoon*, but that they *live* ſo *long*; ſeeing *wicked men* deſire their *Room* here on *Earth*, and *God* their *Company* in *Heaven*. No wonder then, if your *Good Father* was ſo ſoon tranſlated to *Happineſſe*, and his *GRACE* advanced into *GLORY*.

He was pleaſed to give me a *Text* ſome weeks before his Death, of the words of *our Saviour* to the *Probationer Convert*; *Thou* [a] *art not far from the Kingdome of Heaven*, that is, as the words there import, *from the ſtate of Salvation*. But before my *Sermon* could be, his life was, finiſhed, and *he* in the reall acception thereof, poſſeſſed of *Heaven*, and *Happineſſe*.

a Mark 12. 34.

Thus was I diſappointed (O that this were the greateſt Loſſe by the Death of ſo *worthy Perſon*!) of a *Patron*, to whom I intended the *Dedication* of this firſt part of my *Hiſtory*.

I after was entred on a Reſolution to *dedicate* it to his *Memory*; preſuming to defend the *Innocency* and *Harmleſneſſe* of ſuch a *Dedication*, by *Precedents* of unqueſtioned *Antiquity*. But I intended alſo to ſurround the Pages of the *Dedication* with *black*, not improper,

proper, as to his relation, ſo expreſſive of the preſent ſad *Condition* of our diſtracted *Church*.

But ſeaſonably remembring how the Altar ED[a] (onely erected for *Commemoration*,) was miſinterpreted by the other *Tribes* for *Superſtition*; I conceived it beſt to cut off all occaſions of *Cavill* from captious perſons, and *dedicate* it to You his Son and Heir.

[a] *Joshua* 22. 11.

Let not your *Grace* be offended, that I make you a *Patron* at the *ſecond hand*: for though I confeſſe you are my Refuge, in *relation* to your *deceaſed Father*; you are my *Choiſe*, in *reference* to the *ſurviving Nobility*. *God* ſanctifie your tender yeares, with true Grace, that in time you may be a *Comfort* to your *Mother*, *Credit* to your *Kindred*, and *Honour* to your *Nation*.

Your Graces moſt bounden

ORATOVR,

THOMAS FULLER.

Your Graces most bounden

Orator,

THOMAS FULLER.

TO THE READER.



AN *Ingenious Gentleman ſome* Moneths *ſince in* Ieſt-earneſt *adviſed me to make haſt with my* Hiſtory of the Church of England, *for fear (ſaid he) leſt the* Church of England be ended before the *Hiſtory* thereof.

This Hiſtory *is now, though* late (*all* Church-work *is ſlow*) *brought with much difficulty to an end.*

And bleſſed be God, the Church of England *is ſtill,* (*and long may it* be) *in* being, *though* diſturb'd, diſtempered, diſtracted, *God* help *and* heal *her moſt ſad condition.*

The three firſt Books *of this Volumn were* for the main *written in the Reign of the late King, as appeareth by the paſſages then proper for the Government. The other* nine Books *were made ſince* Monarchy *was turned into a* State.

May God alone have the Glory, *and the ingenuous Reader the Benefit of my endeavours; which is the hearty deſire of*

Thy Servant in *Ieſus Chriſt*,

THOMAS FULLER.

From my chamber in Sion Colledge.

TO THE

READER.



Anno Dom.

THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

I. CENTURIE.

THat we may the more freely and fully pay the tribute of our thanks to Gods goodneſſe, for the Goſpel which we now enjoy, let us recount the ſad Condition of the *Britans* our Predeceſſours, before the *Chriſtian Faith* was preached unto them. *At that time they were without Chriſt, being Aliens from the Common-wealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the Covenants of promiſe, having no hope, and without God in the World.* They were foul Idolaters, who, from miſapplying that undeniable Truth of *Gods being in every thing*, made every thing to be their God, Trees, Rivers, Hills, and Mountains. They worſhipped Devils, whoſe Pictures remained in the dayes of [a] *Gildas*, within and without the decayed Walls of their Cities, drawn with deformed Faces, (no doubt, done *to the Life*, according to their Terrible Apparitions,) ſo that ſuch ugly Shapes did not woe, but fright people into Adoration of them. Wherefore if any find in *Tully* that the *Britans* in his time *had no Pictures*, underſtand him, they were not Artiſts in that Myſtery, (like the *Greeks* and *Romans*) they had not *pieces of Proportion*, being rather *Dawbers* then *Drawers*, *Stainers* then *Painters*, though called *Picti*, from their ſelf-diſcoloration.

The dolefull caſe of the Pagan Britans.

a *Epiſt. de Excid. Brit.*

2. Three paramount Idols they worſhipped above all the reſt, and aſcribed divine honour unto them:

Their Principall Idols.

1. *Apollo*, by them ſtyled *Belinus* the *Great*.
2. *Andraſte*, [b] or *Andate*, the Goddeſſe of Victorie.
3. *Diana*, Goddeſſe of the Game.

b Xiphil. *Epi. in Nerone.*

This laſt was moſt eſpecially reverenced, *Britain* being then all a Foreſt, where Hunting was not the Recreation but the Calling, and Veniſon, not the Dainties but the Diet of Common people. There is a place near S. *Pauls* in *London*, called in old Records DIANA'S CHAMBER, where, in the daies of K. [c] *Edward* the firſt, thouſands of the Heads of *Oxen* were digged up, whereat the Ignorant wondred, whileſt the Learned well underſtood them to be the proper Sacrifices to *Diana*, whoſe great Temple was built thereabout. This renders th their Conceit not altogether unlikely, who will have LONDON

c Camden. *Britann. in Middleſex.*

so called from LLAN-DIAN, which signifieth in British the *Temple of* DIANA. And surely Conjectures, if mannerly observing their Distance, and not impudently intruding themselves for Certainties, deserve, if not to be received, to be considered. Besides these specified, they had other *Portenta Diabolica*, [a] *pene numero Ægyptiaca vincentia*: as indeed they who erroneously conceive one God too little, will find two too many, and yet Millions not enough. As for those learned [b] Pens, which report that the *Druides* did instruct the Ancient *Britans* in the Knowledge and Worship of one onely God, may their Mistake herein be as freely forgiven them, as I hope and desire that the Charitable *Reader* will with his Pardon meet those unvoluntary Errours, which in this Work by me shall be committed.

Anno Dom.

a Gildas *ut prius.*

b Druides *unum esse Deum semper incolarunt.* Camden *and* Br. Godwin.

3. Two sorts of People were most honoured amongst the *Britans*:

1. *Druides*, who were their { *Philosophers* / *Divines* / *Lawyers*. }
2. *Bards*, who were their { *Prophets.* / *Poets.* / *Historians* }

The office and employment of the *Druides*.

c *Isai.* 1. 29.

The former were so called from δρῦς, signifying generally a *Tree*, and properly an *Oak*, under which they used to perform their Rites and Ceremonies. An Idolatrie whereof the *Jews* themselves had been guilty, for which the *Prophet* threatneth them; [c] *They shall be ashamed of the Oaks which they have desired.* But the signall *Oak* which the *Druides* made choice of, was such a one, on which [d] *Misletoe* did grow; by which privie token, they conceived, God marked it out, as of soveraigne vertue, for his service. Under this *Tree*, on the sixth day of the *Moon*, (whereon they began their Year) they invocated their *Idols*, and offered two white *Bulls*, filleted in the horns, with many other Ceremonies. These *Pagan Priests* never wrote any thing, so to procure the greater Veneration to their Mysteries; men being bound to believe that it was some great Treasure, which was locked up in such great Secresie.

d Pliny *Natur. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 44.*

The powerfull practices of the *Bards* on the people.

4. The *Bards* were next the *Druides* in Regard, and played excellently to their *Songs* on their *Harps*; whereby they had great Operation on the Vulgar, surprising them into Civility unawares, they greedily swallowing whatsoever was sweetned with Musick. These also, to preserve their Ancestours from Corruption, embalmed their Memories in *Rhiming Verses*, which looked both backward, in their *Relations*, and forward, in their *Predictions*: so that their Confidence meeting with the Credulity of others, advanced their wild Conjectures to the Reputation of *Propheſies*. The *Immortality* of the *Soul* they did not flatly denie, but falsely believe, disguised under the opinion of *Transanimation*, conceiving that dying mens *Souls* afterward passed into other *Bodies*, either preferred to better, or condemned to worse, according to their former good or ill behaviour. This made them contemn Death, and alwayes maintain erected Resolutions, counting a valiant Death the best of Bargains, wherein they did not loose, but lay out their Lives to Advantage. Generally they were great *Magicians*; insomuch that [e] *Plinie* saith, that the very *Persians*, in some sort, might seem to have learn't their *Magick* from the *Britans*.

e *Natur. Hist. lib. 30. cap. 1.* f *Tempore (ut scimus) summo* Tiberii Cæsaris. *inp Elst. de Ex. Brit.*

The first preaching of the Gospell in Britain. Causes which hastened the conversion of Britain, before other kingdomes which lay nearer to Palestine.

5. So pittifull for the present, and more fearfull for the future was the condition of the Heathen *Britans*, when it pleased God *with a strong hand, and stretched-out Arme*, to reach the *Gospel* unto them, *who were afarre off*, both in *locall* and *theologicall* Distance. This was performed in the later end of the Reigne of *Tiberius*, some thirty seven years after *Christ's Birth*: as *Polydor Virgil* collecteth out of the *testimony* of [f] *Gildas*. 37

6. If it seem incredible to any, that this *Island*, furthest from the *Sunne*, should see *Light* with the first, whil'st many Countries on the Continent interposed, (nearer in Situation to *Judea*, the *Fountain* of the *Gospell*) sate, as yet, and many years after, *in Darkneſſe, and in the Shadow of Death*: Let such consider, First, That *Britain* being a *by-Corner*, out of the Road of the World, seemed

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seemed the safest Sanctuarie from *Persecution*, which might invite Preachers to come the sooner into it. Secondly, it facilitated the Entrance of the *Gospell* hither, that lately the *Roman Conquest* had in part civilized the *South* of this *Island*, by transporting of *Colonies* thither, and erecting of *Cities* there; so that, by the Intercourse of *Traffick* and Commerce with other Countries, Christianity had the more speedy and convenient *Wastage* over. Whereas on the other side, this set the Conversion of *Germany* so backward, because the in-land Parts thereof entertained no *Trading* with others; and (out of Defiance to the *Romans*) hugged their own *Barbarisme*, made lovely with Liberty, bolting out all Civility from themselves, as jealous that it would usher in Subjection. Lastly and chiefly, God in a more peculiar manner did alwayes favour the *Islands*, as under his immediate Protection. For as he daily walls them with his Providence, against the scaling of the swelling *Surges*, and constant Battery of the Tide: so he made a particular promise of his *Gospell* unto them, by the mouth of his [a] *Prophet, I will send those that escape of them, to the Isles afarre off, that have not heard my Fame.* To shew that *neither height, nor depth,* (no not of the Ocean it self) *is able to separate any from the Love of God.* And for the same purpose, Christ employed *Fishermen* for the first Preachers of the *Gospell*, as who, being acquainted with the *Water*, and mysteries of *Sailing*, would with the more delight undertake long *Sea-voyages* into *Forreign Countries*.

a *Isa.* 66. 19.

7. But now, who it was that first brought over the *Gospell* into *Britain*, is very uncertain. The *Conversioner* (understand *Parsons* the *Iesuite*) mainly [b] stickleth for the Apostle *Peter* to have first *preached* the *Gospel here*. Yea, when *Protestants* object against S. *Peter*'s being at *Rome*, because S. *Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, omitteth to *name* or *salute* him; The *Iesuite* handsomely answers, That *Peter* was then probably from home, employed in *Preaching* in *Britain*, and other places. His Arguments to prove it are not so strong, but that they easily accept of Answers, as followeth.

S. Peter falsly reported to have preached in Britain.

b Parsons 3 *Conversions*, 1. *part.* 1. *chap. pag.* 19.

1. *Arg.* S. Peter *preach't in* Britain, *because* Gildas [c] *speaking against his dissolute Country-men, taxeth them* for usurping the *Seat of Peter* with their unclean feet.

c *In Epist. de Excid. Brit.*

Answ. *Understand him, that they had abused the Profession of the Ministery: for it follows*, they have sitten in the pestilent Chair of *Iudas* the Traitor. *Whence it appears, both are meant mystically and metaphorically; parallel to the expressions of the Apostle* Jude *v.* 11. They have gone in the way of *Cain*, &c.

2. *Arg.* [d] Simeon Metaphrastes *saith so, that he staied some dayes in* Britain, *where having preached the Word, established Churches, ordained Bishops, Priests & Deacons, in the* 12. *year of* Nero *he returned to* Rome

d *Commentario de Petro & Paulo ad diem* 29. *Iunii.*

Answ. Metaphrastes *is an Authour of no credit, as* Baronius *himself doth confesse.*

e *In aliis multis ibi ab ipso positis errare eum certum est. Ecc. Anal. in An.* 44. *num.* 54.

3. *Arg.* Innocent the first *reporteth that the first Churches in* Italy, France, Spain, Africk, Sicily, *and the* Interjacent Islands, *were founded by* S. Peter.

f *Epistola* 1. *ad Decentium.*

Answ. *Make the Map an Umpire, and the Epithet* Interjacent *will not reach* Britain, *intending only the Islands in the Mid-land Sea.*

4. *Arg.* Gulielmus Eysingrenius *saith so.*

Answ. *Though he hath a long* Name, *he is but a late* Authour, *setting forth his Book* Anno 1606. *Besides, he builds on the Authority of* Metaphrastes, *and so both fall together.*

g Mason *de Minist. Ang. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *pag.* 65.

5. *Arg.* S. Peter *himself in a Vision, in the dayes of King* Edward *the Confessour, reported that he had preached the Word in* Britain.

Answ. *To this Vision pretended of* Peter, *we oppose the certain words of* S. Paul, 2 *Tim.* 1. 4. Neither give heed to Fables.

We have ſtayed the longer in confuting theſe Arguments, becauſe from *Peters* preaching here, *Parſons* would inferre an *obligation* of this *Iſland* to the *See* of *Rome*, which how ſtrongly he hath proved let the *Reader* judge. He that will give a *Cap*, and make a *Legge* in *thanks* for a *Favour* he never *received*, deſerveth rather to be blamed for want of *Wit*, then to be praiſed for ſtore of *Manners*. None therefore can juſtly tax us of *Ingratitude*, if we be loath to confeſſe an engagement to *Rome* more then is due. The rather becauſe *Rome* is of ſo *tyrannicall* a diſpoſition, that making her ſelf the *Mother-Church*, ſhe expects of her *Daughters* not only *Dutifulneſſe*, but *Servility*; and (not content to have them *ask her Bleſſing*, but alſo do her *Drudgerie*,) endeavoureth to make *Slaves* of all her *Children*.

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8. Paſſing by *Peter*, proceed we to the reſt of the *Apoſtles*, whom ſeverall Authours alledge the firſt Planters of Religion in this Iſland.

St. Iames, St. Paul, St. Simon, & St. Ariſtobulus Preachers in Britain.

1 St.[a] *Iames* Son to *Zebedee*, and brother to *Iohn*. But if we conſult with the *Scripture*, we ſhall find that the *Sword* of *Herod* put an end to all his Travells before the *Apoſtles* their generall departure from *Hieruſalem*. Indeed this *Iames* is notoriouſly reported, (how truly, let them ſeek who are concerned,) to have been in *Spain*; and it is probable, ſome, miſtaking *Hibernia* for *Hiberia*, and then confounding *Hibernia*, a *Britiſh Iſland*, with our *Britain*, (as one Errour is very procreative of another) gave the beginning to *Iames* his Preaching here. 41

a Iſidorus *de partibus utriuſque Teſtamenti. c. 72. Item* Flavius Lucius Dexter *in Chronico ad annum 41.*

2 St. *Paul* is by others ſhipt over into our *Iſland*; amongſt whom, thus ſings[b] *Venantius Fortunatus*:

Tranſit & Oceanum, vel qua facit Inſula Portum?
Quaſque Britannus *habet terras, quaſque ultima* Thule.

b *Lib. 3. de vita S. Martini.*

But leſſe credit is to be given to *Britannus*, becauſe it goeth in companie with *ultima Thule*: Which being the noted expreſſion of *Poets*, for the utmoſt bound of the then-known-world, ſeems to ſavour more of Poeticall *Hyperbole*, then Hiſtoricall Truth, as a Phraſe at *Randome*, only to expreſſe farre forreign Countries.

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3 *Simon* the *Canaanite*, ſurnamed *Zelotes*: and well did he brook his Name, the fervencie of whoſe Zeal carried him into ſo farre and cold a countrie, to propagate the Goſpell. *Dorotheus* makes him to be both martyred and buried in *Britain*. But this, ſaith[c] *Baronius*, receiveth no Countenance from any ancient Writers. What then, I pray, was *Dorotheus* himſelf, being *Biſhop* of *Tyre* under *Diocletian*, and *Conſtantine* the Great? If the *Cardinall* count him young, what grave *Seniours* will he call ancient?

c *Annal. Eccleſ. in Anno 44. num. 39.*

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4 [d] *Ariſtobulus*, though no *Apoſtle*, yet an *Apoſtles Mate*, counted one of the ſeventy *Diſciples*, is by[e] *Grecian Writers* made *Biſhop* of *Britain*. Strange! that forreign *Authours* ſhould ſee more in our *Iſland*, then our home-bred *Hiſtorians*, wholy ſilent thereof: and it much weakneth their Teſtimonie, becauſe they give evidence of things done at ſuch diſtance from them. But how eaſie is it for a *Writer* with one word of his Pen, to ſend an *Apoſtle* many Miles by Land and Leagues by Sea, into a Country, wherein otherwiſe he never ſet his Footing!

d Rom. 16. 10.

e *Menæa Græcorum, Die decimo quinto Martii.*

The Reſult of all is this: *Churches* are generally ambitious to entitle themſelves to *Apoſtles*, for their Founders; conceiving they ſhould otherwiſe be eſteemed but as of the *Second Forme*, and *Younger Houſe*, if they received the Faith from any inferiour Preacher. Wherefore as the *Heathen*, in ſearching after the originall of their Nations, never leave *Soaring* till they *touch* the *Clouds*, and fetch their Pedigree from ſome God: So *Chriſtians* think it nothing worth, except they relate the firſt *Planting* of *Religion* in their Countrie to ſome *Apoſtle*. Whereas indeed it matters not, if the *Doctrine* be the *ſame*, whether the *Apoſtles* preached it by themſelves, or by their Succeſſours. We ſee little Certainty can be extracted, who firſt brought the Goſpell hither, 'tis ſo long ſince, the *Britiſh Church* hath forgotten her own *Infancy*, who were her

firſt

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first *God-fathers*. We ſee the *Light* of the *VVord ſhined* here, but ſee not who *kindled* it. I will not ſay, as God, to prevent *Idolatrie*, cauſed the Body of [a] *Moſes* to be concealed; ſo, to cut off from Poſterity all occaſion of Superſtition, he ſuffered the *Memories* of our *Primitive Planters* to be buried in Obſcurity.

a Deut. 34. 6.

63 9. Now amongſt the Converts of the Natives of this Iſland, in this Age, to Chriſtianity, *Claudia* (ſurnamed *Ruffina*) is reputed a principall, wife to *Pudens* a *Romane Senatour*. And becauſe all this is too high a Step for our belief to climb at once; the Aſcent will be more eaſie, thus divided into Stairs, and half-paces.

Claudia (notwithſtanding *Parſons* exceptions) might be a British Chriſtian.

First, That *Claudia* was a *Britan* born, *Martial* affirms it in his *Epigram*:

[b] Claudia *caeruleis cum ſit* Ruffina *Britannis*
Edita, cur Latia pectora plebis habet?

b Lib. 11. Epig. 54.

Secondly, That this *Claudia* was wife to *Pudens*, the ſame [c] Poet averreth:

Claudia, Rufe, *meo nubit peregrina* Pudenti.
Macte eſto tadis, ô Hymenæe, *tuis*.

c Lib. 4. Epig. 13.

Thirdly, That there was a *Pudens*, and *Claudia* living at *Rome*, both Chriſtians, we have it from a more infallible Pen of [d] S. *Paul* himſelf,—Eubulus *greeteth thee, and* Pudens, *and* Linus, *and* Claudia, *and all the brethren*.

d 2 Tim. 4. 21.

Laſtly, That this *Claudia* mentioned by S^t. *Paul*, then living at *Rome*, was the ſame *Claudia*, a *Britan* born, mentioned by *Martial*, is the Opinion, and probable Conjecture of many *Modern VVriters*.

But Father *Parſons* will not admit hereof, becauſe willingly he would not allow any ſprinkling of Chriſtianity in this *Iſland*, but what was rained from *Rome*, when *Eleutherius* ſent to Chriſtian King *Lucius*; that ſo our ingagement to the *Romiſh Church* might be the more viſible, and conſpicuous. *This of* Claudia Ruffina *is hudled up* (ſaith [e] he) *by our late Hereticall VVriters*; (though [f] ſome as Catholick as himſelf in his own ſenſe, do entertain it:) *and hereby we ſee that Hereticks are but ſleight Provers, and very deceitfull in all matters, as well Hiſtoricall, as Doctrinall.*

e Parſons 3 Converſ. part. 1. pa. 118.
f Pitſeus de Script. Brit. pag. 72. in zealous for it. Parſons objection to the contrary anſwered.

10. But be it known to him and others, that our Hiſtory is founded on the beſt humane Books we can get; but our Doctrine is grounded on what is beſt in it ſelf, the Divine Scriptures. The matter in hand is ſo ſleight a Controverſie, that it cannot bear a Demonſtration on either ſide: it will ſuffice, if by anſwering his Reaſons to the contrary, we clear it from all Impoſſibilitie, and Improbabilitie; that it is not *hudled*, but built up by Plummet and Line, with proportion to Time and Place.

1. *Arg.* There is a generall ſilence of all Antiquity in this matter.
Anſw. Negative Arguments from humane Writers, in ſuch Hiſtoricall differences, are of ſmall validity.

2. *Arg.* *Martial*, an Heathen, would hardly ſo much commend *Claudia*, if ſhe had been a Chriſtian.
Anſw. A wanton Poet, in his *chaſt Intervalls*, might praiſe that Goodneſs in another, which he would not practice in himſelf.

3. *Arg.* *Claudia*, ſpoken of by S^t. *Paul*, was in the time of *Nero*, and could not be known to *Martial*, who lived ſixty years after, in the reign of *Trajan*.
Anſw. Though *Martial* died a very old man in *Trajan's* days, yet he flouriſhed under *Nero*, very familiar with his friend and fellow-Poet *Silius* [g] *Italicus*, in whoſe Conſulſhip *Nero* died.

g Martial. lib. 7. Ep. 63.

4. *Arg.* That ſame *Claudia* (reported alſo the firſt Hoſteſs which entertained *Peter* and *Paul*) muſt be preſumed ancient in *Martial* his remembrance, and therefore unfit to be praiſed for her beauty.
Anſw.

Anno Dom. 63

Answ. Even in the Autumne of her Age, when she had enriched her Husband with three Children, her vigourous Beauty preserved by Temperance, might entitle her to the commendation of Matron-like Comelinesse.

5. *Arg.* The Children assigned in the *Roman Calendar* to *Claudia* the Christian, will not well agree to this *British Claudia*.

Answ. Little certainty can be extracted, and therefore nothing enforced to purpose, from the number and names of her Children, such is the difference of severall [a] Writers concerning them.

[a] *See Usher De Brit. Eccl. prim. cap. 5.*

The issue of all is this. *Claudia*'s story, as a *British* Christian, stands unremoved, for any force of these Objections, though one need not be much engaged herein: for whosoever is more then luke-warm, is too hote in a case of so small consequence. Yet we will not willingly leave *an hoose* of the *British* Honour behind, which may be brought on; the rather to save the longing of such, who delight on rath-ripe fruits: and Antiquaries much please themselves, to behold the probabilities of such early Converts of our Island. But now to return again to the prime Planters of Religion in *Britain*. As for all those formerly reckoned up, there is in Authours but a tinkling mention of them; and the sound of their Preaching, low and little, in comparison of those lowd Peales, which are rung of *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* his coming hither. Let the Reader with patience take the summe thereof, extracted out of severall Authours.

The coming of *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* into Britain.

11. The Jews, bearing an especiall spight to *Philip* (whether the Apostle, or Deacon, uncertain) *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalene*, and *Martha* his sisters, with *Marcella* their servant, banished them out of *Iudea*, and put them into a Vessell without Sailes and Oares, with intent to drown them. Yet they, being tossed with tempests on the *Mid-land Sea*, at last safe-landed at *Marseilles* in *France*. A relation as ill accoutred with tacklings, as their Ship; and, which is unrigged in respect of time, and other circumstances; neither hath it the authority of any authentick Writer, for a Pilot to steer it: which notwithstanding, hath had the happinesse to arrive at the hearing of many, and belief of some few. Now, whilest * *Philip* continued preaching the Gospell in *France*, he sent *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* over into *Britain*, with *Ioseph* his son, and ten other Associates, to convert the Natives of that Island to Christianity. These coming into *Britain*, found such entertainment from *Arviragus* the King, that though he would not be dissuaded from his Idolatry by their preaching, yet he allowed them twelve Hides of ground (an Hide is as much as, being well manur'd, will maintain a familie; or, as others say, as much as one plow can handsomely manage) in a desolate Island, full of Fenns and Brambles, called the *Ynis-Vvitrin*, since by translation, *Glassenbury*. Here they built a small Church, and by direction from [b] *Gabriel* the Archangel, dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, encompassing it about with a Church-yard; in which Church, afterwards *Ioseph* was buried: and here these twelve lived many years, devoutly serving God, and converting many to the Christian Religion.

* Some hold *Philip* came not in this Ship, but was in *France* before.

[b] Malmsbury MS. *de Antiqu. Glaston. Ecclesiæ.*

12. Now, a little to examine this history, we shall find, first, that no Writer of credit can be produced, before the Conquest, who mentioneth *Ioseph*'s coming hither; but since that time (to make recompence for former silence) it is resounded from every side. As for *Bale* his citations out of *Melkinus Avalonius*, and *Gildas Albanus*, seeing the Originals are not extant, they be as uncertain, as what *Baronius* hath transcribed out of an English [c] Manuscript in the *Vatican*. Yet, because the *Norman* Charters of *Glassenbury* refer to a succession of many ancient Charters, bestowed on that Church by several *Saxon* Kings, as the *Saxon* Charters relate to *British* Grants in intuition to *Ioseph*'s being there: We dare not wholy deny the substance of the Story, though

The history full of dross when brought to the touch.

[c] *Writers in our age, as Archbishop Usher observes, De Brit. Eccl. prim. pag. 15.*

Anno Dom. 63 though the leaven of Monkery hath much ſwoln, and puff'd up the Circumſtance thereof. For, the mentioning of an incloſed Church-yard, overthrows the foundation of the Church; ſeeing Churches in that time got no ſuch Suburbs about them, as any Church-yards to attend them. The burying his body in the Church, was contrary to the practice of that Age; yea, dead mens Corpſes were brought no nearer then the Porch, ſome hundreds of years after. The Dedication of the place to the *Virgin Mary*, ſheweth the Story of later date, calculated for the elevation of Saint-worſhip. In a word, as this relation of *Ioſeph* is preſented unto us, it hath a young mans Brow, with an old mans Beard; I mean, novel Superſtitions, diſguiſed with pretended Antiquity.

64 13. In all this ſtory of *Ioſeph*'s living at *Glaſſenbury*, there is no one paſſage reported therein beareth better proportion to time and place, then the Church which he is ſaid to erect; whoſe dimenſions, materials, and making, are thus preſented unto us. It had in length ſixty foot, [a] and twenty ſix in breadth; [b] made of rods, watled, or interwoven. Where at one view, we may behold the ſimplicity of Primitive Devotion, and the native faſhion of Britiſh Buildings in that Age, and ſome hundred years after. For we find that [c] *Hoel Dha*, King of *Wales*, made himſelf a Palace of Hurdle-work, called *Tyguyn*, or, the *White Houſe*; becauſe, for diſtinctions ſake (to difference it from, and advance it above other Houſes) the rods whereof it was made were unbark'd, having the rinde ſtripp'd off. Which was then counted gay and glorious; as white-limedhouſes exceed thoſe which are only rough-caſt. In this ſmall Oratory, *Ioſeph*, with his Companions, watched, prayed, faſted, preached, having high Meditations under a low Roof, and large Hearts betwixt narrow Walls. If credit may be given to theſe Authours, this Church, without competition, was ſenior to all Chriſtian Churches in the World. Let not then ſtately modern Churches diſdain to ſtoop with their higheſt Steeples, reverently doing homage to this poor Structure, as their firſt platform and precedent. And let their checquered Pavements no more diſdain this Oratories plaine Floor, then her thatch'd Covering doth envy their leaden Roofs. And although now it is meet that Church-buildings, as well as private houſes, partaking of the peace and proſperity of our Age, ſhould be both in their Coſt and Cunning encreaſed, (far be that pride and profaneneſs from any, to account nothing either too fair for Man, or too foul for God;) yet it will not be amiſs to deſire, that our Judgements may be ſo much the clearer in matters of Truth, and our Lives ſo much the purer in Converſation, by how much our Churches are more light, & our Buildings more beautifull then they were.

The platform of the moſt ancient Church in Chriſtendome.

[a] *Ancient plate of braſs in the cuſtody of Sir* Henry Spelman, *De conciliis Brit. pag.* 11.

[b] Malmsbury *ut prius.*

[c] *He was King of all* Wales *many years after, viz.* 940. *See* Cambden *in* Carmarthenshire.

76 14. Some difference there is about the place of buriall of *Ioſeph* of *Arimathea*. Some aſſigning his Grave in the Church of *Glaſſenbury*, others in the South corner of the Church-yard, and others elſewhere. This we may be aſſured of, that he, who [d] reſigned his own Tombe to our Saviour, wanted not a Sepulchre for himſelf. And here we muſt not forget, how [e] more then a thouſand years after, one *John Bloone* of *London*, pretending an injunction from Heaven, to ſeek for the Body of *Ioſeph* of *Arimathea*, obtained a licence from King *Edward* the third, to dig at *Glaſſenbury* for the ſame, as by his [f] Patent doth appeare. It ſeems, his *Commiſſion of Enquiry* never originally iſſued out of the Court of Heaven; for God never ſends his ſervants on a ſleeveleſs Errand, but ſaith, *Aſk, and ye ſhall have; ſeek, and ye ſhall find*. Whereas this man ſought, and did never find, for ought we can hear of his inquiſition. And we may well believe, that had he found the Corpſe of *Ioſeph*, though Fame might have held her peace, yet Superſtition would not have been ſilent; but long before this time, ſhe had roared it even into the ears of deaf men. And truely he might have digg'd at *Glaſſenbury* to the Centre of the earth, & yet not met with what he ſought for, if *Ioſeph* were buried ten miles off (as a *Ieſuite* [g] will have it) at *Montacute*, or, in *Hampden-Hill*. Hereafter there is hope, that the *Maſons*, digging in the Quarries thereof, may light by chance on his Corpſe, which (if fond Papiſts might prize it) would prove more

Difference about the place of *Ioſeph*'s buriall.

[d] *Matth.* 27. 60.

[e] *Anno Dom.* 1344. *the* 19. *of* Edward 3.

[f] *In the Tower* 19. *of* Edw. 3. *part.* 1. *parchment* 3.

[g] Guilelmus Goodus, *cited by Archbiſhop* Uſher *de Brit. Eccl. prim. pag.* 28.

more beneficial to them, then the best bed of Free-stone they ever opened. The best is, be *Ioseph*'s Body where it will, his Soul is certainly happy in Heaven. Anno Dom. 76

The budding Haw-thorn nigh *Glassenbury* attributed a miracle to *Ioseph*'s holiness.

15. Some ascribe to the sanctity of this *Ioseph*, the yearly budding of the Haw-thorn near *Glassenbury*, on *Christmas* day, no lesse then an annual Miracle. This, were it true, were an argument (as K. *James* did once pleasantly urge it) to prove our *Old stile* before the *New* (which prevents our Computation by ten dayes, and is used in the Church of *Rome*) yea, all Prognosticators might well calculate their Almanacks from this Haw-thorn. Others more warily affirm, that it doth not punctually and critically bud on *Christmas* day (such Miracles must be tenderly toucht, lest crusht by harsh handling, they vanish into smoke, like the Apples of *Sodome*) but on the dayes near, or about it. However, it is very strange, that this Haw-thorn should be the Harbenger, and (as it were) ride post to bring the first news of the Spring, holding alone (as it may seem) correspondency with the Trees of the *Antipodes*, whilest other Haw-thorns near unto it have nothing but winter upon them.

Different opinions of men concerning it.

16. It is true, by powring every night warm water on the root thereof, a Tree may be maturated artificially, to bud out in the midst of Winter; but it is not within suspicion, that any such cost is here expended. Some likewise affirm, that if an Haw-thorn be grafted upon an Holly, it is so adopted into the stock, that it will bud in Winter: but this doth not satisfie the accurateness of the time. Wherefore most men, pursued to render a reason hereof, take refuge at *Occulta Qualitas*, the most mannerly confession of Ignorance. And God sometimes puts forth such questions, and Riddles in nature, on purpose to pose the Pride of men conceited of their skill in such matters. But some are more uncharitable in this point, who, because they cannot find the reason hereof on Earth, do fetch it from Hell: not sticking to affirm, that the Devil, to dandle the infant faith of fond people, works these prety Feats, and petty Wonders, having farther intents to invite them to Superstition, and mould them to Saint-worship thereby.

The subject of the question taken away.

17. However, there is no necessity, that this should be imputed to the Holiness of *Arimathean Ioseph*. For there is (as it is credibly said) an Oake in *New-Forest*, nigh *Lindhurst*, in *Hantshire*, which is indued with the same quality, putting forth leaves about the same time, where the firmness of the Rinde thereof much encreaseth the wonder: and yet to my knowledge (for ought I could ever learn) none ever referred it to the miraculous influence of any Saint. But I loose pretious time, and remember a pleasant Story; How two Physitians, the one a *Galenist*, the other a *Paracelsian*, being at supper, fell into an hote dispute about the manner of Digestion; & whilest they began to ingage with earnestness in the controversie, a third man casually coming in, caried away the meat from them both. Thus whilest opposite parties discuss the cause of this Haw-thorns budding on *Christmas* day, some Souldiers have lately cut the Tree down, and *Christmas* day it self is forbidden to be observ'd; and so, I think, the question is determined.

The conclusion of this Century.

18. To conclude this Century. By all this it doth not appear that the first Preachers of the Gospel in *Britain* did so much as touch at *Rome*, much lesse, that they received any Command, or Commission thence, to convert *Britain*, which should lay an eternal obligation of Gratitude on this Island to the See of *Rome*. Insomuch that *Parsons* himself (as unwilling to confess, as unable to deny so apparent a truth) flies at last to this slight and slender Shift: [a] *That albeit S.* Joseph *came not immediatly from* Rome, *yet he taught in* England (in *Britain* he would say) *the* Roman *faith, whereof S.* Paul *hath written to the* Romans [b] *themselves, that your Faith is spoken of through the whole World.* Hereby the *Iesuite* hopes still to keep on foot the ingagement of this Island to *Rome*, for her first Conversion. But why should he call the Christian Religion the *Roman faith*, rather then the *faith of Hierusalem*, or, the faith of *Antioch*? seeing it issued from the former, and was received, & first named in the later City, before any spark of Christianity was kindled at *Rome*. But, what is the main, he may sooner prove the modern *Italian* tongue now spoken in *Rome*, to be the self-same in propriety & purity, with the *Latine* language in *Tullie*'s time; then that the Religion profess'd in that City at this day, with all the Errours and Superstitions thereof, is the same in soundnesse of Doctrine, and sanctitie of Life, with that Faith, which by St. *Paul* in the *Roman* Church was then so highly commended.

a 3 *Conversion*, 1 *part*, 1 *ch. num.* 26.
b *Rom.* 1. 8.

THE

Anno Dom.

THE SECOND CENTURY.

To *Robert Abdy* of London, Esquire.

HE that hath an Hand to take, and no Tongue to return Thanks, deserveth for the future, to be lame, *and* dumb. *Which punishment that it may not light on me, accept this acknowledgement of your Favours to your devoted Friend and Servant,*

T. F.

105 1. DEsire of our Country's honour would now make us lay claim to *Taurinus*, Bishop of *York*, and reported Martyr. To strengthen our Title unto him, we could produce many [a] Writers affirming it, if Number made Weight in this case. But, being convinced in our judgement, that such as make him a *Britan*, ground their pretence on a leading Mistake, reading him *Episcopum EBORACENSEM*, instead of *EBROICENSEM*, *Eureux* (as I take it) in *France*; we will not enrich our Country by the Errours of any, or advantage her Honour by the Misprisions of others. Thus being conscientiously scrupulous, not to take or touch a *thread* which is none of our own, we may with more boldness, hereafter keep what is justly ours, and chalenge what is unjustly detained from us.

Taurinus no Bp. of *York*.

[a] Guil. Harrison *descript. Brit. l.1. c.7.* & Wernerus Laërius *in Fasciculo, Anno* 94. & Hartmannus Schedelius *in Chronico.*

108 2. But the main matter, which almost engrosseth all the History of this Century, and, by scattered dates, is spread from the beginning to the end thereof, is the Conversion of *Lucius*, King of *Britain*, to Christianity. However, not to dissemble, I do adventure thereon with much averseness, seeming sadly to presage, that I shall neither satisfie others nor my self; such is the Varietie, yea Contrarietie of Writers about the time thereof. *If the Trumpet* (saith the Apostle) *giveth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the Battell?* He will be at a loss to order and dispose this Story aright, who listeneth with greatest attention to the *trumpet of Antiquity*, sounding at the same time a *March* & *Retreit*; appointing *Lucius* to come into the world, by his *Birth*, when others design him, by *Death*, to goe out of the same. Behold, Reader, a view of their Differences presented unto thee; and it would puzzle *Apollo* himself to tune these jarring Instruments into a Consort.

Difference of Authours concerning the time of King *Lucius* his conversion.

These make K. *Lucius* converted *Anno Domini*		These make K. *Lucius* converted *Anno Domini*	
1 *P. Iovius* in Descrip. *Brit.*	99	10 *Antiq.* of *VVinchester.*	164
2 *Io. Cajus* in Hist. *Cantab.*	108	11 *Tho. Redburn* jun.	165
3 *Annals* of *Burton.*	137	12 *VVil.* of *Malmesbury.*	166
4 *Ninius*, in one Copie.	144	13 Venerable *Bede.*	167
5 *Annals* of *Krokysden.*	150	14 *Henry* of *Erphurt.*	169
6 *Iefferie Monmouth.*	155	15 *Annals* of *Lichfield.*	175
7 *John Capgrave.*	156	16 *Marianus Scotus.*	177
8 *Matth. Florilegus.*	158	17 *Ralph* de *Balduc.*	178
9 *Florence Vigornien sis.*	162	18 *John Bale.*	179

19	*Polydor Virgil.*	182	23	*Hector Boethius.*	187
20	*Chron. Brit.* Abbrev.	183	24	*Martin Polonus.*	188
21	*Roger* de *VVendover.*	184	25	*Saxon Annals.*	189
22	*Matth.* {Paris. Weſtmonaſter.}	185	26	*Iohn Harding.*	190

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Here is more then a *Grand-Jury* of Writers, which neither agree in their *Verdicts* with their *Fore-man*, nor one with another: there being betwixt the *firſt* & the *laſt*, *Paulus Iovius* & *Iohn Harding*, ninetie years diſtance in their Account. This, with other Arguments, is uſed, not onely to ſhake, but ſhatter the whole reputation of the Story. And we muſt endeavour to clear this Objection, before we go farther, which is ſhrewdly preſſed by many. For if the two *Elders*, which accuſed *Suſanna*, were condemned for Liars, being found in two *Tales*; the one laying the Scene of her Incontinency under a [a] *Maſtick-tree*, the other under an *Holme-tree*: why may not the Relation of *Lucius* be alſo condemned for a Fiction, ſeeing the Reporters there of more differ in *Time*, then the forenamed *Elders* in *Place*; ſeeing *when* and *where* are two circumſtances, both equally important, and concerning in Hiſtory, to the Truth of any action?

a *Suſanna verſe* 54. *and* 58.

The Hiſtory of K. *Lucius* not diſproved by the diſſenſion of Authors concerning the time thereof.

3. But we anſwere, That however Learned men differ in the *Date*, they agree in the *Deed*. They did ſet themſelves ſo to heed the Matter, as of moſt moment, being the Soul, and Subſtance of Hiſtory, that they were little curious (not to ſay very careleſs) in accurate noting of the Time: which being well obſerved, doth not onely add ſome luſtre, but much ſtrength to a relation. And indeed, all Computation in the Primitive time is very uncertain, there being then (and a good while after) an *Anarchy*, as I may terme it, in Authours their reckoning of years, becauſe men were not ſubject to any one ſoveraign Rule, in accounting the *year of our Lord*; but every one followed his own Arithmetick, to the great confuſion of Hiſtory, and prejudice of Truth. In which age, though all ſtart from the ſame place [*our Saviour's Birth*] yet running in ſeverall ways of account, they ſeldome meet together in their dating of any memorable Accident. Worthie therefore was his work, whoever he was, who firſt calculated the Computation we uſe at this day, and ſo ſet Chriſtendome a *Copy*, whereby to write the *date* of actions; which ſince being generally uſed, hath reduced Chronology to a greater Certainty.

Lucius might be a Britiſh King under the *Roman* Monarchy.

b *Vetus & jampridem receptus populi Romani conſuetudo, ut haberet inſtrumenta ſervitutis & Reges.* Tacitus *in vita Agricolæ.*

4. As for their Objection, That *Lucius* could not be a King in the *South* of *Britain*, becauſe it was then reduced to be a Province under the Roman Monarchy; It affects not any that underſtand, how it was the Roman [b] cuſtome, both to permit, and appoint Petie Kings in ſeveral Countries (as *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, *Herod* in *Iudea*, *Diotaurus* in *Sicilie*) who, under them, were inveſted with Regal Power, & Dignity. And this was conceived to conduce to the ſtate and amplitude of their Empire. Yea, the German Emperour at this day, Succeſſour to the Roman Monarchy, is ſtiled *Rex Regum*, as having many Princes, and particularly the King of *Bohemia*, Homagers under him. As for other inconſiſtents with truth, which depend, as Retainers, on this Relation of King *Lucius*, they prove not that this whole Story ſhould be *refuſed*, but *refined*. Which calleth aloud to the Diſcretion of the Reader, to fan the *Chaffe* from the *Corne*; and to his Induſtry, to rub the *Ruſt* from the *Gold*, which almoſt of neceſſity will cleave to matters of ſuch Antiquity. Thus conceiving that for the main we have aſſerted King *Lucius*, we come to relate his Hiſtory, as we finde it.

Lucius ſendeth to the Biſhop of *Rome* to be inſtructed in Chriſtianity.

5. He being much taken with the Miracles which he beheld truly done by pious Chriſtians, fell in admiration of, and love with their Religion; and ſent *Elvanus* and *Meduinus*, men of known Piety, and Learning in the Scriptures, to *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, with a Letter, requeſting ſeveral things of him, but principally, that he might be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith. The reaſon why he wrote to *Rome*, was, becauſe at this time the Church therein was (ſhe can ask no more, we grant no leſs) the moſt eminent Church in the World, 167

ſhi-

Anno Dom. 167

ſhining the brighter, becauſe ſet on the higheſt *Candle-ſtick*, the *Imperial City*. We are ſo far from grudging *Rome* the Happineſs ſhe once had, that we rather bemoan ſhe loſt it ſo ſoon, degenerating from her primitive Purity. The Letter which *Lucius* wrote is not extant at this day, and nothing thereof is to be ſeen, ſave onely by reflection, as it may be collected by the Anſwer returned by *Eleutherius*, which (ſuch an one as it is) it will not be amiſſe here to inſert.

This tranſlation of the letter of *Eleutherius* is tranſcribed out of Biſhop *Godwin* in his Catalogue of Biſhops. There is ſome variety between this, and that of Mr. Fox.

6. "Ye require of us the *Roman Laws*, and the *Emperours* to be ſent over "unto you, which you would practice, and put in ure within your Realm. The "*Roman Laws*, and the Emperours we may ever reprove, but the *Law* of "God we may not. Ye have received of late, through Gods mercy, in the "Kingdom of *Britain*, the *Law* and *Faith* of Chriſt; Ye have with you "within the *Realm*, both parts of the Scriptures: out of them by Gods grace, "with the Councell of the Realm, take ye a *Law*, and by that Law (through "Gods ſufferance) rule your Kingdome of *Britain*. For you be God's *Vicar* "in your Kingdom. *The Lord is the Earth, and the fulneſs of the world, and* "*all that dwell in it*. And again, according to the Prophet that was a King, "*Thou haſt loved righteouſneſs, and hated iniquity, therefore God hath anointed* "*thee with the Oile of gladneſs above thy fellows*. And again, according to the "ſame Prophet, *O God, give Iudgement unto the King, and thy Righteouſneſs unto* "*the Kings Sonne*. He ſaid not, the judgement and righteouſneſs of the Em-"perour; but, *thy Iudgement and Righteouſneſs*. The *Kings Sonnes* be the Chri-"ſtian people, and folk of the Realm, which be under your Government, "and live, and continue in peace within your Kingdome. As the Goſpel "ſaith, *Like as the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings:* ſo doth the "*King* his *People*. The *People* and the *folk* of the *Realm* of *Britain* be yours; "whom, if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to "call them to the *Faith* and *Law* of Chriſt, to cheriſh and [a]*maintain* them, "to rule and govern them, ſo as you may reign everlaſtingly with him, whoſe "*Vicar* you are: which with the *Father*, and the *Sonne* &c.

a *In the Laws it is*, Manu tenere.

7. Now we have done our *Threſhing*, we muſt begin our *Winnowing*, to examine the Epiſtle. For the trade of counterfeiting the Letters of eminent men began very early in the Church. Some were tampering with it in the Apoſtles time; which occaſioned St. *Paul's* [b] Caution, *That ye be not ſoon ſhaken in minde, or be troubled, neither by ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us*. Since, men (then but Apprentices) are now grown Maiſters in this Myſterie; wherefore it will be worth our examining, whether this Epiſtle be genuine or no. Say not, this doth betray a peeviſh, if not malicious diſpoſition, and argues a vexatious ſpirit in him, which will now call the title of this Letter in queſtion, which time out of minde hath been in the peaceable poſſeſſion of an authentick reputation, eſpecially ſeeing it ſoundeth *in honorem Eccleſiæ Britannicæ*; and, grant it a Tale, yet it is ſmoothly told to the credit of the *Britiſh Church*. But let ſuch know, that our Church is ſenſible of no Honour, but what reſulteth from truth; and if this Letter be falſe, the longer it hath been received, the more need there is of a ſpeedy and preſent Confutation, before it be ſo firmly rooted in mens belief, paſt power to remove it. See therefore the Arguments which ſhake the credit thereof.

A preparative for the examining the truth of this letter.

b 2 Theſſ. 2. 2.

1. The date of this *Letter* differs in ſeveral Copies, and yet none of them light right on the time of *Eleutherius*, according to the Computation of the beſt-eſteemed Authours.

2. It relates to a former Letter of King *Lucius*, wherein he ſeemeth to requeſt of *Eleutherius*, both what he himſelf had before, and what the good Biſhop was unable to grant. For what need *Lucius* ſend for the *Roman* Laws, to which *Britain* was already ſubjected, and ruled by them? At this very time, wherein this *Letter* is pretended to be wrote, the *Roman Laws* were here in force; and therefore to ſend for them hither, was even *actum agere*, and to as much purpoſe, as to fetch water from *Tiber* to

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Thames. Besides, *Eleutherius* of all men was most improper to have such a suit preferred to him: Holy man! he little medled with Secular matters, or was acquainted with the Emperours Laws; onely he knew how to suffer Martyrdome, in passive obedience to his cruel Edicts.

3. How high a Throne doth this *Letter* mount *Lucius* on, making him a Monarch? Who (though *Rex Britannicus*) was not *Rex Britanniæ*; (except by a large *Synecdoche*:) neither sole, nor supreme King here; but partial, and subordinate to the *Romans*.

4. The Scripture quoted is out of S^t. *Hierom*'s Translation, which came more then an hundred years after. And the Age of *Eleutherius* could not understand the language of *manu tenere*, for *to maintain*, except it did ante-date some of our modern Lawyers to be their Interpreter.

In a word: we know that the [a] *Gibeonites* their *mouldy Bread* was baked in an Oven very near the *Israelites*, and this *Letter* had its original of a later [b] date; which not appearing any where in the World, till a thousand years after the death of *Eleutherius*; probably crept out of some Monks Cell, some four hundred years since, the true answer of *Eleutherius* being not extant for many years before.

8. But to proceed. *Eleutherius*, at the request of King *Lucius*, sent unto him [c] *Faganus*, and *Derwianus*, or *Dunianus*, two holy men, and grave Divines, to instruct him in the Christian Religion; by whom the said King *Lucius* (called by the *Britans Lever-Maur*, or the *Great Light*) was baptized, with many of his Subjects. For if when private [d] Persons were converted, *Cornelius*, *Lydia*, &c. their Housholds also were baptized with them; it is easily credible, that the example of a King embracing the Faith, drew many Followers of Court and Country; Soveraigns seldome wandring alone without their Retinue to attend them. But whereas some report that most, yea [e] all of the Natives of this Island then turned Christians, it is very improbable; and the weary Traveller may sooner climbe the steepest Mountains in *Wales*, then the judicious Reader believe all the hyperbolical reports in the *British* Chronicles hereof.

9. For *Ieffery Monmouth* tells us, that at this time there were in *England* twenty eight Cityes, each of them having a [f] *Flamen*, or *Pagan Priest*; and three of them, namely *London*, *York*, and *Caer-lion* in *Wales*, had *Arch-Flamens*, to which the rest were subjected: and *Lucius* placed *Bishops* in the room of the *Flamens*, and *Arch-Bishops*, *Metropolitans* in the places of *Arch-Flamens*. All which, saith he, solemnly received their *Confirmation* from the Pope. But herein our Authour seems not well acquainted with the propriety of the word *Flamen*, their Use, and Office amongst the *Romans*; who were not set severally, but many together in the same City. Nor were they subordinate one to another, but all to the *Priests Colledge*, and therein to the *Pontifex Maximus*. Besides, the *British* [g] *Manuscript*, which *Monmouth* is conceived to have translated, makes no mention of these *Flamens*. Lastly, these words *Arch-Bishop* and *Metropolitan*, are so far from being current in the days of King *Lucius*, that they were not coined till after-Ages. So that in plain *English*, his *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens*, seeme *Flamms* and *Arch-Flamms*, even notorious Falshoods.

10. Great also is the mistake of [h] another British Historian, affirming, how in the days of King *Lucius*, this Island was divided into five *Roman Provinces*; namely, *Britain* the First, *Britain* the Second, *Flavia*, *Maxima*, and *Valentia*: and that each of these were then divided into twelve Bishopricks, sixtie in the whole: a goodly company, and more by halfe then ever this Land did behold. Whereas these Provinces were so named from *Valens*, *Maximus*, and *Flavius Theodosius*, Romane Emperors, many years after the death of *Lucius*. Thus, as the Damosell convinced S^t. *Peter* to be a *Galilean*, for, said she, [i] *Thy speech agreeth thereunto*: so this five-fold division of *Britain*, by the very Novelty of the

a *Iosh.* 9. 12.

b *See Sr. Hen. Spelman in Councells, p. 14. &c. where there is another copy of this letter, with some alterations and additions.*

King *Lucius* baptized.

c *Aliter* Phaganus & Dunianus.

d *Act. 16. 15. & 32.*

e *Ita ut in brevi, nullus infidelis remaneret.* } Pa- Matth. } ris. Westm.

I. *Monmouth his fiction of Flamens and Arch-Flamens.*

f Monmouth *de gestis Britannor. lib. 2. cap. 1. fol. 33.*

g Ja. Armach. *de Brit. Eccl. prim. p. 7.*

A gross mistake.

h Giraldus Cambrensis *de Sedis Menevensis dignitate, apud* D. Joh. Prise. *pag. 75.*

i *Mark 14. 70.*

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the Names, is concluded to be of far later date, then what that Authour pretendeth.

167 11. But it is generally agreed, that about this time, many Pagan Temples in *Britain* had their Property altered, and the self-same were converted into Christian Churches. Particularly, that dedicated to *Diana* in *London*, and another near it, formerly consecrated to *Apollo*, in the City now called *Westminster*. This was done, not out of Covetousnes, to save Charges in founding new Fabricks, but out of Christian Thrift; conceiving this *Imitation*, an *Invitation*, to make Heathens come over more chearfully to the Christian Faith; when beholding their Temples (whereof they had an high and holy opinion) not sacrilegiously demolished, but solemnly continued to a pious end, and rectified to the Service of the true God. But humane Policy seldome proves prosperous, when tampering with Divine Worship, especially when without, or against direction from Gods Word. This *new Wine*, put into *old Vessels*, did in after-Ages taste of the Caske; and in process of time, *Christianity*, keeping a [a] correspondency, and some proportion with *Paganisme*, got a smack of heathen Ceremonies. Surely they had better have built new Nests for the *Holy Dove*, and not have lodged it where Screech-owles, and unclean Birds had formerly been harboured. If the *High-Priest* amongst the *Jews* was forbidden to *marry a Widow, or divorced woman, but that he should take a Virgin of his owne* [b] *people to wife*: How unseemly was it, that God himself should have the reversion of Profaneness assign'd to his Service, and his Worship *wedded* to the *Relict*, yea (what was worse) *Whorish* Shrines, formerly abused with Idolatry?

Pagan Temples in *Britain*, converted to Christian Churches.

a *Thus the Pantheon, or Shrine of all Gods in Rome, was turned into the Church of All-Saints.*

b *Lev. 21. 14.*

178 12. Some report, that at this time three thousand Philosopers of the University of *Cambridge* were converted, and baptized; that K. *Lucius* came thither, and bestowed many [c] Priviledges, and Immunities on the place; with much other improbable matter. For surely they do a real Wrong, under a pretended Courtesy, to that famous Academy, to force a *Peruke* of false *gray haire* upon it, whose reverend Wrincles already command respect of themselves. Yet *Cambridge* makes this use of these over-grown Charters of Pope *Eleutherius*, K. *Lucius*, K. *Arthur*, and the like, to send them out in the *Front*, as the *Forlorn-hope*, when she is to encounter with *Oxford* in point of Antiquity; and if the credit of such old Monuments be cut off (as what else can be expected?) yet she still keeps her *maine Battel* firme and entire, consisting of stronger Authorities, which follow after. Nor doth *Cambridge* care much to cast away such doubtfull Charters, provided her Sister likewise quit all Title to fabulous Antiquity (setting Drosse against Drosse) and waving Tales, trie both the truth of their Age, by the Register of unquestioned Authours, if this Difference betwixt them be conceived to deserve the deciding.

The bounty of K. *Lucius* to *Cambridge*.

c *Cajus de Antiq. Cantab. p. 51. & Hist. Cantab. p. 22.*

13. Besides the Churches afore-mentioned, many others there were, whose building is ascribed to King *Lucius*: as namely,

179 1. S[t]. *Peter*'s in *Cornhill* in *London*; to which *Ciran*, a great Courtier, lent his helping hand. It is said, for many years after, to have been the Seat of an [d] Arch-Bishoprick: one *Thean* first enjoyed that Dignity.

2. *Ecclesia primæ sedis*, or, the chief Cathedral Church in *Gloucester*.

180 3. A Church at *Winchester*, consecrated by *Faganus* and *Duvianus*, whereof one *Devotus* was made Abbot.

4. A [e] Church, and Colledge of Christian Philosophers at *Bangor*.

187 5. The Church dedicated to S[t]. *Mary* in *Glassenbury*, repaired and raised out of the Ruines by *Faganus* and *Duvianus*, where they lived with twelve Associates.

6. A [f] Chappel in honour of Christ in *Dover* Castle.

7. The Church of S[t]. *Martin* in *Canterbury*; understand it thus, that Church which in after-Ages was new named, and converted to the honour of that Saint.

Severall Churches founded by King *Lucius*.

d *Tabula pensilis quæ adhuc in illa ecclesia cernitur.*

e *Pitzeus de Britan. Scriptor. num. 21.*

f *Iohn Leland assert. Arthuri, fol. 7.*

Of all these, that at *Winchester* was K. *Lucius* his Darling, which he endowed with

with large Revenues, giving it all the land twelve miles on every side of the City, fencing the Church about with a Church-yard, on which he bestowed Priviledges of a Sanctuary, and building a Dormitory, and Refectory for the Monks there; if the little History of [a] *Winchester* be to be believed, whose credit is very suspicious, because of the modern Language used therein. For as Country-Painters, when they are to draw some of the ancient Scripture-Patriarchs, use to make them with Bands, Cuffs, Hats, & Caps, *al a mode* to the Times wherein they themselves doe live: so it seemeth, the Authour of this History last cited (lacking learning to acquaint him with the Garbe, and Character of the Age of K. *Lucius*) doth pourtraict and describe the Bounty, and Church-buildings of that King, according to the Phrase, and Fashion of that model of Monkery in his own Age.

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14. Some *Dutch* Writers report, that K. *Lucius* in his Old Age left his Kingdome, and went over into *France*, thence into *Germany*, as far as the *Alpes*; where he converted all [b] *Rhetia*, and the City of *Aussburg* in *Suevia*, by his Preaching, with the assistance of *Emerita* his Sister; it being no news, in Gods Harvest, to see Women with their Sickles a reaping. It is confessed that Converting of Souls is a work worthy a King; *David*'s and *Solomon*'s preaching hath silenced all Objections to the contrary. It is also acknowledged, that Kings used to renounce the World, and betake themselves to such pious Emploiment; though this Custome, frequent in after-Ages, was not so early a riser, as to be up so near the Primitive Times. It is therefore well observed by a Learned [c] man, that *Lucius* the *German* Preacher was a different person from the *British* King, who never departed our Island, but died therein. I have read, how a woman in the *Lower Palatinate*, being bigg with Twinns, had the fruit of her Wombe so strangely alter'd by a violent [d] Contusion casually befalling her, that she was delivered of one Monster with two Heads, which Nature had intended for two perfect Children. Thus the History of this Age being pregnant with a double *Lucius* at the same time, is by the carelesness of unadvised Authours so jumbled, and confounded together, that those which ought to have been parted, as distinct Persons, make up one monstrous one, without due proportion to Truth, yea, with the manifest prejudice thereof.

a *Manuscript. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.*

Two *Lucius*'s confounded into one.

b Velser. *Rerum August. Vindelic. lib. 6. ad annum* 179.

c Achilles Gasparus *in Augustana urbis descriptione.*

d Munster *de Germania, in the Description of the Lower Palatinate.*

THE

Anno Dom.

THE THIRD CENTURY.

To Mr. *Simeon Bonnell*, Merchant.

IT is proportionable to present a Century, short in Story, *to One* low in Stature, *though deservedly* high *in the esteem of your Friend*,

T. F.

201 1. OF all Centuryes this begins most sadly; at the entrance whereof we are accosted with the Funeralls of King *Lucius*, (the brightest Sun must set:) buried, as they say, in *Gloecester*. Different dates of his Death are assigned, but herein we have followed the [a] most judicious. Long after, the Monks of that Convent bestowed an *Epitaph* upon him, having in it nothing worthy of translating.

Lucius [b] *in tenebris prius Idola qui coluisti,*
Es merito celebris ex quo Baptisma subisti.

It seems the *puddle-Poet* did hope, that the jingling of his *Rhyme* would drown the sound of his *false Quantity*. Except any will say, that he affected to make the middle Syllable in *Idola* short, because in the days of King *Lucius* Idolatry was curb'd and contracted, whilest Christianity did dilate and extend it self.

The death, buriall, and Epitaph of King *Lucius*.

a *Annals of* Sarum, M. { Paris. Westm. *with London tables and hist. of Rochest.*

b John Bever *in his Abbreviat. of the Brit. Chron.*

2. But Christianity in *Britain* was not buried in the Grave of *Lucius*, but survived after his Death. Witness *Gildas*, whose words deserve to be made much of, as the clearest evidence of the constant continuing of Religion in this Island. *Christ's Precepts* (saith [c] he) *though they were received but luke-warmly of the Inhabitants, yet they remained entirely with some, less sincerely with others, even untill the nine years of Persecution under* Diocletian. Whose expression concerning the entertaining of Christianity here, though spoken indefinitely of the *British* Inhabitants, yet we are so far from understanding it universally of all this Island, or generally of the most, or eminently of the principal parts thereof, that, if any list to contend, that the main of *Britain* was stil *Pagan*, we will not oppose. A thing neither to be doubted of, nor wondered at, if the modern Complaints of many be true, that even in this Age, there are dark *Corners* in this Kingdome, where *Profaneness* lives quietly with invincible *Ignorance*. Yea, that the first Professours in Christianity were but *luke-warm* in Religion, will (without Oath made for the truth thereof) be easily believed by such, who have felt the temper of the *English Laodiceans* now a days. However, it appeares there were some *honest Hearts*, that still kept Christianity on *foot* in the Kingdome. So that since Religion first dwelt here, it never departed hence; like the *Candle* of the vertuous Wife, [d] *It went not out by night*: by the *Night* neither of Ignorance, nor of Security, nor of Persecution. The Island generally never was an Apostate, nor by Gods blessing, ever shall be.

The Christian faith from the first preaching thereof, ever continued in *Britain*.

c *Quæ præcepta* [in Britannia] *licet ab incolis tepidè suscepta sunt, apud quosdam tamen integrè, & aliis minùs, usque ad persecutionem* Diocletiani *novennem permansere*. Gildas *in Epist. de excidio Brit.*

d Prov. 31. 18.

3. To the Authority of *Gildas*, we will twist the Testimony of two *Fathers*, both flourishing in this Century, *Tertullian* and *Origen*; plainly proving Christianity in *Britain* in this Age; both of them being undoubtedly Orthodox, without

Two Fathers to be believ'd before two children.

(without mixture of *Montaniſt*, or *Millenary*) in hiſtorical matters. Hear the former. *There are places of the* [a] Britans, *which were unacceſſible to the* Romans, *but yet ſubdued to Chriſt.* *Origen* in like maner: [b] *The power of God our Saviour is even with them which in* Britain *are divided from our world.* Theſe ought to prevail in any rational belief, rather then the detracting reports of two modern men, *Paradine* and *Dempſter*, who affirm that after *Lucius* death, the *Britiſh* Nation returned to their *Heathen Rites*, and remained Infidels for full five hundred years after. Which [c] words, if caſually falling from them, may be paſſed by with pardon; if ignorantly uttered (from ſuch Pretenders to Learning) will be heard with wonder; if wilfully vented, muſt be taxed for a ſhameleſs and impudent Falſhood. Had *Dempſter* (the more poſitive of the two in this point) read as many Authours as he quoteth, and marked as much as he read, he muſt have confuted himſelf: yea, though he had obſtinately ſhut his Eies, ſo clear a Truth would have ſhined through his Eye-lids. It wil be no wilde Juſtice, or furious Revenge, but Equity, to make themſelves ſatisfaction, if the *Britans* declare *Dempſter* devoid of the faith of an Hiſtorian, who endeavoured to deprive their Anceſtours of the Chriſtian Faith for many yeares together; his Pen, to befriend the *North*, doing many bad offices to the *South* part of this Iſland.

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a Britannorum *inacceſſa* Romanis *loca, Chriſto verò ſubdita.* Tertull. *adverſ. Judæos, cap. 7.*

b *Virtus Domini Salvatoris & cum his eſt, qui ab orbe noſtro in* Britannia *dividuntur.* Orig. *in Luce c. 1. Homil. 6.*

c Paradine *Ang. deſcrip. cap. 22.* Dempſter *in Apparat. Hiſt. Scot. cap. 6.*

4. The *Magdeburgenſes*, Compilers of the *General Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, not having leſſe Learning, but more Ingenuity, ſpeaking of the Churches through *Europe* in this Age, thus expreſs themſelves. „ Then follow the Iſles of the „ Ocean, where we firſt meet with *Britain*; [d] *Manſiſſe & hac ætate ejus Inſu-* „ *la Eccleſias, affirmare non dubitamus*; We doubt not to affirme, that the „ Churches of that Iſland did alſo remain in this Age. But as for the *names* of the *Places*, and *Perſons* profeſſing it, we crave to be excuſed from bringing in the *Bill* of our *particulars*.

The judgement of the *Magdeburgenſes* in this point.

d *Centuria tertia, cap. 2. colum. 6.*

5. By the Levitical Law, [e] *If an Oxe, Sheep, or Beaſt, were delivered to a man to keep, and it were ſtolen away from him, the keeper ſhould make reſtitution to the owner thereof; but if it was torn in pieces, and he could bring the fragments thereof for witneſs, he was not bound to make it good.* Had former Hiſtorians delivered the entire memory of the paſſages of this Century to our cuſtody, and charged us with them, the Reader might juſtly have blamed our Negligence, if for want of our Induſtry or Carefulneſs, they had miſcarried: but ſeeing they were devoured by Age, in evidence whereof we produce theſe torn Reverſions, hardly reſcued from the Teeth of Time, we preſume no more can juſtly be exacted of us.

Want of work no fault of the workman.

e Exod. 22. 12.

6. *Gildas* very modeſtly renders the reaſon, why ſo little is extant of the *Bri-* „ *tiſh Hiſtory. Scripta patriæ, Scriptorumve monumenta, ſi quæ fuerint, aut igni-* „ *bus hoſtium exuſta, aut Civium exulum claſſe longius deportata, non comparent.* „ The Monuments (ſaith he) of our Country, or Writers (if there were any) „ appear not, as either burnt by the fire of enemies, or tranſported farr off by „ our baniſhed countrymen.

Reaſon why ſo little left of this Age.

7. This is all I have to ſay of this Century; and muſt now confeſs my ſelf as unable to goe on, ſo aſhamed to break off; ſcarce having had, of a full Hundred Years, ſo many Words of ſolid Hiſtory. But, as I find little, ſo I will feign nothing; time being better ſpent in Silence, then in Lying. Nor do I doubt but clean Stomacks will be better ſatisfied with one drop of the Milk of Truth, then foul Feeders (who muſt have their Bellies ful) with a *Trough* of *VVaſh*, mingled with the water of Fabulous Inventions. If any hereafter ſhall light on more Hiſtory of theſe times, let them not condemn my Negligence, whileſt I ſhall admire their Happineſſe.

Concluſion of this Century.

THE

Anno Dom.

THE FOURTH CENTURY.

To *Theophilus Bidulph* of London, Esquire.

OF all Shires in England, Stafford-shire vvas (if not the ſooneſt) the largeſt ſovvn vvith the Seed of the Church, *I mean,* the bloud of primitive Martyrs; *as by this Century doth appear. I could not therefore dedicate the ſame to a fitter perſon then your ſelf, vvhoſe Family hath flouriſhed ſo long in that County, and vvhoſe Favours have been ſo great unto your thankfull Friend*

T. F.

303 I. DArk and tempeſtuous was the Morning of this Century, which afterward cleared up to be a fair Day. It began with great Affliction to Gods Saints. The Spirit ſaith to the Church of *Smyrna*, [a] *Ye ſhall have Tribulation ten dayes.* This is commonly underſtood of the Ten generall Perſecutions over all the Chriſtian world. But herein Divine Mercy magnified it ſelf towards this Iſland, that the laſt *Oecumenicall* was the firſt *Provinciall* Perſecution in *Britain*. God, though he made our Church his Darling, would not make it a Wanton; ſhe muſt taſte of the *Rod* with the reſt of her Siſters. The *Fiery* [b] *Triall* ſpoken of by the Apoſtle, now found out even thoſe which by water were divided from the reſt of the World. This tenth Perſecution as it was the laſt, ſo it was the greateſt of all, becauſe *Satan* the ſhorter his Reign, the ſharper his Rage; ſo that what his Fury lacks in the Length, it labours to gain in the Thickneſs thereof.

First perſecution in Britain under *Diocletian.*

a *Revel.* 2. 10.

b 1 *Pet.* 1. 12.

2. In this Perſecution, the firſt *Britan* which to Heaven led the *Van* of *the noble Army of Martyrs*, was *Alban*, a wealthy Inhabitant of *Verolam-ceſtre*, and a *Citizen* of *Rome*; for ſo *Alexander* [c] *Neccham* reports him.

Alban the Britiſh S^t. *Stephen* how a Citizen of Rome.

c *In his Poem on Verulam.*

Hic eſt Martyrii roſeo decoratus honore,
Albanus, *Cives, inclyta* Roma, *tuus.*
Here *Alban*, *Rome*, thy Citizen renow'nd,
With roſy Grace of *Martyrdome* was crown'd.

None need ſtop, much leſſe ſtumble at this ſeeming Contradiction, eaſily reconciled by him that hath read S^t. *Paul*, in one place proclaiming himſelf an [d] *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, and [e] elſewhere pleading himſelf to be a *Roman*, becauſe born in *Tarſus* a City of *Cilicia* and *Roman Colony*; as *Verolam-ceſtre* was at this time enfranchiſed with many Immunities. Thus *Alban* was a *Britan* by Parentage, a *Roman* by Priviledge; naturally a *Britan*, naturallized a *Roman:* and, which was his greateſt Honour, he was alſo Citizen of that ſpiritual *Hieruſalem*, which is from above.

d *Philipp.* 3. 5.

e *Acts* 22. 25.

3. His Converſion happened on this manner. *Amphibalus*, a Chriſtian Preacher of *Caer-lion* in *Wales*, was fain to fly from perſecution into the Eaſtern parts of this *Iſland*, and was entertained by *Alban* in his houſe in *Verulam*. Soon did the Sparks of this Gueſts Zeal catch hold on his *Hoſt*, and in-

The manner of *Alban's* Converſion.

inflamed him with love to the Christian Religion. Herein our Saviour made good his promise, [a] *He that receiveth a Righteous man in the name of a Righteous man, shall receive a Righteous mans reward.* And the Shot of *Amphibalus* his Entertainment was plentifully discharged, in *Alban's* sodain and sincere Conversion. Not long after a search being made for *Amphibalus*, *Alban* secretly and safely conveighed him away, & [b] exchanging *Cloaths* with him, offered himself for his *Guest* to the *Pagan* Officers, who at that instant were a sacrificing to their *Devil-Gods*; where not onely *Alban*, being required, refused to sacrifice, but also he reproved others for so doing, and thereupon was condemned to most cruell Torments. But he conquered their Cruelty with his Patience: and though they tortured their Brains to invent Tortures for him, he endured all with Chearfulnesse; till rather their Wearinesse then Pity made them desist. And here we must bewaile, that we want the true Story of this mans Martyrdome, which impudent *Monks* have mixed with so many improbable Tales, that it is a Torture to a discreet Eare to heare them. However, we will set them down as we find them; the rather, because we count it a thrifty way, first to glut the Readers belief with *Popish Miracles*, that so he may loath to look or listen after them in the sequele of the *History*.

a *Matth.* 10. 41.

b Beda *lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

Anno Dom. 303

The miraculous Martyrdom of *Alban*.

4. *Alban* being sentenced to be *beheaded*, much people flockt to the place of his *Execution*, which was on a *Hill*, called [c] *Holm-hurst*; to which they were to go over a River, where the narrow Passage admitted of very few a-breast. *Alban* being to follow after all the Multitude, and perceiving it would be very late, before he could come to act his *Part*, and counting every Delay half a Deniall, (who will blame one for longing to have a Crown?) by his Prayer obtained that the River, parting asunder, afforded free Passage for many together. The corrupted *Copy* of *Gildas* calls this River the [d] *Thames*. But if the Miracle were as farre from Truth, as *Thames* from *Verulam* (being 16 Miles distant) it would be very hard to bring them both together. The sight hereof so wrought with him who was appointed to be his *Executioner*, that he utterly refused the Imployment, desiring rather to Die with him, or for him, then to offer him any Violence. Yet soon was another substituted in his place: for some cruel *Doeg* will quickly be found to do that Office, which more Mercifull men decline.

c Understand it so called afterwards in the time of the Saxons.

d Thames *is wanting in the Manuscript* Gildas, *in Cambridge Library.*

A new spring of Water at *Alban's* summons appears in the top of a Hill.

5. *Alban* at the last being come to the Top of the Hill, was very dry, and desirous to drink. Wonder not that he being presently to tast of *Joyes for evermore*, should wish for fading Water. Sure he thirsted most for God's Glory, and did it only to catch hold of the handle of an occasion to work a Miracle, for the good of the *Beholders*. For presently by his *Prayer*, he summoned up a *Spring*, to come forth on the top of the *Hill*, to the amazement of all that saw it. Yet it moistened not his *Executioners Heart* with any Pity, who notwithstanding *struck* off the *Head* of this worthy *Saint*, and instantly his own Eyes fell out of his Head, so that he could not see the Vilany which he had done. Presently after, the former *Convert-Executioner*, who refused to put *Alban* to *death*, was put to *death* himself, *baptized* no doubt, though not with *Water*, in his own *Blood*. The Body of *Alban* was afterwards plainly buried: that *Age* knowing no other *use* of *Saints Dust*, then to commit it to the *Dust*, *Earth to Earth*; not acquainted with Adoration, and Circumgestation of *Reliques*; as ignorant of the Manner, how, as the Reason, why, to do it. But some hundred yeares after, King *Offa* disturb'd the sleeping Corps of this Saint, removing them to a more stately, though lesse quiet Bed, enshrining them, as (God willing) shall be related hereafter.

May 23 *Aliter*, *June* 22

Amphibalus, Difference about his name.

6. Immediately followed the Martyrdom of *Amphibalus*, *Alban's Guest*, and Ghostly Father, though the Story of his Death be incumbred with much Obscurity. For first there is a Quære in his very Name: why called *Amphibalus?* and how came this compounded *Greek* word to wander into *Wales?* except any will say, That this mans *British* Name was by Authours in after-Ages

Septemb. 16

so

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so translated into *Greek*. Besides, the Name speaks rather the Vestment then the Wearer, signifying a Cloak wrapt or cast about, (*Samuel* was mark't by such a *Mantle*;) and it may be he got his name hence; as *Robert Curt-hose*, Sonne to *William* the *Conquerour*, had his Surname from going in such a Garment. And it is worth our observing, that this good man passeth nameless in all Authours, till about 400 yeares since; when *Ieffery Monmouth* was his *Godfather*, and [a] first calls him *Amphibalus*, for reasons concealed from us, and best known to himself.

a Usher *de Brit. Eccl. Primord. p.* 159.

7. But it matters not for Words, if the Matter were true, being thus reported. A thousand Inhabitants of *Verulam* went into *Wales*, to be further informed in the Faith, by the Preaching of *Amphibalus*; who were pursued by a Pagan Army of their fellow-Citizens, by whom they were overtaken, overcome, and murthered: save that one man only, (like *Iob's Messenger*) who escaped of them to report the Losse of the rest. And although every thing unlikely is not untrue, it was a huge Drag-net, and cunningly cast, that killed all the Fish in the River. Now these *Pagan Verolamians* brought *Amphibalus* back again; and being within ken of their City, in the Village called *Redburn*, three Miles from *Verulam*, they cruelly put him to death. For making an Incision in his *Belly*, they took out his *Guts*, and tying them to a *Stake*, whipt him round about it. All which he endured, as free from Impatience as his Persecuters from Compassion. Thus died *Amphibalus*; and a [b] *Writer* born and named from that *Place* reporteth, that in his dayes the two *Knives* which *stabbed* him were kept in the Church of *Redburn*. The heat and resplendent lustre of this Saints Suffering wrought as the Sun-beams, according to the Capacity of the matter it met with, in the Beholders, melting the Waxen Minds of some into *Christianity*, and obdurating the *Hard Hearts* of others with more madnesse against Religion.

The cruel manner of his Martyrdome.

b Thomas Redburn, who wrote 1480.

7. Tradition reports, that the Stake he was tied to afterwards turned to a *Tree*, extant at this very [c] *day*, and admired of many, as a great Piece of Wonder; though, (as most things of this nature) more in Report then Reality. That it hath *Green Leaves* in Winter mine *Eyes* can witnesse false; and as for its standing at a stay time out of mind, neither impaired, nor improved in Bignesse (which some count so strange) be it reported to Wood-men & Foresters, whether it be not ordinarie. I think the *wood* of the *Tree* is as *miraculous*, as the *water* of the *VVell* adjoining is *medicinall*; which fond people fetch so farre, and yet a credulous *Drinker* may make a *Cordiall Drink* thereof.

Vain Fancies concerning the Stake of *Amphibalus*.

c I mean *Anno* 1643.

8. At the time of *Amphibalus* his Martyrdome, another [d] Thousand of the *Verulam Citizens*, being converted to Christ, were by command of the Iudges all killed in the same Place. A strange Execution, if true, seeing [e] *John Rosse* of *VVarwick* layes the *Scene* of this *Tragedy* farre off, and at another time, with many other Circumstances inconsistent with this *Relation*; Telling us how at *Litchfield* in *Staffordshire* this great multitude of People were long before slain by the *Pagans*, as they attended to the Preaching of *Amphibalus*. This relation is favoured by the name of *Litchfield*, which in the *British* tongue signifies a *Golgotha*, or place bestrewed with *Skulls*: In allusion whereto that Cities Armes are a *Field surcharged with Dead Bodies*. He needs almost a miraculous Faith, to be able to remove Mountains, yea to make the Sunne stand still, and sometimes to go back, who will undertake to accord the Contradictions in Time and Place, between the severall Relatours of this History.

The Martyrdom of another thousand Britans variously reported.

d Usher *de Brit. Eccl. primord. pag.* 160.

e In *his* Book *of the* Bishops *of Worcester.*

9. The Records of *VVinchester* make mention of a great Massacre, whereby at this time all their *Monks* were slain in their *Church*; whilest the *Chronicle* of *VVestminster* challengeth the same to be done in their *Convent*: and the *History* of *Cambridge* ascribeth it to the Christian Students of that University, killed by their *British* Persecuters. Whether this hapned in any or all of these Places, I will not determine: For he tells a Lye, though he tells a Truth, that peremptorily affirms that which he knows is but Uncertain. Mean time we see,

Severall Places pretend to, and contend for the same Martyrdome.

that it is hard for men to ſuffer Martyrdom, and eaſie for their Poſterity to brag of their Anceſtours Sufferings; yea, who would not intitle themſelves to the *Honour*, when it is parted from the *Pain*? When *Perſecution* is a coming, every man *poſteth* it off, as the *Philiſtins* did the [a] *Ark* infected with the *Plague*, and no place will give it entertainment: But when the Storm is once over, then (as ſeven Cities contended for *Homer*'s Birth in them) many Places will put in to claim a ſhare in the *Credit* thereof.

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a 1 Sam. 5.

10. Beſides *Amphibalus*, ſuffered *Aaron* and *Julius*, two ſubſtantiall Citizens of *Caer-leon*; and then *Socrates*, and *Stephanus*, forgotten by our *Britiſh* Writers, but remembred by forreign *Authours*; and *Augulius*, Biſhop of *London*, then called *Auguſta*. Beſides theſe, we may eaſily believe many more went the ſame way; for ſuch *Commanders in Chief* do not *fall* without *Common Souldiers* about them. It was *Superſtition* in the *Athenians*, to build an Altar to the [b] UNKNOWN GOD; but it would be Piety in us, here to erect a Monument in memorial of theſe *Unknown Martyrs*, whoſe Names are loſt. The beſt is, God's *Kalender* is more compleat then man's beſt *Martyrologies*; and their *Names* are *written* in the *Book* of *Life*, who on Earth are wholly forgotten.

The imperfect Hiſtory of theſe times.

b Acts 17. 23.

11. One may juſtly wonder, that the firſt four hundred yeares of the *Primitive Church* in *Britain*, being ſo much obſervable, ſhould be ſo little obſerved, the *Pens* of *Hiſtorians* writing thereof, ſeeming ſtarved for matter in an Age ſo fruitfull of memorable Actions. But this was the main Reaſon thereof, that living in Perſecution, (that Age affording no Chriſtians Idle Spectators, which were not Actors on that Sad Theatre) they were not at leiſure to Doe, for Suffering. And as commonly thoſe can give the leaſt account of a Battel, who were moſt ingaged in it, (their Eyes the while being turned into Armes, their Seeing into Fighting:) So the Primitive Confeſſours were ſo taken up with what they endured, they had no vacation largely to relate their own or others Sufferings. Of ſuch Monuments as were tranſmitted to Poſterity, it is probable moſt were martyred by the Tyranny of the *Pagans*: nor was it to be expected, that thoſe who were cruel to kill the Authours, would be kind to preſerve their Books.

The Cauſe of the great Silence of the primitive times.

12. Afterwards it pleaſed God to put a Period to his Servants Sufferings, and the Fury of their Enemies. For when *Diocletian* and *Maximian* had layed down the Enſigns of Command, *Conſtantius* [c] *Chlorus* was choſen Emperour in theſe *VVeſtern Provinces* of *France*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; whoſe Carriage towards Chriſtians *Euſebius* thus deſcribeth: Τὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβοῦς ἀβλαβεῖς φυλάξαι, *that he preſerved ſuch Religious people as were under his Command, without any Hurt or Harm.* So that under him the Church in theſe Parts had a Breathing-time from Perſecution. But I am affraid that that Learned [d] *Pen* goes a little too farre, who makes him Founder of a *Biſhopriek* at *York*, and ſtileth him *an Emperour ſurpaſſing in all Vertue, and Chriſtian Piety*: ſeeing the later will hardly be proved, that *Conſtantius* was a through-paced Chriſtian; except by our *Saviours* Argument, [e] *He that is not againſt us is on our part.* And *Conſtantius* did this Good to Chriſtianity, that he did it no Harm: and not only ſo, a Privative Benefactor to Piety, but poſitive thus far, that he permitted and preſerved thoſe, who would rebuild the decayed Chriſtian Churches. But the greateſt Benefaction which he beſtowed on Chriſtians was, that he was Father to *Conſtantine*. Thus as Phyſitians count all Sudden and Violent Alterations in mens Bodies dangerous, eſpecially when changing from Extremes to Extremes: So God in like manner adjudged it unſafe for his Servants preſently to be poſted out of Perſecution into Proſperity; and therefore he prepared them by Degrees, that they might be better able to manage their future Happineſſe, by ſending this *Conſtantius*, a Prince of a middle diſpoſition betwixt Pagan and Chriſtian, to rule ſome few yeares over them.

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Conſtant. Chlorus gives the Chriſtians Peace.

c Euſebius *de vita Conſtantini, lib. 1. c. 12.* & Oroſius *lib. 7. cap. 25.*

d Camden. Brit. *in deſcription of York.*

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e Mark 9. 40.

13. At *York* this *Conſtantius Chlorus* did die, and was buried. And therefore

He dieth at

Flori-

Anno Dom. 305 *Florilegus*, or the *Flower-gatherer*, as he calleth himself, (understand *Matth. of Westminst.*) did crop a Weed instead of a Flower, when he reports that in the year 1283 the Body of this *Constantius* was found at [a] *Caer-Custenith* in *VVales*, and honourably bestowed in the Church of *Caer-narvon by the command of King Edward the first*. *Constantius* dying, bequeathed the Empire to *Constantine*, his eldest Sonne by *Hellen* his former Wife; *and the Souldiers at* York *cast the Purple Robe upon him, whilest he wept, and put Spurs to Horse to avoid the importunity of the Army, attempting and requiring so instantly to make him Emperour: But the Happinesse of the State overcame his Modesty.* And whereas formerly Christians for the Peace they possessed, were onely *Tenants at will* to the present Emperours Goodnesse; this *Constantine* passed this peaceable Estate to the Christians and their Heires, or rather to the immortal Corporation of Gods Church, making their Happinesse Hereditary, by those good Lawes which he enacted. Now because this Assertion, that *Constantine* was a *Britan* by Birth, meets with Opposition, we will take some pains in clearing the Truth thereof.

York as is witnessed by *Hieronymus*, in Chronico, and *Eutropius*, Hist. lib. 18.

a *Compare* Mr. Camden's Brit. *in Caernarvonshire with him in the description of York.*

307 *Febr.* 27

14. Let none say, the Kernel will not be worth the Cracking, and so that *Constantine* were born, it matters not where he was born. For we may observe Gods Spirit to be very punctual, in registring the Birth-places of Famous men; [b] *The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the People, that this man was born there.* And as [c] *David* cursed *Mount Gilboa*, where Godly *Ionathan* got his *Death*: so by the same proportion, (though inverted) it follows, those Places are blest and happy, where *Saints* take their first good Handsel of Breath in this World. Besides, *Constantine* was not onely *one of a Thousand*, but of Myriads, yea of Millions; who first turned the Tide in the whole world, and not only quenched the Fire, but even *over-turned the Furnace of Persecution*, and enfranchised Christianity through the *Roman Empire*: and therefore no wonder if *Britain* be ambitious in having, and zealous in holding such a Worthy to be born in her.

Worth the Scrutiny to cleare *Constantine* a Britan by Birth.

b *Psal.* 87. 6.

c 2 *Sam.* 1.

15. An unanswerable Evidence to prove the point in Controversy, that *Constantine* the *Great* was a *Britan*, is fetch't from the [d] *Panegyrist*, (otherwise called *Eumenius Rhetor*) in his Oration made to *Constantine* himself; but making therein an *Apostrophe* to *Britain*; *O fortunata, & nunc omnibus beatior terris* Britannia, *quæ* Constantinum Cæsarem *prima vidisti! O happy* Britain, *and blessed above all other Lands, which didst first behold* Constantine Cæsar! Twist this Testimony with another Thread, spun of the same [e] Hand; *Liberavit pater* Constantius Britannias *Servitute, tu etiam nobiles, illic oriendo, fecisti: Your Father* Constantius *did free the* British *Provinces from Slavery, and you have ennobled them, by taking thence your Originall.* The same is affirmed by the Writer of the Life of S^t. *Hellen*, Mother to *Constantine*, written about the year of our Lord 940 in the *English-Saxon* Tongue: as also by *VVilliam* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry Huntingdon*, *Iohn* of *Salisbury*, and all other *English* Writers. And least any should object, that these writing the History of their own Country, are too light-fingered to catch any thing (right or wrong) sounding to the Honour thereof; many most learned forreign *Historians*, *Pomponius Lætus*, *Polydor Virgil*, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Franciscus Balduinus*, *Onuphrius Panvinius*, *Cæsar Baronius*, *Anthony Possevine*, and others, concurre with them, acknowledging *Hellen*, *Constantine*'s Mother, a *Britan*, and him born in *Britain*.

The main Argument, to prove the point.

d *Panegyric.* 9.

e *Panegyr.* 5.

16. But whilest the aforesaid Authors in *Prose*, softly rock the Infancy of (yet little) *Constantine* the *Great* in *Britain*, and whilest others in Verse, (especially [f] *Ioseph* of EXETER, and [g] *Alexander Neckam*) sweetly sing *Lullabies* unto him; some Learned men are so rough and uncivil, as to over-turn his Cradle; yea, wholly deprive *Britain* of the Honour of his Nativity: Whose Arguments follow, with out Answers unto them.

f *In Ant iocheide sua.*

g *See his Tetrastichon in Bishop* Usher *de Brit. Eccles. primord. pag.* 76.

Answers to the objections of the contrary Party.

1. *Object.* The *Panegyrist* speaking how *Britain first saw Constantine Cæsar*, [h] refers not to his ordinary Life, but Imperial Lustre. *Britain* beheld him not first a *Child*, but first saw him *Cæsar*; not fetching thence

h *Ioannes* Livineius *not. in Panegyr.* 5.

thence his natural being, but honourable Birth, first saluted *Cæsar* in *Britain*. Anno Dom. 307

Ans. Even [a] *Lipsius* (*Britain*'s greatest Enemy in this point) confesseth, that though *Constantine* was first elected *Emperour* in *Britain*, yet he was first pronounced *Cæsar* in *France*, in the life and health of his Father; (*Cæsar* was a Title given to the *Heir-apparent* to the Empire:) and therefore the words in the *Panegyrist*, in their native Construction, relate to his natural Birth.

a *Not. in Admiranda, lib. 4. cap. 12.*

2. *Object.* *Constantine Porphyrogenetes* the *Grecian Emperour*, about 700 yeares since, in his Book of Government which he wrote to his Son, confesseth *Constantine* the Great to have been a FRANK by his Birth, whence learned *Meursius* collecteth him a *French-man* by his extraction.

Ans. It is notoriously known to all Learned men, that the *Greeks* in that middle-Age, (as the *Turks* at this very day) called all *VVestern Europæans*, FRANKS. Wherefore as he that calleth such a Fruit of the Earth *Grain* (a general name) denyeth not but it may be *VVheat*, a proper kind thereof; so the terming *Constantine* a *Frank*, doth not exclude him from being a *Britan*, yea strongly implieth the same, seeing no *VVestern* Country in *Europe* ever pretended unto his Birth.

3. *Object.* *Bede*, a grave and faithfull *Authour*, makes no mention of *Constantine* born in *Britain*, who (as [b] *Lipsius* marketh) would not have omitted a matter so much to the honour of his own Nation.

b *In his Epistle to Mr. Camden. Non Beda ille antiquus & fidus? an gloriæ gentis suæ non favet?*

Ans. By the leave of *Lipsius*, *Constantine* and *Bede*, though of the same Country, were of severall Nations. *Bede* being a *Saxon*, was little zealous to advance the *British* Honour: The History of which Church he rather toucheth then handleth; using it onely as a Porch, to passe through it to the *Saxon* History. And *Saxons* in general had little Skill to seek, and lesse Will to find out any Worthy thing in *British* Antiquities, because of the known Antipathy betwixt them.

4. *Object.* [c] *Procopius* maketh *Drepanum*, a haven in *Bithynia* (so called because there the Sea runnes crooked in forme of a *Sicle*) to be the place where *Constantine* had his τροφία, or first Nursing, very near to his Birth; & *Nicephorus Gregoras* makes him born in the same Country.

c *In lib. 5. de ædificiis Iustiniani.*

Ans. The former speaks not positively, but saith [φασι,] *men say so*, reporting a Popular Errour. The latter is a late *VVriter*, living under *Andronicus junior Anno* 1340, & therefore not to be believed before others more ancient.

5. *Object.* But *Iulius Firmicus*, contemporary with *Constantine* himself, an *Authour* above Exception, maketh this *Constantine* to be born at *Naisus*, (in printed Books *Tharsus*) a City of *Dacia*.

Ans. An excellent [d] *Critick* hath proved the *Printed Copies* of *Firmicus* to be corrupted, and justifieth it out of approved *Manuscripts*, that not *Constantine* the Great the *Father*, but *Constantine* the younger his *Sonne* was intended by *Firmicus* born in that Place.

d *Camden in his letter to Lipsius, printed in Usher de Prim. Eccl. Brit. p. 188.*

Thus we hope we have cleared the Point with ingenuous *Readers*, in such measure as is consistent with the Brevity of our History. So that of this *Constantine* (a kind of outward *Saviour* in the World, to deliver People from Persecution) we may say, with some allusion to the words of the [e] *Prophet* (but with a humble Reservation of the infinite Distance betwixt the Persons) AND THOU BRITAIN ART NOT THE MEANEST AMONGST THE KINGDOMS OF EUROPE, FOR OUT OF THEE DID COME A GOVERNOUR, WHICH DID RULE THE ISRAEL OF GOD, GI-

e *Mica. 5. 2.*

Anno Dom. 307

GIVING DELIVERANCE AND PEACE TO THE SAINTS.

17. Now see what a *Pinch* [a] *Verstegan* (whose teeth are sharpned by the difference of Religion) gives Mr. *Fox*: *What is it other then an Absurdity, for an English Authour to begin his Epistle (to an huge* [b] *Volume) with* Constantine *the great and mighty Emperour, the Sonne of* Hellen, *an* ENGLISH *woman, &c. Whereas* (saith he) *in truth* St. Hellen, *the Mother of* Constantine, *was no English, but a British Woman.* And yet *Fox* his words are capable of a candid Construction, if by *English Woman* we understand (by a favourable *Prolepsis*,) one born in that Part of *Britain*, which since hath been inhabited by the *English*. Sure in the same Dialect St. *Alban* hath often been called the *first Martyr of the English*, by many Writers of good esteem. Yea the *Breviary* of [c] *Sarum*, allowed and confirmed no doubt by the Infallible Church of *Rome*, greets St. *Alban* with this Salute;

Ave, Proto-martyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis Angelorum,
O Albane, *flos Martyrum.*

Sure *Hellen* was as properly an *English Woman*, as *Alban* an *English Man*, being both *British* in the *Rigid Letter* of *History*; and yet may be interpreted *English* in the *Equity* thereof. Thus it is vain for any to write Books, if their words be not taken in a courteous Latitude; and if the Reader meets not his Authour with a Pardon of *course* for venial Mistakes, especially when his Pen slides in so slippery a Passage.

18. And now having asserted *Constantine* a *Britan*, we are ingaged afresh in a new Controversy, betwixt three Cities, with equall Zeal and Probability, challenging *Constantine* to be theirs by Birth; [d] *London*, [e] *York*, and [f] *Colchester*. We dare define nothing; not so much out of fear to displease (though he that shall gain one of these Cities his Friend, shall make the other two his Foes by his Verdict:) but chiefly because little Certainty can be pronounced in a matter so long since, and little evident. Let me refresh my self and the Reader, with relating and applying a pleasant Story. Once at the Burial of St. *Teliau* second *Bishop* of *Landaffe*, three Places did strive to have the Interring of his Body; *Pen-allum*, where his Ancestours were buried, *Lanfolio-vaur*, where he died, and *Landaffe*, his Episcopall See. Now after Prayer to God to appease this Contention, in the place where they had left him, there appeared suddenly three [g] Hearses, with three Bodies so like, as no man could discern the right: and so every one taking one, they were all well pleased. If by the like Miracle, as there three Corpses of *Teliau* encoffined, so here three *Child-Constantines* encradled might be represented, the Controversie betwixt these three Cityes were easily arbitrated, and all Parties fully satisfied. But seriously to the matter. That which gave Occasion to the Varieties of their Claims to *Constantine*'s Birth, may probably be this, that he was Born in one place, Nursed in another, and perchance, being young, Bred in a third. Thus we see our *Saviour*, though born in *Bethlehem*, yet was accounted a *Nazarite*, of the City of *Nazareth*, where he was brought up: and this general Errour took so deep impression in the People, it could not be removed out of the Minds and Mouths of the Vulgar.

312 19. *Constantine* being now peaceably setled in the Imperial Throne, there followed a sudden and general Alteration in the World; Persecutors turning Patrons of Religion. O the Efficacy of a Godly Emperours Example, which did draw many to a conscientious love of Christianity, and did drive more to a civil conformity thereunto! The *Gospel*, formerly a *Forester*, now became a *Citizen*; and leaving the Woods, wherein it wandered, Hils and Holes, where it hid it self before, dwelt quietly in Populous Places. The stumps of ruined Churches lately destroyed by *Diocletian*, grew up into beautifull Buildings; Oratories were furnished with pious *Ministers*, and they provided of plentifull Maintenance, through the Liberality of *Constantine*. And if it be true, what

Mr. Fox defended against the Cavils of *Verstegan*.

a In his Epistle to this Nation.

b He meaneth his Books of Acts and Monuments.

c In officio Sancti Albani.

Three Cities contend for *Constantine* born in them.

d William Fitzstephens in the description of London.

e Oratores Regis Angliæ in Concil. Constant.

f Camden's Brit. in Essex.

g Godwin in the Bishops of Landaffe.

Peace and prosperity restored to the Church by *Constantine*.

what one relates, that about this time, when the Church began to be inriched with Meanes, there came a voice from Heaven (I dare boldly say, he that first wrote it never heard it, being a modern [a] *Authour*) saying, *Now is Poison poured down into the Church*: yet is there no danger of *Death* thereby, seeing lately so strong an *Antidote* hath been given against it. Nor do we meet with any particular Bounty, conferred by *Constantine*, or *Hellen* his Mother, on *Britain*, their native Country, otherwise then as it shared now in the general Happinesse of all *Christendom*. The Reason might be this; That *her* Devotion most moved *Eastward* towards *Hierusalem*, and *he* was principally employed farre off at *Constantinople*, whither he had removed the Seat of the Empire, for the more Conveniency in the middest of his Dominions. An Empire herein unhappy, that as it was too vast for one to manage it intirely, so it was too little for two to govern it jointly, as in after-Ages did appear. Anno Dom. 312

[a] John Nucleus professour of Paris University Anno 1500.

20. And now just ten years after the Death of S^t. *Alban*, a Stately Church was erected there and dedicated to his Memory; As also the History of *Winchester* reporteth, that then their Church first founded by King *Lucius*, and since destroyed, was built anew, and *Monks* (as they say) placed in it. But the most avouchable Evidence of Christianity flourishing in this *Island* in this Age, is produced from the

The Appearance of the British in forreign Councils.

Bishops representing *Britain* in the Council of

1 ARLES in *France*, called to take Cognizance of the Cause of the *Donatists*; where appeared for the *British* — 314
1 [b] *Eborius* Bishop of *York*.
2 *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*.
3 *Adelfius* Bishop of the City called the *Colony* of *London*, which some count *Colchester*, and others *Maldon* in *Essex*.
4 *Sacerdos* a Priest, both by his proper Name and Office. } both of the last place.
5 *Arminius* a Deacon. }

2 NICE in *Bithynia*, summoned to suppresse *Arrianisme*, and establishing an Uniformity of the Observation of *Easter*; to which agreed those of the Church of [c] *Britain*. — 325

3 SARDIS in *Thracia*, called by *Constantius* and *Constans*, Sonnes to *Constantine* the Great; where the *Bishops* of [d] *Britain* concurred with the rest to condemn the *Arrians*, and acquit *Athanasius*. — 347

4 ARIMINUM on the *Adriatick* Sea in *Italy*, a *Synod* convocated by *Constantius* the Emperour. — 359

[b] See the severall subscriptions at the end of this Council in Binnius.

[c] Eusebius lib. 3. de vita Constant. c. 18. & Athanasius in the beginning of his second Apologie against the Arrians.

In this last Council it is remarkable, that whereas the Emperour ordered, that Provisions (and those very plentifull) of Diet should be bestowed on the *Bishops* there assembled, yet those of *Aquitain*, *France*, and [e] *Britain* preferred rather to live on their Proper Cost, then to be a Burden to the Publick Treasury. Onely three *British Bishops*, necessitated for want of Maintenance, received the Emperours Allowance: the Refusal of the former (having enough of their own) being an Act full of Praise, as the laters accepting a Salary to relieve their Want, a deed free from Censure. Collect we hence, 1. that there were many *British Bishops* in this Council, though their Names and Number are not particularly recorded. 2. That the generality of *British Bishops* had in this Age Plentifull Maintenance, who could subsist of themselves so farre off in a forrain Country: whereas lately in the Council of *Trent*, many *Italian Bishops*, though in a manner still at home, could not live without Publick Contribution. But there was good reason why the *British* were loath to accept the Emperours Allowance, (though otherwise it had been neither Manners nor Discretion for Prelats to refuse a Princes Profer,) because as [f] *Daniel* and the *Children of the* Capti-

[e] Sulpitius Severus lib. 2. Historia Sacra.

[f] Dan. 1. 8.

Anno Dom.

Captivity preferred their Pulse before the Fare of King *Nebuchadnezzar*, for feare they should be defiled with his (though Princely, yet) *Pagan* Diet; so these
359 Bishops did justly suspect, that *Constantius* the Emperour being an *Arrian*, had a Design to bribe their Iudgements by their Palats, and by his Bounty to buy their Suffrages to favour his Opinions. In very deed this [a] *Synod* is justly taxed, not that it did bend, but was bowed to *Arrianisme*, and being over-born by the Emperour, did countenance his Poisonous Positions.

360 21. Hitherto the Church in *Britain* continued Sound and *Orthodox*, in no degree tainted with *Arrianisme*; which gave the Occasion to S^t. *Hilary* in his [b] Epistle to his *Brethren*, and fellow-*Bishops* of *Germany* and *Britain*, &c. though he himself was in *Phrygia* in Banishment, to solace his Soul with the consideration of the Purity and Soundnesse of Religion in their Countryes. But now (alas!) the *Gangrene* of that *Heresy* began to spread it self into this *Island*. So that what the [c] *Iewes* of *Thessalonica* said unjustly of S^t. *Paul* and his Followers, the *Britans* might too truly affirm of *Arrius* and his Adherents, *Those that have turned the World upside-down are come hither also.* Hear how sadly *Gildas* complaineth; *Mansit namque haec Christi Capitis membrorum consonantia suavis, donec Arriana Perfidia atrox, ceu Anguis transmarina nobis evomens Venena, Fratres in unum habitantes exitiabiliter faceret sejungi*, &c. So that the words of *Athanasius*, *totus mundus Arrianizat*, were true also of this peculiar or divided World of *Britain*. *Naturalists* dispute how *Wolves* had their first *being* in *Britain*; it being improbable that *Merchants* would bring any such noxious Vermin over in their Ships, and impossible that of themselves they should swim over the Sea (which hath prevailed so farre with some, as to conceive this, now an *Island*, originally annexed to the Continent:) but here the *Quare* may be propounded, how these *Hereticks (mystical Wolves not* [d] *sparing the Flock)* first entered into this *Island*. And indeed we meet neither with their Names, nor manner of Transportation hither; but only with the cursed Fruit of their Labours. And it is observable, that immediately after that this Kingdome was infected with *Arrianisme*, the *Pagan* [e] *Picts* and *Scots* out of the *North* made a general and desperate Invasion of it. It being just with God, when his *Vine-yard* beginneth to bring forth *Wild-Grapes*, then to let loose the *Wild Boar*, to take his full and free repast upon it.

379 22. In this wofull Condition, vain were the Complaints of the Oppressed *Britans* for Assistance, unto *Gratian* and *Valentinian* the *Roman* Emperours, who otherwayes employed, neglected to send them Succour. This gave occasion to *Maximus*, a [f] *Spaniard* by Birth, (though accounted born in this *Island* by our home-bred [g] Authors) to be chosen Emperour of the West of *Europe*, by a predominant Faction in his Army; who for a time valiantly resisted the *Scots* and *Picts*, which cruelly invaded and infested the South of *Britain*. For these Nations were invincible, whilest like two Armes of the same Body they assisted each other: But when the *Picts* (the Right Arme, being most strong and active) suffered themselves to be quietly bound up by the Peace concluded, the *Scots*, as their own [h] Authors confesse, were quickly conquered and dispersed. But *Maximus*, whose main Design was not to defend *Britain* from Enemies, but confirm himself in the Empire, sailed over with the Flower of the *British* Nation into *France*, where having conquered the Natives in *Armorica*, he bestowed the whole Country upon his Souldiers, from them named at this day *Little Britain*.

383 23. But *Ireland* will no wayes allow that Name unto it, pleading it self to be anciently called the *Lesser Britain*, in Authentick [i] Authors: and therefore this French *Britain* must be contented to beare that Name, with the Difference of the third Brother; except any will more properly say, that the *French Britain* is the Daughter of our *Britain*, which Infant when she asks her Mother Blessing, doth not jabber so strangely, but that she is perfectly understood by her Parent. Although one will hardly believe what is generally reported, namely

a *Episcopi in Arrianum Dogma fuerunt subacti, opprimente Constantio.* Facundus, *l.* 5. *cap.* 30.

Britain beginneth to be tainted with Arrianisme.

b *Dedicating unto them his Book de Synodis.*

c *Acts* 17. 6.

d *Acts* 20. 29.

e Ammianus Marcellinus *in the beginning of his twentieth Book maketh this Irruption to happen Anno* 360. *which continued many yeares after.*

Maximus usurping the empire, expelleth the Scots out of Britain.

f Zosim. *Histor. l.* 4.

g Gildas, H. Hunting. *Histor. lib.* 1. Galfrid. Monmouth; *and before the three later,* Ethelwerdus, *Chronic. lib.* 1.

h John Fordon, *Scoto-Chronic. lib.* 2. *cap.* 45.

Britain in *France* when conquered, and why so called.

i Ptolemie *calls it* Μικρὰ Βρεττανία *lib.* 2. *cap.* 6. *p.* 31. *Ed. Gret.*

that these *French Britans* were so ambitious to preserve their native Language, that marrying *French* Women, they cut out their Wives [a]Tongues, for feare they should infect their Childrens Speech, with a Mixture of *French* Words. Here the *Britans* lived, and though they had pawned their former Wives and Children at home, they had neither the Honesty nor Affection to return thither to redeem the Pledges left behind them. Strange, that they should so soon forget their Native Soil! But as the Load-stone, when it is rubb'd over with the Juice of Onions, forgetteth it's Property to draw Iron any longer; so though we allow an attractive Vertue in ones own Country, yet it looseth that alluring Quality, when the said place of ones Birth is steeped in a Sad & Sorrowful Condition, as the State of *Britain* stood at this present. And therefore these Travellours having found a new Habitation nearer the Sunne, and further from Suffering, there quietly set up their Rest. Anno Dom. 383

a. Heilin's Geogr. in the Description of France.

24. But not long after, *Maximus* marching towards *Italy*, was overcome and killed at *Aquilegia*. A Prince not unworthy of his Great Name, had he been lifted up to the Throne by a regular Election, and not tossed up to the same in a tumultuous manner. This makes S^t. [b]*Ambrose*, *Gildas*, and other Authors violently to inveigh against his Memory, notwithstanding his many most [c]honourable Archievements. This Difference we may observe betwixt Bastards and Usurpers: the former, if proving eminent, are much bemoaned, because merely Passive in the Blemish of their Birth; whilest Usurpers, though behaving themselves never so gallantly, never gain general good will, because actually evil in their Original; as it fared with *Maximus*, who by good Using, could never make Reparation for his bad Getting of the Empire. Surely *Britain* had cause to curse him, for draining it of her Men and Munition, so leaving it a Trunk of a Commonwealth, without Head or Hands, Wisedome or Valour, effectually to advise or execute any thing in it's own Defence; all whose Strength consisted in Multitudes of People, where Number was not so great a Benefit, as Disorder was a Burden: which encouraged the *Picts*, (the Truce expired) to harrasse all the Land with Fire and Sword. The larger Prosecution whereof we leave to the Chronicles of the State, onely touching it here by way of Excuse, for the Briefnesse and Barrennesse of our Ecclesiastical History; the Sadnesse of the Commonwealth being a just Plea for the Silence of the Church. 388

Maximus slain in his march towards Italy.

b In Oratione Funebri de exitu Theodosii.

c Sulpitius Severus Dialogo secundo cap. 7.

25. We conclude this Century, when we have told the Reader, that about this time the [d]Fathers tell us, how Pilgrimages of the *Britans* began to be frequent as farre as *Ierusalem*, there not onely to Visit Christs Sepulchre, but also to behold *Simon Stilita* a pious man, and *Melania* a devout Woman, both residing in *Syria*, and at this time eminent for Sanctity. Perchance Discontentment mingled with Devotion moved the *Britans* to so long a Journey, conceiving themselves, because of their present Troubles at home, more safe any where else then in their own Country. As for those *Britans*, who in this Age were zealous Asserters of the Purity of Religion against the Poison of *Arrianisme*, amongst them we find S^t. *Keby* a principal Champion, Son to *Salomon* Duke of *Cornwall*, Scholar to S^t. *Hilary* Bishop of *Poictiers* in *France*, with whom he lived 50 yeares, and by whom being made Bishop, he returned first to S^t. *Davids*, afterwards into *Ireland*, and at last fixed himself in the Isle of *Anglesey*. So pious a man, that he might seem to have communicated Sanctity to the Place, being a Promontory into the Sea called from him *Holy-head*, (but in Welsh *Cuer-guiby*:) as in the same Island, the memory of his Master is preserved in *Hilary point*: where both shall be remembred, as long as there be either Waves to assault the Shore, or Rocks to resist them. 390

Frequent Pilgrimages of the Britans to Jerusalem, whil'st S. Keby lived quietly in Anglesey.

d Hieronymus Tom. 1. Ep. 17. & Palladius Galata, Hist. Lausiac. cap. 119.

THE

Anno Dom. 104

THE FIFTH CENTURY.

To *Thomas Bide* of *London* Esquire.

AMongst your many good Qualities, I have particularly observed your judicious Delight in the Mathematicks. Seeing therefore this Century *hath so much of the* Surveyor *therein, being employed in the exact Dividing of the* English Shires *betwixt the* seven Saxon Kingdomes, *the Proportions herein are by me submitted to your* Censure *and* Approbation.

401 1. NOw the *Arrian* Heresy, by Gods Providence and good mens Diligence, was in some measure suppressed, when the unwearied Malice of Satan (who never leaveth off, though often changeth his wayes, to seduce Souls) brought in a worse (because more plausible) Heresy of *Pelagianisme*. For every man is born a *Pelagian*, naturally proud of his Power, and needeth little Art to teach him to think well of himself. This *Pelagius* was a *Britan* by Birth, (as we take no delight to confesse it, so we tell no Lye, to deny it;) as some say called [a] *Morgan*, that is in Welsh, *near the Sea*, (and well had it been for the Christian world, if he had been nearer the Sea, and served therein as the *Ægyptians* served the *Hebrew* Males:) being to the same sense called in Latine *Pelagius*. Let no Foreiner insult on the infelicity of our Land in bearing this Monster: But consider, first, if his excellent natural Parts, and eminent acquired Learning might be separated from his dangerous Doctrine, no Nation need be ashamed to acknowledge him. Secondly, *Britain* did but breed *Pelagius*, *Pelagius* himself bred his Heresy, and in forein Parts where he travelled; *France*, *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Rome* it self, if not first invented, much improved his pestilent *Opinions*. Lastly, as our Island is to be pitied for breeding the Person, so she is to be praised for opposing the Errours of *Pelagius*. Thus the best Father cannot forbid the worst Sonne from being his Child, but may debarre him from being his *Heire*, affording no favour to countenance his Badnesse.

Pelagius a Britan by birth.

a Jacobus Usserius, *de Brit. Ecc. Prim. p.* 267. & Dominus Hen. Spelman *in Conciliis, pag.* 46.

2. It is memorable what [b] one relates, that the same day whereon *Pelagius* was born in *Britain*, S. *Augustine* was also born in *Africk*: Divine Providence so disposing it, that the *Poison* and the *Antidote* should be *Twins* in a manner, in respect of the same time. To passe from the *Birth*, to the *Breeding* of *Pelagius*; [c] *John Cajus*, who observes eight solemn Destructions of *Cambridge* before the *Conquest*, imputeth that which was the third, in order, to *Pelagius*; who being a Student there, and having his Doctrine opposed by the Orthodox *Divines*, cruelly caused the overthrow and desolation of all the *University*. But we hope it will be accounted no point of *Pelagianisme*, for us, thus farre to improve our *Free-Will*, as to refuse to give Credit hereunto, till better Authority be produced. And yet this sounds much to the Commendation of *Cambridge*, that, like a pure *Crystall-Glass*, it would preferre rather to flie a pieces, and be dissolved, then to endure *Poison* put into it; according to the

Pelagius no Doctor of *Cambridge*, but a Monk of *Banchor*.

b Dempster *Hist. Scot. l.* 15. *num.* 1012.

c *Hist. Cantab. Academ. lib.* 1. *pag.* 28.

Character, which *John*[a] *Lidgate* (a *Writ* of those Times) gave of this University: Anno Dom. 401

Cambrege of Heresy ne're bore the blame.

More true it is that *Pelagius* was bred in the *Monastery* of *Banchor* (in that part of *Flintshire*, which, at this day, is a *Separatist* from the rest) where he lived with two thousand *Monks*, industrious in their Callings, whose Hands were the only Benefactors for their Bellies, Abbey-labourers, not Abbey-lubbers like their Successours in after-Ages, who living in Lazinesse, abused the Bounty of their Patrons to Riot and Excesse.

a *In his Poem of Cambridge.*

The principal Errors of *Pelagius.*

3. Infinite are the Deductions, and derived Consequences of *Pelagius* his Errours.

These are the maine.

1. That a man might be saved without Gods Grace, by his own Merits and Free-will.
2. That Infants were born without Original Sinne, and were as innocent as *Adam*, before his Fall.
3. That they were Baptized not to be freed from Sin, but thereby to be adopted into the Kingdome of God.
4. That *Adam* died not by reason of his Sinne, but by the condition of Nature; and that he should have died albeit he had not sinned.

Here to recount the learned Works of *Fathers* written, their pious Sermons preach't, passionate *Epistles* sent, private Conferences entertained, publick *Disputations* held, Provincial *Synods* summoned, General *Councils* called, wholesome *Canons* made to confute and condemn these Opinions, under the name of *Pelagius*, or his Scholar *Celestius*, would amount to a Volume fitter for a Porters back to beare, then a Scholars Braine to peruse. I decline the Employment, both as over-painfull, and nothing proper to our Idlenesse in hand, (fearing to cut my Fingers, if I put my *Sickle* into other mens Corn;) these things being transacted beyond the Seas, and not belonging to the *British* History. The rather, because it cannot be proved that *Pelagius* in person ever dispersed his Poison in this Island, but ranging abroad, (perchance because this False Prophet counted himself *without honour in his own Country*) had his Emissaries here, and principally [b] *Agricola*, the Sonne of *Severian* a Bishop.

b Beda *lib.* 1. *cap.* 17.

4. It is incredible, how speedily and generally the Infection spread by his *preaching*, advantaged, no doubt, by the Ignorance and Lazinesse of the *British* Bishops, in those dayes, none of the deepest *Divines*, or most learned *Clerks*, as having little care, and lesse comfort to study, living in a distracted State: and those that feel practical *Discords*, will have little joy to busy themselves with controversial *Divinity*. However, herein their Discretion is to be commended, that finding their own Forces too feeble to encounter so great a Foe, they craved the Assistance of Foreiners out of *France*, and sent for *Germane*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus*, Bishop of *Troyes*: not being of their envious and proud Disposition, who had rather suffer a Good *Cause* to fall, then to borrow Supporters to hold it up, lest thereby they disgrace themselves, confessing their own Insufficiency, and preferring the Abilitie of others. The two *Bishops* chearfully embraced the Employment, and undertok the Journey, no whit discouraged with the length of the Way, danger of the Sea, and badnesse of the Winter, seeing all Weather is fair to a willing mind, and Opportunity to doe good is the greatest Preferment which a humble heart doth desire. This *Lupus* was Brother to *Vincentius* [c] *Lirinensis*, [d] Husband to *Pimeniola*, the Sister of *Hilary*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Arles*; one of such *Learning* and *Sanctity*, that a grave *Author* of those *times* stileth him a *Father of* [e] *Fathers*, *and Bishop of Bishops*; *yea another* James *of that Age*. And yet in this Employment he was but a Second to GERMANE the Principal; and both of them, like PAUL and BARNABAS, jointly advanced the Designe. 420

French Bishops sent for to suppresse Pelagianisme in Britain.

c Euchetius *in libello de laude Eremi ad Hilarium.*
d Usher *de Brit. Eccl. Primord. pag.* 385.
e Sidonius *lib.* 6. *Epist.* 1.

5. Co-

Anno Dom. 429

5. Coming into *Britain*, with their *constant Labours* they confirmed the *Orthodox*, and reclaimed the *Erroneous*, preaching openly in *Fields* and [a] *High-wayes*. As the *Kings Presence* makes a *Court*, so their's did a *Church*, of any Place; their Congregation being bounded with no other *Walles*, then the *Preacher's voice*, and extending as farre as he could intelligibly be heard. As for their formall Disputation with the *Pelagian* Doctors, take it from the Pen of *Bede*, and Mouth of *Stapleton* translating him.

Germanus and *Lupus* come over and preach in Britain.

[a] *Per trivia, per rura, per devia.*

6. *The Authours and head Professours of hereticall Errour, lay lurking all this while, and like the wicked Sprites, much spighted to see the People daily to fall from them. At length after long advisement used, they taketh upon them to try the matter by open Disputation; which being agreed upon, they come forth richly appointed, gorgiously apparaled, accompanied with a number of flattering favours, having* [b] *leisure to commit their Cause to open disputing, then to seem to the people, whom they had subverted, to have nothing to say in the defence thereof. Thether resorted a great Multitude of people, with their Wives and Children. The People was present both to see, and judge the matter: the Parties there were farre unleke of Condition. In the one side was the Faith, on the other was Presumption; on the one side Meeknesse, on the other Pride; on the one side* Pelagius, *on the other* Christ. *First of all the blessed Priest* Germanus *and* Lupus *gave their Adversaries leave to speak, which vainly occupied both the time and eares of the People with naked words. But after the Reverend Bishops poored out their flowing words, confirmed with Scriptures out of the Gospels and Apostles, they joyned with their own words, the words of God, and after they had said their own mind, they read other men's minds upon the same. Thus the Vanite of Heretieks is convicted, and Falshed is confuted, so that at every Objection they were forced in effect to confesse their Errour, not being able to Answere them. The People had much to do to keep their hands from them, yet shewed their Judgement by their Clamours.*

Their disputation with the Pelagian Doctors.

[b] Not presuming to alter any of Stapleton's words, take it with all the Printers faults, done probably by an out-landish Presse.

7. A Conference every way admirable. First, In the *Opponents*, who came forth gallantly, as ante-dating the *Conquest*, and bringing the Spoils of their Victory with them. But *gay Cloaths* are no *Armour* for a *Combate*. Secondly, In the *Defendents* of the *Truth*, appealing to no unwritten *Traditions*, but to the Scriptures of the Gospels and Apostles: because the point of Grace controverted, appeared most plainly in the *New Testament*. Thirdly, In the *Auditors*, or, as they are called, the *Iudges*, *Men*, *Women*, *and Children*. Wonder not at this *Feminine* Auditory, seeing they were as capable of the Antidote as of the Poison: and no doubt the *Pelagians* had formerly (as other *Hereticks*) *crept into houses to seduce silly* [c] *Women*: and therefore now the *Plaister* must be as broad as the *Sore*. As for *Children*, we know who it was that said, [d] *Suffer little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not*, &c. But here, though called *Children* in Relation to their Parents, they might be in good Age and capacity of Understanding, or if they were little ones indeed, flocking out of fashion in a generall Concourse, to see these men speak Divine *Mysteries*, they could not hereafter, when grown old, date their Remembrance from a more remarkable *Epoche*. See we here that in these times, the Laity were so well acquainted with *Gods Word*, that they could competently judge, what was or was not spoken in Proportion thereunto. Lastly and chiefly, In the *Successe* of this Conference. For though generally such publick Disputations do make more Noise then take Effect, (because the obstinate maintainers of Errour come with their Tongues tipt with Clamorousnesse, as their *Proselyte* Auditours do with Eares stopt with Prejudice,) yet this meeting, by Gods Blessing, was marvellously powerfull to establish and convert the People. But here a main Difficulty is by *Authours* left wholy untouch't, namely in what *Language* this Conference was enter-

Many remarkables in this Disputation.

[c] 2 *Tim.* 3. 6.

In Latin, not pueri, but liberi.

[d] *Mat.* 19. 14.

entertained, and managed, that *Germanus* and *Lupus*, two *French* Bishops, and *Foreiners*, could both speak with Fluentnesse, and be understood with Facility. Perchance the ancient *Gaules* in *France*, whence these *Bishops* came, spake still (as they did anciently) one and the self-same *Tongue* with the *Britans*; differing rather in *Dialect* then *Language*: or, which is more probable, both *France* and *Britain*, remaining as yet *Roman Provinces*, spake a course, vulgar *Latine*, though invaded with a Mixture of many Base words, as *Britain* especially, now or near this time, was infested with forein *Barbarous Nations*. Anno Dom. 429

S. *Albans* the Place of the Conference.

8. This *Conference* was held at S^t. *Albans*, even where at this day a small Chappell is extant, to the honour of S^t. *Germane*: though [a] *Hector Boethius* assignes *London* the Place; adding moreover, that such obstinate *Pelagians* as would not be reclaimed, were, for their Contumacy, burnt by the Kings Officers. But it will be hard to find any Spark of Fire in *Britain*, or elsewhere, employed on *Hereticks* in this Age. We may observe that the aforesaid *Hector Boethius*, and *Polydor Virgil* (writing the Chronicles, the one of *Scotland*, the other of *England*, at the same time,) as they beare the Poeticall Names of two Sons of *Priamus*, so they take to themselves much liberty of Fancy and Fiction in their severall Histories.

a *Scot. Hist. lib.* 8.

Germanus marcheth against the Pagan Picts and Saxons.

9. Not long after, the Aid of *Germanus* and *Lupus* was implored, and employed an hundred miles off in another service, against the *Pagan Picts* and *Saxons*. Here we meet with the first mention of *Saxons*, being some straggling *Voluntiers* of that Nation, coming over to pillage here of their own accord, not many yeares before they were solemnly invited hither under *Horsus* and *Hengistus*, their *Generalls*. *Germanus*, after the *Lent* well spent, in the Fasting of their Bodies, and Feasting of their Souls (for the people had [b] daily *Sermons*,) and the solemnity of *Easter Festivall* duly celebrated, wherein he Christened Multitudes of *Pagan Converts*, in the River *Alen*, marched with an Army of them, whilst their Baptismall water was scarce wip'd from their Bodies, against the aforesaid Enemies, whom he found in the *North-East* of *Wales*. Here the Pious *Bishop* turning Politick Enginier, chose a place of Advantage, being a hollow Dale, surrounded with Hils, near the Village, called at this day by the *English* Pole, by the *British* Guincrue, in *Flintshire*, where the Field at this day retains the name of [c] Maes Garmon, or *Germans* Field; the more remarkable, because it hath escaped (as few of this Note and Nature) the exact Observation of Master *Camden*.

b Bede 1 Book cap. 20.

c Usher *de Brit. Eccl. Primord. p.* 333.

A Victory gotten not by shooting, but shouting

10. Here *Germanus* placed his men in Ambush, with Instructions, that at a Signall given, they should all shout *Hallelujah* three times with all their might; which was done accordingly. The *Pagans* were surprized with the Suddennesse and Loudnesse of such a Sound, much multiplied by the advantage of the *Echo*, whereby their Fear brought in a false List of their Enemies Number; and rather trusting their Eares then their Eyes, they reckoned their Foes by the increase of the Noise rebounded unto them; and then allowing two *Hands* for every *Mouth*, how vast was their *Army*! But besides the Concavity of the Vallies improving the Sound, God sent a Hollowesse into the Hearts of the *Pagans*: so that their Apprehensions added to their Eares, and Cowardice often resounded the same Shout in their Breasts, till beaten with the Reverberation thereof, without striking a Stroak, they confusedly ran away; and many were drowned for speed, in the River *Alen*, lately the *Christians Font*, now the *Pagans Grave*. Thus a bloudlesse Victory was gotten, without Sword drawn, consisting of no Fight, but a Fright and a Flight; and that *Hallelujah*, the Song of the [d] *Saints* after Conquest atchieved, was here the Fore-runner, and Procurer of Victory. So good a *Grace*, it is to be said both before and after a Battel. *Gregory* the *Great* (a grave *Authour*) in his [e] *Comment* upon *Iob*, makes mention of this

d Revel. 19. 1.

e Chap. 36. vers. 29, 30.

Victory,

Anno Dom.

Victory, occasioned on those words, *Can any understand the noise of his Tabernacle?*

430 11. *Germanus* now twice a Conquerour, of *Pelagians* and *Pagans*, prepares for his Return, after first he had caused the *Tombe* of S^t. *Alban* to be opened, and therein deposited the *Reliques* of many *Saints*, which he brought over with him, conceiving it fit (as he said) that their Corpses should sleep in the same Grave, whose Souls rested in the same Heaven. In lieu of what he left behind him, (*Exchange is no Robbery*,) he carried along with him some of S^t. *Alban*'s Dust, wherein *Spots* of the *Martyr*'s *Bloud* were as fair and fresh, as if shed but yesterday. But what most concerns S^t. *Alban*'s *Monks* to stickle in, some report *German* to have carried the Body of *Alban* to *Rome*: whence some hundred yeares after, the *Empresse* to *Otho* the second brought it to [a] *Colen*, where, at this day, they maintain his uncorrupted Body to be enshrined: The *Monks* of *Ely*, in *Cambridge-shire*, pretending to the same; as also do those of *Ottonium*, or *Osell*, in *Denmark*. Thus, as *Metius Suffetius* the *Roman* was drawn alive by *Horses* four wayes: like Violence is offered to the Dead Body of *Alban*, pluck't to four severall places by importunate Competitours; only with this Difference, that the Former was mangled into Quarters, whereas here each place pretends to have him whole and intire, not abating *one Hair of his* [b] *Beard*. Nor know I how to reconcile them, except any of them dare say, though without shew of Probability, that as the *River* in *Paradise* went out of *Eden*, *from whence it was parted and became into four* [c] *Heads*; *Alban* in like manner, when dead, had the same Quality, of one to be multiplied into four Bodies.

12. Now after *Germanus* and *Lupus* were returned home into their native Country, *Pelagianisme* began to sprout again in *Britain*. An Accident not so strange to him that considers, how quickly an *Errour* much of *kin* thereunto grew up amongst the *Galathians*, presently on [d] *Paul*'s departure. *I marvel* (said he) *that you are so soon removed from him, that called you unto the Grace of Christ, unto another Gospell.* S^t. *Paul's marvelling* may make us marvel the lesse, seeing that Wonder which hath a Precedent is not so great a Wonder. Here we may sadly behold the great Proneness of men to go astray, whose hearts by nature cold in Goodness, will burn no longer then they are blown. To suppresse this *Heresie*, *Germanus* is sollicited to make a second Voiage into *Britain*: which he did accordingly, accompanied with his Partner *Severus*, because *Lupus* his former Companion was otherwise employed. Hereupon a prime [e] Poet of his Age, makes this *Apostrophe* unto S^t. *German*:

449 *Tuque O, cui toto discretos orbe* Britannos
Bis penetrare datum, bis intima cernere magni
Monstra maris: ——————

O thou that twice pierc'd *Britain*, cut asunder
From the whole World, twice did'st survey the wonder
Of monstrous Seas: ——————

The same [f] Successe still followed, and this *Conquerour*, who formerly had broken and scattered the main Body of the *Pelagians*, now routed the Remnant, which began to ralley and make head again.

13. He also called a [g] *Synod*, wherein those damnable *Doctrines* were condemned: as also the [h] Incestuous *Marriage* of VORTIGER King of *Britain*: (a wicked Prince, in whom all the Dregs of his vicious Auncestors were settled,) who had took his own *Daughter* to *Wife*. And yet of this unlawfull Copulation, a pious *Son*, S^t. *Faustus*, was born: to shew that no *Crosse-barre* of *Bastardy*, though doubled with Incest, can bolt Grace out of that Heart, wherein God will have it to enter. *Germanus* having settled *Britain* in good Order, went back to his own Country, where presently upon his

a S. *Albans* in Hartfordshire, *Colen*, *Ely*, & *Osell*, pretend to the whole Body of Saint *Alban*.

a Surius *Tomo* 3. *vita Sanct. Iunij* 22.

b *Caput enim cum barba Idem ut prius.*

c Gen. 2. 10.

After the departure of *Germanus*, Pelagianisme recruits in Britain.

d Gal. 1. 6.

e Ericus Antissiodorensis *in vita S. Germani.*

f Bede *lib.* 1. *cap.* 21.

g Math. West. *in anno* 449. Pelagianism, *and King* Vortiger's *incestuous marriage condemned in a Synod*

h Nennius, *cap.* 37.

his return he died, as God useth to send his Servants to Bed, when they have done all their Work: and by Gods blessing on his Endeavours, that Heresie was so cut down in *Britain*, that it never generally grew up again. Anno Dom. 449

In vain the *Britans* petition to the Roman Emperour for help against the Picts.

14. Mean time the South of this Island was in a wofull condition, caused by the daily Incursions of the *Picts*. As for the *Picts* Wall built to restrain them, it being a better Limit then *Fortification*, served rather to define then defend the *Roman Empire*: and useless is the strongest Wall of Stone, when it hath Stocks only upon it: such was the Sottish Lazinesse of the *Britans* to man it; a Nation at this time given over to all manner of Sin, insomuch as [a] *Gildas* their Country-man calls them *Ætatis Atramentum*, *the Inke of the Age*. And though God did daily correct them with Inroads of *Pagans*, yet like restife Horses, they went the worse for Beating. And now the Land being exhausted of the Flower of her *Chivalry*, (transported and disposed in *Roman* Garrisons, as farre as *Judæa* and [b] *Ægypt* it self) could not make good her ground against the *Picts*; and was fain to request first *Theodosius* the younger, then *Valentinian* the third *Roman* Emperour, (whose *Homagers* the *British Kings* were untill this time) for their Assistance. They dispatch Petition after Petition, Embassie on Embassie, representing their wofull estate. Now the *Barbarians* beat them to the Sea, the Sea repelled them to the *Barbarians*; and thus bandied betwixt Death and Death, they must either be kill'd or drowned. They inforced their Request for Aid, with much Earnestnesse and Importunity; all in vain, seeing Whisperings and Hollowings are like to a Deaf Eare, and no Answer was returned. Had they been as carefull in bemoaning their Sins to God, as clamorous to declare their Sufferings to the *Roman* Emperour, their Requests in Heaven had been as graciously received, as their Petitions on Earth were carelesly rejected.

[a] *In Prologo libri de Excid. Brit.*

[b] *See Notitia Provinciarum.*

True Reasons why the Romans neglected to send Aid to the *Britans*.

15. What might be the Cause of this Neglect? Had the *Imperial Crown* so many *Flowers*, that it might afford to scatter some of them? Was *Britain* grown inconsiderable, formerly worth the Conquering, now not worth the Keeping? or was it because they conceived the *Britans* Need not so much as was pretended; and Aid is an *Almes* ill-bestowed on those *Beggars*, who are lame of Lazinesse, and will not work for their Living? Or was the Service accounted desperate; and no wise *Physician* will willingly undertake a Disease which he conceives incurable? The plain truth is, the *Roman* Empire now grown Ruinous, could not repair it's out-Rooms, and was fain to let them fall down to maintain the rest; and like *Fencers*, receiving a blow on their Leg to save their Head, exposed the Remote Countries of *Spain*, *France*, and *Britain*, to the Spoil of *Pagans*, to secure the Eastern Countries, near CONSTANTINOPLE the *Seat* of the Empire.

The sad successe of the Pagan *Saxons*, invited by King *Vortiger* into Britain.

16. Here *Vortiger*, forsaken of God and man, and left to *himself*, (Malice could not wish him a worse Adviser) resolves on a desperate Project, to call in the *Pagan Saxons* out of *Germany* for his Assistance, under *Horsus* and *Hengistus* their *Captains*. Over they come at first but in three great Ships, (a *small Earnest* will serve to bind a *great* Bargain:) first possessing the *Island* of *Thanet* in *Kent*; but following afterwards in such Swarms, that quickly they grew formidable to him that invited them over, of *Guests* turning *Sojourners*, then *In-mates*, and lastly *Land-lords*, till they had dispossessed the *Britans* of the best of the *Island*: the entertaining of mercenary Souldiers, being like the administring of *Quick-silver* to one in *Iliaca Passio*, a Receipt not so properly prescribed by the *Physitian* to the *Patient*, as by Necessity to the *Physitian*. If hired Aid do on a sudden the Work they are sent for, and so have a present Passage to be discharg'd, sovereign use may be made of them: otherwise, if long tarrying, they will eat the Entralls, and corrode the Bowells of that State which entertains them, as here it came to passe.

17. For soon after the *Saxons* erected *seven Kingdomes* in *Britain*. And because

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because their severall Limits conduce much to the clear understanding of the following History, and we for the present are well at Leisure, we will present the *Reader* with the Description of their severall Principalities. The Partition was made by mutuall Consent, thus farre forth, that every King caught what he could, and kept what he caught; and there being amongst them a Parity of high-spirited *Princes*, (who more prized an absolute Sovereignty over a little, then a Propriety with Subjection in never so much,) they erected seven severall Kingdomes, in little more then but the third part of this *Island*: (A thing which will seem no wonder to him, who hath read how the little Land of [a] CANAAN found room at the same time for *one and thirty* Kings.) But let us reckon them up.

The respective bounds of the Saxon Heptarchie.

a *Iosh.* 12. 24.

1. The first was the Kingdome of KENT; which began *Anno* 457. under King *Hengist*. It contained the County of *Kent*, as it is at this day bounded, without any notable difference. And though this Kingdome was the least of all, (as consisting but of one intire County, without any other addition) yet was it much befriended in the Situation for Traffick with *France* and *Germany*. Besides, it being secured on three Sides with *Thames* and the Sea, and fenced on the fourth with Woods, this made their Kings (naturally defended at home) more considerable in their Impressions on their Neighbours.
2. Of the SOUTH-SAXONS, comprising *Sussex* and *Surry*, (both which, till very lately, were under one *Sheriff*.) And this Kingdome began *Anno* 491, under King *Ella*, and was the weakest of all the seven, affording few Kings, and fewer Actions of moment.
3. Of the EAST-SAXONS, comprehending *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and so much of *Hartfordshire* as is under the Bishop of *London*'s Jurisdiction, whose Diocese is adequate to this Kingdome. A small *Ring*, if we survey the little Circuit of Ground; but it had a fair *Diamond* in it, the City of *London* (though then but a Stripling in Growth) well thriving in Wealth and Greatness. This Kingdome began in *Erchenwin* about the year 527.
4. Of the EAST-ANGLES, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, with the *Isle* of *Ely*, and (as it seems, saith a Reverend [b] *Writer*) part of *Bedfordshire*. It began *Anno* 575, under King *Uffa*, and lay most exposed to the Cruelty of the *Danish Incursions*.

b Usher *de Brit. Eccl. Primord. p.* 394.

5. Of MERCIA: so called, because it lay in the *middest* of the *Island*, being the *Merches* or Limits, on which [c] all the residue of the Kingdomes did bound and border. It began *Anno* 582. under King *Cridda*, and contained the whole Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, (with *Rutland*, then and long since part thereof) *Huntingdon*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Warwick*, *Darby*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Stafford*, and *Chester*. Besides part of *Hereford* and *Salop* (the Remnant whereof was possess'd by the *Welsh*,) *Gloucester*, *Bedford*, and [d] *Lincaster*. In view it was the greatest of all the seven: but it abated the Puissance thereof, because on the *West* it affronted the *Britans*, being deadly Enemies; and bordering on so many Kingdomes, the *Mercians* had work enough at home to shut their own Doors.

c Lambert's *Descript. of Kent.*

d Idem ibid.

6. Of NORTHUMBERLAND, corrivall with *Mercia* in Greatnesse, (though farre *inferiour* in Populousnesse) as to which belonged whatsoever lieth betwixt *Humber* and *Edenborough-Frith*. It was subdivided sometimes into two Kingdomes, of *Bernicia* and *Deira*. The later consisted of the Remainder of *Lancashire*, with the intire Counties of *York*, *Durham*, *Westmorland*, and *Cumberland*. *Bernicia* contained *Northumberland*, with the *South* of *Scotland* to *Edenborough*.

borough. But this Division lasted not long, before both were united together. It began *Anno* 547. under King *Ida*. Anno Dom. 449

7. Of the WEST-SAXONS; who possessed *Huntshire*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Somerset*, *Dorset*, and *Devonshire*; part of *Cornwall*, and *Glocestershire*: yea some assigne a Moiety of *Surrey* unto them. This *Kingdome* began *Anno* 519, under King *Cerdicus*, and excelled for plenty of *Ports*, (on the *South* and *Severn Sea*) store of Burroughs, stoutnesse of active men, (some impute this to the Naturall cause of their being hatch't under the warm Wings of the *South-West Wind*,) which being excellent *Wrastlers*, gave at last a *Fall* to all the other *Saxon Kingdomes*. So that as the seven Streams of *Nilus* loose themselves in the *Mid-land Sea*, this Heptarchy was at last devoured in the *West-Saxons Monarchy*.

The reason that there is some difference in *Writers* in bounding of these severall Kingdomes, is, because *England* being then the constant *Cock-pit* of Warre, the Limits of these Kingdomes were in daily motion, sometimes marching forward, sometimes retreating backward, according to variety of Successe. We may see what great difference there is, betwixt the Bounds of the Sea at *High-water*, and at *Low-water Mark*: and so the same Kingdome was much disproportioned to it self, when extended with the happy Chance of Warre, and when contracted at a low *Ebb* of Ill Successe. And here we must not forget that amongst these seven Kings, during the *Heptarchie*, commonly one was most puissant, over-ruling the rest, who stiled himself [a] *King of the English Nation*.

a Camden's *Brit. pag.* 139.

8. But to return to the *British Church*, and the year of our Lord 449, wherein S^t. *Patrick*, the *Apostle* of *Ireland*, is notoriously reported to have come to *Glassenbury*; where finding twelve old *Monks*, (Successours to those who were first founded there by *Joseph* of *Arimathea*) he, though unwilling, was chosen their *Abbot*, and lived with them 39 yeares, observing the Rule of S^t. *Mark*, and his *Egyptian Monks*: the Order of *Benedictines* being as yet unborn in the world. Give we here a List of these 12 *Monks*; withall forewarning the Reader, that for all their harsh Sound, they are so many Saints, least otherwise he should suspect them by the ill noise of their Names to be worse Creatures.

1. *Brumbam*	4. *Wencreth*	7. *Lowar*	10. *Swelves*
2. *Hyregaan*	5. *Bantom-meweng*	8. *Wellias*	11. *Hinlocmius*
3. *Brenwall*	6. *Adel-wolred*	9. *Breden*	12. *Hin.*

Irish S. Patrick said to live and die at *Glassenbury*.

But know that some of these Names, as the 3. 6. and 9. are pure, plain [b] *Saxon* words, which renders the rest suspected. So that whosoever it was, that first gave these *British Monks* such *Saxon* Names, made more Haste then good Speed, preventing the true Language of that Age.

b *First observed by Mr.* Camden, *and since by the Arch-bishop of* Armach. He is made Co-partner in the Church with the Virgin *Mary*.

9. So great was the Credit of S^t. *Patrick* at *Glassenbury*, that after his Death and Buriall there, that Church which formerly was dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* alone, was in after-Ages jointly consecrated to her and S^t. *Patrick*. A great Presumption: For if it be true, what is reported, that at the first, by direction of the Angel [c] *Gabriel*, that Church was solely devoted to the Virgin *Mary*; surely either the same, or some other Angel of equall Power, ought to have ordered the Admission of S^t. *Patrick* to the same, to be match'd and impaled with the Blessed Virgin in the Honour thereof. In reference to S^t. *Patrick*'s being at *Glassenbury*, severall *Saxon* Kings granted large Charters, with great Profits and Priviledges to this Place.

c *See* 1. *Cent.* 11. *Parag.*

10. But now, the Spight is, that an unparallel'd [d] Critick in Antiquity, leaves this *Patrick* at this time sweating in the Irish Harvest, having newly converted *Lempster* to the Faith, and now gone into the province of *Munster*

d James Usher, *de Brit. Eccl. Primord. pag.* 875. 885 894. 895. Yet the Credit of P. *trick's* being at Glassenbury shrewdly shaken.

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on the ſame Occaſion. Yea, he denies (and proveth the ſame) that this *Patrick* ever liv'd, or was buried at *Glaſſenbury*. But be it known to whom it may concern, that the *Britiſh* are not ſo over-fond of S^t. *Patrick*, as to raviſh him into their Country againſt his will, and the conſent of Time. Yea, S^t. *Patrick* miſs'd as much Honour, in not being at *Glaſſenbury*, as *Glaſſenbury* hath loſt Credit, if he were never there; ſeeing the *Britiſh* juſtly ſet as high a Rate on that Place, as the *Iriſh* do on his Perſon. See but the Glorious Titles (which with ſmall Alteration might ſerve for *Ieruſalem* it ſelf) given to *Glaſſenbury*: and ſeeing now the Place is for the moſt part buried in it's own Duſt, let none envy theſe Epithets for the Epitaph thereof.

Here lies the [a] *City vvhich once vvas the* [b] *Fountain and Originall of all Religion, built by Chriſts Diſciples,* [c] *conſecrated by Chriſt himſelf; and this place is the* [d] MOTHER OF SAINTS.

a Or Borough
b In the Charter of King Ina, and alſo in King Edgar's.
c Malmesbury MS. de Antiq. Eccleſ. Glaſton.
d So called in the Charter of King Kenwin

We are ſorry therefore for S^t. *Patrick*'s ſake, if he was never there. To ſalve all, ſome have found out another *Patrick*, called *Seniour*, or *Sen Patrick*, (a nice difference) equall with the *Iriſh* Apoſtle in Time, and not much inferiour in Holineſſe, who certainly liv'd at *Glaſſenbury*. The plain truth is, that as in the [e] *Comœdian*, when there were two *Amphitruo's*, and two *Soſia's*, they made much fallacious Intricacy, and pleaſant Deluſion in the eyes of the Spectatours: So there being in this Age two *Patricks* (others [f] ſay three) two [g] *Merlins*, two [h] *Gildaſes*, and (that the Homonymy may be as well in Place as in Perſons) three [i] *Bangors*, three [k] *Glaſſenburies*, (as Haſte or Ignorance in Writers miſtake them;) theſe jumbled together have made a marvelous Confuſion in Writers, to the great prejudice of Hiſtory, where they are not exactly obſerved.

e Plautus his Amphitruo.
f See Uſher, pag. 895.
g { Ambroſius. Caledoni?
h { Albanius. Badonicus.

450 21. But leaving S^t. *Patrick*, let us trie whether we can have better Succeſſe with S^t. *Vrſula*, Daughter of *Dinoth*, or *Deo-notus* Duke of *Cornwall*, who in this year is ſaid with eleven thouſand Virgins to have ſailed over into *Little Britain* in *France*, there to be married to the *Britans* their Country-men, who refuſed to wed *French*-women for their Wives: but by foul Weather theſe Virgins were caſt on the *French* Shore, amongſt Pagans, by whom they were cruelly murdered, for refuſing to forſake their Religion, or betray their Chaſtity. Others tell the Story quite contrary; how the aforeſaid *Vrſula* with her Virgin-Army, went to *Rome*, where ſhe converſed with Pope [l] *Cyriacus*, her Country-man, and with him returning back into *Britain*, was murdered by the command of *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, at *Colen*, with all the reſt of the Virgins; and the aforeſaid Pope *Cyriacus*; whoſe Name is omitted in the Papall Catalogue, becauſe before his Death he ſurrendred his place to *Anterus* his Succeſſour. In which Relation we much commend the even tenour thereof, conſiſting of ſo level Lies, that no one ſwelling Improbability is above the reſt; but for matter of Time, Place, and Perſons, all paſſages unlikely alike. We dare not defame *Britain*, as to ſuſpect but that eleven thouſand Chriſtian Virgins, all at once, able to travail, might be found therein: though at this time *Paganiſme* proſpered in this Land, and Religion was in a low Condition. But what made theſe Chriſtian *Amazons* with *Vrſula* their *Penthefilea* to go (not to ſay to gad) to *Rome*? Surely they were no [m] Daughters of *Sarah*, *which did abide in her tent*, but rather [n] Siſters of *Dinah*, which would go abroad to ſee foreign Faſhions; and therefore their Hard Uſage is the leſſe to be pitried. Was it modeſt for ſo many Maids to wander by themſelves, without a Maſculine Guard to protect them? did ever ſuch a Wood of weak Ivy grow alone, without any other Trees to ſupport it? But the City of *Colen* will not abate us one of the eleven thouſand, where their Reliques, and Sepulchrall Inſcriptions are at this day to be ſeen. And we may as ſafely believe that theſe

i { In Flintſhire. In Carnarvanſhire. In Down in Ireland.
k { Glaſco in Scotland. Dunglaſſe in Ireland.
l Viſion. Elizabeth. lib. 4. cap. 2. Edit. Paris. an. 1513 & Colon. anno 1628.

The fabulous Hiſtory of St. *Vrſula* confuted.

m Gen. 18. 9.
n Gen. 34. 1.

Virgin-Martyrs lie there entomb'd, as that the Bodies of the three Wise men of the East, commonly called the Three Kings of *Colen*, which came to visit our Infant-Saviour at *Bethlehem*, are interred in the same City, which the Monks of *Colen* brag of, and shew to Travellers. Besides all this, there is a Town in *Barkshire* called [a] *Maiden-head*, which (as many other Churches in Christendome,) was dedicated in memory of their Virginity: which if it be not an Argument strong enough to convert the Reader to the belief of this Story, we must leave him to his Infidelity; that as Tales of Bugbears are made to fright crying Children, so this Story of *Vrsula* was contrived to befool Credulous men. Ann. Dom. 450

a Camden's Brit. in Barkshire.

Why so little Church-Story in this Age.

22. Nor hath the judicious Reader cause to wonder, that no better account is given of the *British* Church in this Age, considering the generall Persecution by Pagan *Saxons*. Religion now a dayes *plaid least in sight*, hiding it self in Holes; and the *Face of the Church* was so *blubber'd with Teares*, that she may seem almost to have *wept her Eyes out*, having lost her Seers, and principall Pastours. Onely two prime Preachers appear: *Vodine* the learned and pious Bishop of *London*; who taking the confidence to reprove *Vortiger* the *British* King, for putting away his lawfull Wife, and wedding *Rowen*, the Heathen daughter of *Hengist*, was by him most barbarously [b] murdered: The second *Gildas Albanius* (much ancienter then his name-sake surnamed the *Wise*) born in *Scotland*, bred in *France*, whence returning into the South of *Britain*, he applied himself to the preaching of Divinity, and reading Liberall Sciences to many Auditours and Scholars at [c] *Pepidiane* a Promontory in *Pembrokeshire*. 453

b Hector Boeth. Scot. hist. lib. 8.

c Iames Armach. de Brit. Eccl. primord. pag. 442.

23. It happened on a day, as *Gildas* was in his Sermon, (Reader, whether smiling or frowning, forgive the Digression) a Nunne big with child came into the Congregation, whereat the Preacher presently was [d] struck dumb, (would not a Maid's Child amaze any man?) and could proceed no further. Afterward he gave this reason of his Silence, because that Virgin bare in her body an Infant of such signall Sanctity, as farre transcended him. Thus as lesser Load-stones are reported to loose their Vertue in the presence of those that are bigger; so *Gildas* was silenced at the approach of the *Welsh* S^t. *David*, (being then but *Hanse en Keldar*,) though afterward, like *Zachary*, he recovered his Speech again. Thus fabulous [e] Authors, make this S^t. *David* a Mock-*John Baptist*, forceing a fond Parallel betwixt them; where to make the Proportion current, *Gildas* must be allowed Father to S^t. *David*. But enough; I like this sent so ill, I will follow it no further. 462

Gildas at a strange sight suddenly silenced.

d Girald. Cambrens. in the life of Saint David.

e Iames Armach. de Brit. Eccl. primord. pag. 443.

24. Mean time fierce and frequent Fighting betwixt the *British* and *Saxons*, about defending and enlarging their Dominions. And although *Gildas* (and out of him *Bede*) confesse often alternation of Successe, yet other *Saxon* Writers mention not the least Overthrow of their own side, but constant Conquering: as if their Generals had alwayes buckled on Victory with their Armour. It is almost incredible, that ingenuous men should be so injurious to the Truth, and their own Credits, by Partiality, were it not that the Factions of Modern Pens invite us to the belief thereof; not describing Battels with a *Full Face* (presenting both Sides) but with a Half Face, advancing their own, and depressing the Atchievements of the Opposite Party. Most true it is, the *British* got many Victories, especially under hopefull Prince *Vortimer*, whose Valour was the best Bank against the *Saxon* Deluge; untill broken down by untimely Death, the Pagans generally prevailed, much by their Courage, more by their Treachery.

The partiality of Saxon Writers.

25. For they invited the *British* to a Parley and Banquet on *Salesbury* Plain; where suddenly drawing out their Seaxes, (concealed under their long Coats,) being crooked Swords, the Emblem of their indirect Proceedings, they made their innocent Guests with their bloud, pay the Shots of their Entertainment. Here *Aurelius Ambrosius* is reported to have erected that Monument of *Stone-Henge* to their memory.

The British treacherously murdered.

26. It

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26. It is contrived in form of a Crown, consisting of three Circles of stones set up Gate-wise; some called *Corse-stones*, of [a] 12 Tunne, others called *Cronets*, of 7 Tuns weight: (those haply for greater, and these for inferiour Officers:) and one Stone at distance seems to stand Sentinel for the rest. It seems equally impossible that they were bred here, or brought hither, seeing (no navigable water near) such voluminous bulks are unmanageable in Cart or Wagon. As for the Tale of *Merlin's* conjuring them by Magick out of *Ireland*, and bringing them aloft in the Skies (what in *Charles VVain?*) 'tis too ridiculous to be confuted. This hath put Learned men on necessity to conceive them artificall Stones, consolidated of Sand. Stand they there in Defiance of Wind & Weather, (which hath discomposed the method of them) which if made of any Pretious matter (a Bait to tempt Avarice) no doubt long since had been indited of Superstition; whereas now they are protected by their own Weight & Worthlesness.

The description of *Stone-henge*. [a] Camden's *Britann.* in *Wiltshire*.

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27. *Vortiger* the *British* King fled into *VVales*, to his Castle *Genereu*, impregnable for Situation, which he mann'd and woman'd, (conveying a multitude of his Whores into it,) and there lived surfeiting in Lust, while his Land lay sweltering in Bloud. Here *Aurelius Ambrosius* setting fire on his Castle, burnt him and his to Ashes. This gave occasion to the Report so constantly affirmed by many Authours, (and men are prone to believe Prodigious Deaths, of such as led Licentious Lives) that *Vortiger*'s Palace, like another *Sodom*, was burnt by Fire from Heaven. Indeed in a secondary sense it was true; as all Exemplary Punishments, more visibly proceed from Divine Vengeance. But otherwise, the first Raisers of this Fable, did apparent Wrong to the Attribute of Gods Truth, in pretending to do extraordinary Right unto his Justice.

Vortiger burning in lust, burnt to ashes.

28. This *Aurelius Ambrosius* is said to be extracted of the *Roman* Race, who having done this Execution on *Vortiger* the Tyrant, was a singular Champion of the *British* against their Enemies. One composed of Valour and Religion, wholly imploying himself in time of Peace, to raise new Churches, repair old, and endow both: unworthy therefore the Libell of an [b] *Italian* Author, who on no other Evidence, then his own bare Assertion, traduceth this *Ambrosius*, to have been a favourer of *Iudaisme*, *Arrianisme*, *Manicheisme*, and a Persecuter of the Professours of true Religion. Thus the greatest Vertue is Sanctuary too small to secure any from the pursuit of Slanderous Pens: and thus some humorous Authors, leaving the Road of true Reports, because common, go a Way by themselves of different Relation, so to entitle themselves to more immediate and peculiar Intelligence; as if others, (being onely of Truth's Councell,) had not received such private Instructions as themselves, being Cabinet-Historians.

Aurelius causelessly slandred by an *Italian*.

[b] *Gotefrid. Viterbiensis Chro. part.* 18.

29. Leave we this *Ambrosius* bickering with the *Saxons*, with interchange of Successe, much commended for his Constancy in all Conditions. For sometimes his Valour was the Hammer upon, sometimes his Patience was the Anvil beneath his Enemies; but alwayes he bravely bare up his Spirits: and as the Sun looks biggest on the Earth when he is neerest to set, so he carried it out with the boldest appearance, in the lowest Declination of his Fortune. If we behold the Church in his time, the most visible estate thereof presents it self to us in the Academy, which *Dubritius* kept, near the River *Wye* in *Monmouthshire*. His Father, say [c] some, was unknown; others make him to be son to [d] *Pepian* a Petty King in this Age: it being observable, that in this and the next Century, all men eminent for Learning and Religion, are either made without known Fathers, or Sons to Kings (no Mean betwixt these Extremes, as by many instances may appear;) so that such as consider the Narrownesse of the Principality, will admire at the Number of *British* Princes. This *Dubritius* taught many Scholars for seven yeares together, in Humane & Divine Learning, (being Himself, in his Life, a Book of Piety of the best Edition for his Pupils to peruse:) amongst whom the chiefest, *Thelian*, *Sampson*, *Vbelin*, *Merchiguin*, *Elguored*, &c. for the Reader had better believe then read the Names of the rest, remarkable onely for Length, and Hardnesse, without any other Information. Afterward *Dubritius*

The Academy of Learned men under *Dubritius*.

[c] Iohan. Tinmuthensis *in ejus vita.*
[d] *Chro. collig. Warwicensis.*

[e] *Vid.* Armach. *de Brit. Ecc. primord. pag.* 445.

tim removed to *Warwick*, (haply miſtaken for [a] *Werwick*, a Village ſome two miles from *Cardigan*) and from thence it ſeemes returned to *Moch-Rhos*, that is, *the Place of a Hog*: becauſe he was admoniſhed, in a Viſion in his Sleep, there to build a Chappel or Oratory, where he ſhould find a white [b] Sow lodging with the Hogs. a clean Conceit, and as full of Wit as Devotion. It ſeems the Friar, Father of this Fable, had read as farre as the eighth Book of *Virgil's Æneids*, where the River *Tiber*, in a Dream, adviſed *Æneas* to erect an Altar, and ſacrifice to *Juno* in the place where he ſhould find the Sow lying with the Pigs; and from this Pagan Hint, was advantaged for a *Papiſh Legend*.

30. Here we cannot but renew our former Complaint: and it is ſome Mitigation to our Miſery, (as perchance ſome Eaſe to the Reader) if we can but vent our old Grievances in new Expreſſions: how in ſtead of true Hiſtory, devoured by Time, prodigious Tales of impudent brazen-fac'd Monks are obtruded upon us. Thus when the Golden Shields of King *Solomon* were taken away, [c] *Rehoboam* ſubſtituted Shields of Braſſe in their room; though not ſo Good, perchance more Gawdy, eſpecially to ignorant eyes viewing them at diſtance, and wanting either the Skill or Opportunity to bring them to the Touch. Amongſt which the Tale of *Cungarus* the Eremite, otherwiſe called *Docwinn* (but firſt let the one Man be allowed, before his two Names be admitted:) may challenge a principall place; being reported Son of a *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperour, and [d] *Lucina* his Empreſſe. A Name un-owned by any *Grecian* Hiſtorians. The beſt is, that unconſcionable Liars, though they moſt hurt themſelves, do the leaſt harm others, whoſe *Lead Ones* are both the Poiſon & the Antidote, ſeeing no Wiſe man will believe them. Small Griet and Gravell may choak a man, but that Stone can never ſtop his Throat, which cannot enter into his Mouth.

31. In very deed, very little at this time was ever reported of Church-matters. For a Drought of Chriſtian Writers (in the Heat of Perſecution) cauſed a Dearth of all Hiſtory. Now it was that *Cerdicus* firſt King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, having overcome the *Britans* at *Winchester*, kill'd all the Monks belonging to the Church of [e] St. *Amphibalus*, & turned the ſame into a Temple of Idolatry. Alſo *Theon* Archbiſhop of *London*, ſeeing the Pagan *Saxons* to prevail, left his See, and [f] about this time may be preſumed to have fled into *Wales*, as I ſay, about this time. For what Liberty is allowed to Prognoſticatours of Weather, to uſe all favourable Correctives and Qualifications [*like to be rain, inclined to rain, ſomewhat rainy, &c.*] the ſame Latitude we muſt requeſt, in relating actions paſt in point of Chronologie; *hic fere temporibus, per hæc tempora, circa, circiter, plus minus, &c.* And what we take upon Truſt in this kind, let the Reader be pleaſed to charge, not on the Score of our Ignorance, but on the Uncertainty of that Ages Computation. As for St. *Petrock*, Son to the King of *Cumberland*, we remit him to the next Age, becauſe though Budding in this, full Blown in the next Century.

32. This Age is aſſigned by Authors for that Famous *Ambroſe Merlin* (differing from *Sylveſter Merlin* the *Scot*) though it be doubtfull whether ever ſuch a man *in rerum natura*: it being ſuſpicious,

Firſt, Becauſe he is reported born at *Caer-merthen*, & that City ſo denominated from him. Whereas it is called *Maridunum* by *Ptolemie* many yeares before. Thus it is ominous to begin with a Lie.

Secondly, Becauſe it was ſaid his Mother was a Nun, got with Child by a Devil in the form of an *Incubus*; perchance ſuch a one as *Chaucer* deſcribes.

It ſeems, that as Veſtall Virgins, when they had ſtollen a Great Belly, uſed to entitle ſome Deity to the getting of their Child, (ſo did the Mother of *Romulus* and *Remus*,) whereby they both ſaved themſelves from Shame, & gained Reputation: ſo Nuns in this Age, when with child, unable to perſwade people (as the Poets feign of the *Spaniſh* Mares) that they were impregnated by the Wind alone, made the World believe that ſome Spirit had conſorted with them. This makes the whole Story of *Merlin* very doubtfull; and as for all his Miracles & Propheſyes, they ſink with the Subject. For ſure the ſame Hand which made the Puppet, gave it all it's Motions, and ſuited his Perſon with Properties accordingly. May the Reader be pleaſed to take notice of three ancient *Britiſh* Writers.

1. *Aquila Septonius*, or the *Eagle* of *Shaftsbury*, whether He or She.
2. *Perdix Præſagus*, or *Partridge* the propheſier.
3. *Merlin Ambroſe*.

All three Birds of a Feather, and perchance hatch'd in the ſame Neſt of ignorant Credulity: nor can I meet with a fourth to make up the Meſſe, except it be the *Arabian Phœnix*. But becauſe it is a Task too great for a Giant, to encounter a received Tradition, let *Merlin* be left in a Twi-light as we found him. And ſurely no judicious man will cenſure the Mention of *Merlin* (whoſe Magicall Pranks and Conjurations are ſo frequent in our Stories) to be a Deviation from the Hiſtory of the Church, who hath read both of *Simon Magus*, and *Elymas* the Sorcerer in the Acts of the Apoſtles. THE

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[a] *Vid.* Speed's map of *Iſle Cunty*.

[b] *Vid.* Armach. *in print.*

Forged lies obtruded on poſterity in lieu of loſt truths.

[c] 1 *Kings* 14. 27.

[d] Joh. Capgrave *in vita* S. Cungari.

The maſſacre of the Monks at Winchester.

[e] *Wintoniæ fit Eccl. Hiſt. cap.* 9.

[f] Mat. Match. Florilegus deſigneth the yeare 586.

Merlin left in a twilight; whether that Magician was an Impoſtor, or his whole Story an Impoſture put upon credulous poſterity.

Anno Dom.

THE SIXTH CENTURY.

To *Douse Fuller* of Hampshire, Esquire.

I *Cannot say certainly of you as* Naomi *did of* Boaz, *He is near of kin unto us, having no Assurance (though great Probability) of Alliance unto you. However, Sir, if you shall be pleased in* Courtesy *to account me your* Kinsman, *I will endeavour that (as it will be an* Honour *to me) it may be to you no* Disgrace. * 2 Ruth 20.

501 1. QUestionlesse we shall not be accounted Trespassers, though onely Ecclesiasticall Businesse be our right Road, to go a little in the By-way of State-matters, because leading the shortest Passage for the present to our Church-story. Most miserable at this time was the *British* Common-wealth, crouded up into barren Corners, whil'st their Enemies, the *Pagan Saxons*, possest the East and South; if not the greatest, the best part of the *Island*. Much ado had *Vter Pen-dragon*, the *British* King, with all the sinews of his Care and Courage, to keep his disjoynted Kingdome together: whose onely desire was to prolong the Life, it being above his hopes to procure the Health of that languishing State. And though sometimes the *Britans* got the better, yet one may say, their Victories were spent before they were gain'd; being so farre behind-hand before, that their Conquest made no Shew, swallowed up in the discharging of old Arrearages. Needs then must Religion now in *Britain* be in a dolefull condition; For he who expects a flourishing Church in a fading Common-wealth, let him try whether one side of his Face can smile, when the other is pinched.

The most miserable estate of the British Common-wealth.

508 2. *Pen-dragon* dying, left the *British* Kingdome to *Arthur* his Son, so famous in History, that he is counted one of the *Nine Worthies*: and it is more then comes to the Proportion of *Britain*, that amongst but Nine in the whole World, Two should prove Natives of this Island, *Constantine* and *Arthur*. This later was the *British Hector*, who could not defend that *Troy*, which was designed to destruction: and it soundeth much to his Honour, that perceiving his Countrey condemned by Gods Justice to Ruine, he could procure a Reprieve, though not prevail for the Pardon thereof. More unhappy was he after his Death, Hyperbolicall *Monks* so advancing his Victories above all reach of Belief, that the twelve pitch't Battels of *Arthur*, wherein he conquered the *Pagan Saxons*, find no more credit then the twelve Labours of *Hercules*. Belike the *Monks* hoped to passe their *Lies* for current, because countenanced with the mixture of some Truths; whereas the contrary came to passe, and the very Truths which they have written of him are discredited, because found in company with so many *Lies*. Insomuch that learned *Leland* is put

King *Arthur's* actions much discredited by Monkish fictions.

put to it, to make a Book for the asserting of *Arthur*. Many are unsetled about him, because *Gildas* his Country-man (living much about his Age) makes no mention of him: though such may be something satisfied, if considering, the principall Intent of that Querulous *Authour* is not to praise, but to reprove, not greatly to grace, but justly to shame his Country, his Book being a bare Black Bill of the Sins and Sufferings, Monsters and Tyrants of *Britain*, keeping no Catalogue of the *Worthies* of this Island; so that neither *Lucius*, *Constantine*, nor *Arthur* are once named by him. But the best evidence that once *Arthur* lived in *Britain* is, because it is certain he died in *Britain*, as appeared undeniably by his *Corps*, *Coffin* and *Epitaph*, taken up out of his Monument in *Glassenbury*, in the reign of King *Henry* the second, whereof [a] many Persons of Quality were eye-witnesses. Anno Dom. 508

3. The entire Body of the *British* Church at this time was in *Wales*, where *Banchor* on the *North*, and *Caer-lion* (on *Usk*, in *Monmouthshire*) on the *South*, were the two *Eyes* thereof, for Learning and Religion. The later had in it the Court of King *Arthur*, the See of an *Arch-Bishop*, a Colledge of [b] 200 *Philosophers*, who therein studied *Astronomie*, and was a Populous place, of great extent. But Cities, as well as their Builders, are mortall: it is reduced at this day to a small Village. But as Aged Parents content and comfort themselves in beholding their Children, wherein their Memories will be continued after their Death; so *Caer-lion* is not a little delighted to see herself still survive in her Daughter [c] *Newport*, a neighbouring Town raised out of the Ruines of her Mother. Whil'st the other stood in Prime, there was scarce an Eminent man, who did not touch here for his Education; whom we will reckon in order, the rather, because all the *Church-History* of this *Age* seems confined to some principall Persons. *Dubritius* afore-mentioned was the Father and Founder of them all, late Bishop of *Landaffe*, now *Arch-Bishop* of *Caer-lion*, a great Champion of the Truth against *Pelagius*; and he had the honour here to crown two Kings, *Vter* and *Arthur*. Being very old, he resigned his *Arch-bishoprick* to *David*, his *Scholar*; and that he might be more able and active to wrastle with Death, he stript himself out of all worldly employment, and became an *Anchoret*, in the *Island* of [d] *Eardsey*. Six hundred yeares after, (namely *May* the 20, 1120) his Bones were translated to *Landaffe*, and by *Urban*, Bishop thereof, buried in the Church, towards the North side thereof. 516

4. *David*, the next *Arch-Bishop*, of Royall Extraction, was Uncle to King *Arthur*. He privately studied the *Scriptures* 10 yeares, before he would presume to preach, and alwayes carried the *Gospels* about him. He kept a *Synod* against the *Pelagian Errour* (a second Edition whereof was set forth in his time) and confirmed many wavering Souls in the Faith. By leave obtained from King *Arthur*, he removed the Archiepiscopall Seat from *Caer-lion* to *Menevea*, now called S^t. *Davids*, in *Pembrokeshire*. In which exchange his Devotion is rather to be admired, then his Discretion to be commended; leaving a Fruitfull Soile, for a bleach Barren [e] place; though the worse it was, the better for his purpose, being a great promoter of a Monasticall life. And though the place was much exposed to the Rapine of [f] Pirats, yet this Holy man laid up his heavenly Treasure, where *Thieves do not break through, nor steal*. 519

5. Yet I am sensible that I have spent, to my shame, so much precious time in reading the Legend of his Life, that I will not wilfully double my guiltinesse in writing the same, and tempt the Reader to offend in like nature. This [g] Miracle I cannot omit. *David* one day was preaching in an open Field to the Multitude, and could not be well seen because of the *Concourse*; (though they make him four [h] *Cubits* high, a man and half in Stature;) when behold the *Earth*, *whereon he stood*, *officiously heaving it self up*, *mounted him to a competent Visibility above all his Audience*. Where-

a Giraldus Cambrensis *an eye-witnesse*. Camden's *Brit. in Somersetshire*.

Caer-lion a principall Staple of Learning & Religion.

b Thomas James *out of* Alexander Elsebiensis.

c Camden's *Brit. in Monmouthshire*.

d Fra. Godwin *in Episc. Menevensibus pag.* 600.

S. *David* an advancer of Monastick life.

e Giraldus Cambrensis.

f Camden's *Brit. in Pembrokshire*.

One paramount miracle of S. *David*.

g *Flowers of the English Saints, p.* 222.

h Balæus *Cent. prima No.* 55.

Anno Dom. 519

as our [a] *Saviour* himself, when he taught the people, was pleased to chuse a *Mountain*, making use of the advantage of Nature, without improving his Miraculous Power. He died aged 146 yeares, on the first of *March*; still celebrated by the *Welsh* with [*] wearing of a *Leek*; perchance to perpetuate the memory of his Abstinence, whose contented mind made many a savoury Meal on such *Roots* of the *Earth*.

a *Matth.* 5. 1.

[*] *Several reasons hereof assigned by Authours.*

6. A wonder it is to see how many *Methusalahs* (extreme Aged men) these times did produce. S^t. *Patrick* [b] died aged 122. *Sampson* aged 120. *David* 146. *Gildas Badonicus* 90, &c. Some Reason whereof may be alleaged, because living Retired in a Contemplative way, they did not bruise their Bodies, with embroiling them in Worldly Affairs: or it may be ascribed to their Temperate Diet, whil'st many of our Age spill their *Radicall Moisture* through the Leaks of their own Luxury. Nor is it absurd to say, that God made these great Tapers of a more firm and compacted Wax then ordinary, that so they might last the longer in burning to give Light to his Church, and bestowed on them an especiall strong naturall Constitution.

Reasons why men in this Age lived so long.

b *See* Balæus *in their general lives.*

7. About the same time (Accurateness in computing yeares is not to be expected; for never were more Doublings and Redoublings made by a hunted Hare, then there are Intricacies in the Chronology of this Age, going backward and forward;) flourished *Cadocus* Abbot of *Llancarvan* in *Glamorganshire*, Son of the Prince and Toparch of that Countrey. This godly and learned man so renounced the World, that he [c] reteined part of his paternall Principality in his possession, whereby he daily fed three hundred of Clergy-men, Widows, and Poor people, besides Guests and Visitants daily resorting to him. He is equally commended for his Policy, in keeping the Root (the Right of his Estate) in his own hands; and for his Piety, in bestowing the Fruit (the Profits thereof) in the relieving of others. It seems, in that Age wilfull Poverty was not by vow entail'd on Monasticall life. Nor did this *Cadocus* (as Regulars in after-times) with open hands scatter away his whole Means, so foolishly to grasp his Fist full of Popular Applause. He is said afterwards to have died at *Beneventum* in *Italy*.

The discreet devotion of *Cadocus*.

c Ioan. Tinmuthensis *in ejus vita.*

8. *Iltutus* comes next into play, a zealous man, and deep Scholar; who not far from *Cadocus*, at *Llan-Iwit* in *Glamorganshire* (contractedly for *Llan-iltut*) preached Gods Word, and set up a Colledge of Scholars, being himself a great observer of a Single Life. It is reported of him, that when his Wife repaired to him for *due Benevolence*, or some ghostly Counsell, he [d] put out her Eyes, out of Anger, for interrupting him in his constant course of Chastity. But surely some blind Monk, having one of his Eyes put out with Ignorance, and the other with Superstition, was the first founder of this Fable. Thus godly Saints in that Age were made Martyrs after their Death; persecuted (though in their Commendation) with impudent and improbable Lies. It is reported also of the same *Iltutus*, that he turned [e] Men into Stones. Had it been Stones into Men, (converting stupid Souls into Christians, by his Preaching) it had been capable of an Allegoricall Construction: whereas, as now told, it is a Lie in the literall, and Non-sense in the mysticall meaning thereof.

Iltutus abused with Monkish forgeries.

d Balæus *de Script. Britan. centur. prima.*

e *Idem in prim.*

521 9. *Sampson* succeeds, Scholar to *Iltutus*, made by *Dubritius* Bishop at large, [f] *sine titulo*. It seems in that Age, all Bishops were not fixed to the *Chair* of a peculiar Church, but some might sit down in any Vacant place for their *Cathedrall*, and there exercise their *Episcopall Authority*, provided it were without Prejudice to other Bishops. Afterwards this *Sampson* was made Arch-Bishop of *Dole* in *French Britain*; and in those dayes, such was the Correspondency betwixt *this Greater*, and *that Lesser Britain*, that they seemed to possesse Learned men in common betwixt them. Scarce am I re-

Sampson Archbishop of Dole.

f Armach *de Brit. Ec. prim. pag.* 1130.

confiled to this *Sampſon*, for [a] carrying away with him the Monuments of *Britiſh* Antiquity. Had he put them out to the Bank, by procuring ſeverall Copies to be tranſcribed, Learning thereby had been a *Gainer*; and a *Saver*, had he onely ſecured the Originals; whereas now her Loſſe is irrecoverable: Principall and Intereſt, Authenticks and Tranſcripts, are all imbezzelled. Nor is the matter much, whether they had miſcarryed at home, by Foes Violence, or abroad, by ſuch Friends Negligence. Anno Dom. 521

10. It were a Sin to omit *St. Patern*, for three and twenty yeares a conſtant Preacher at *Llan-Patern* in *Cardiganſhire*. His fatherlike Care over his Flock paſſeth with peculiar Commendation, *that he* [b] *govern'd his people by feeding them, and fed his people by governing them*. Some yeares after the Place continued an Epiſcopall See, and was extinguiſhed upon Occaſion of the Peoples barbarouſly murdering of their Biſhop. 540

11. *St. Petrock* comes in for his ſhare, (from whom *Petrock-ſtow*, contracted *Padſtow*, in *Cornwall* is denominated.) One of great Piety and Painfulneſs in that Age. Afterward he is ſaid to have gone to the Eaſt-*Indies*, (all far Countreys are Eaſt-*Indies* to ignorant people:) and at his return to be buried at *Bodman* in *Cornwall*. That County is the *Cornu-copiæ* of Saints, (moſt of *Iriſh* extraction) and the names of their Towns and Villages, the beſt *Nomenclator* of the Devout men of this Age. If the people of that Province have as much Holineſſe in their Hearts, as the Pariſhes therein carry Sanctity in their Names, *Cornwall* may paſſe for another *Holy Land* in publick reputation. 548

12. Next *St Petrock* comes *St. Telian*; for it is pity to part two ſuch intimate Friends. He was called, by alluſion to his Name, [c] *Helios*, which in *Greek* ſignifieth the *Sun*, becauſe of the Luſtre of his *Life* and *Learning*. But the Vulgar ſort, who count it no fault to miſcall their *Betters*, if they have hard Names, called him *Elian*, (one of that [d] name was one of our *Saviours Anteſtors*:) turning the *Greek* into an *Hebrew* word, and underſtanding both alike. He was *Scholar* to *Dubritius*, and ſucceeded him in the *Biſhoprick* of *Landaffe*. A pious man, conſtant Preacher, and [e] zealous reprover of the reigning Sins of that time. This is all the certain truth extant of him; which ſome Monks counting too little, have with their fabulous breath [f] blown up the Story of his Life to ſuch a Bigneſs, that the Credit thereof breaks with it's own *Improbability*. Witneſſe his Journey to *Jeruſalem*, full of ſtrange Miracles, where he had a *Cymbill* given him, excelling the ſound of an *Organ*, and ringing every hour of it's own accord. No doubt a *Loud one. Loaden with Merits*, ſaith the [g] *Author*, (I had thought nothing but Sin could burthen a Saint:) he departed this Life, having his Memory continued in many *Churches* of *South-Wales*, dedicated to him, and is remembred in the *Roman* Kalender on the ninth of *February*. 550

13. I had almoſt forgotten *Congel*, Abbot of *Bangor*, who much altered the Diſcipline of that Monaſtery; *Kentigern* the famous Biſhop of *Elwye* in *North-Wales*; *St. Aſaph* his Succeſſour in the ſame place. In whoſe mouth this Sentence was frequent, [h] *Such, who are againſt the preaching of God's Word, envy the Salvation of Mankind*. As for *Gildas*, ſurnamed the *Wiſe*, their Contemporary, we reſerve his [i] Character for our Library of *Britiſh* Hiſtorians. Many other worthy men flouriſhed at the ſame time, and a Nationall Church being a large Room, it is hard to count all the Candles God lighted therein. 580

14. Moſt of theſe men ſeem born under a *Travelling Planet*; ſeldome having their Education in the place of their Nativity; oft-times compoſed of *Iriſh* Infancy, *Britiſh* Breeding, and *French* Preferment; taking a *Coule* in one Countrey, a *Creſier* in another, and a *Grave* in a third; neither bred where born, nor beneficed where bred, nor buried where beneficed, but wandring in ſeverall Kingdomes. Nor is this to be imputed to any

humour

a Balæus de Script. Britan. in Sampſon.

Patern, a Patern for all Biſhops. b Camden's Brit. in Cardiganſhire.

Petrock the Captain of Corniſh Saints.

The piety of S. Telian. c Harpsfield his Eccl. Angl. pag. 41. c. 27. d Math. 1. 14

e Balæus centuria prim. num. 58.

f In the book of his life extant in the Church of Landaffe.

g Flowers of the Saints. pag. 151.

Several other Worthies of the ſame Age.

h Godwin in his Catal. of Biſhops of St. Aſaph. i Vide our Library of Britiſh Hiſtor. num. 1.

Paſſions in this Age why in conſtant motion.

Anno Dom. 580

humour of Inconſtancy (the running Gout of the Soul) or any affected Unſetledneſſe in them; but proceeding from other weighty Conſiderations. Firſt, to procure their Safety. For in time of *Perſecution*, the ſureſt place to ſhift in, is conſtant ſhifting of Places: not ſtaying any where ſo long, as to give mens Malice a ſteady aime to level at them. Secondly, to gain Experience in thoſe things, which grew not all in the ſame Soile. Laſtly, that the Goſpell thereby might be further, and faſter propagated. When there be many Gueſts and little Meat, the ſame Diſh muſt go clean through the Board; and divine Providence ordered it, that in the Scarcity of Preachers, one Eminent man, travelling far, ſhould ſucceſſively feed many Countries.

15. To moſt of theſe Authours many written Volumes are aſſigned, the Titles and Beginnings whereof you may find in our Country-men *Bale* and *Pitts*, who will perſwade you that they have ſeen and peruſed ſome of them. This they do partly to enhaunce the merit of their Induſtry, in finding out ſo many Rarities; and partly to commend to the world the latitude of their own Reading. I ſhall as ſoon believe that they have ſeen all *Solomon*'s Volumes, which he wrote from *the Cedar of* Libanus, *to the Hyſſope that groweth on the Wall.* But this Humour poſſeſſeth many men, that brag of many Books, coming under their Diſcovery: as if not onely with the *Mice*, they had crept through the Crannies of all Libraries; but alſo with the *Mothes*, had got betwixt the Leaves of all Treatiſes therein. In plain truth, as it is probable that thoſe *Britiſh* Prelates wrote many Books of conſequence; ſo it is certain that long ſince by Time they have been aboliſhed. As for thoſe ſpurious Tracts, which Monks in after-Ages ſet out under theſe Worthy mens names, they are no more to be accounted the true Off-ſpring of theſe learned Saints, then that common Manna, ordinarily ſold in Apothecaries Shops, is the ſelf-ſame with that Angels Food, which fell down from Heaven, and feaſted the *Iſraelites*.

Books falſly fathered on Britiſh writers.



THE

CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE SECOND BOOK.

From the Conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, untill the (commonly called) Conquest of the *Normans*.



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To the right Honourable

HENRY
LORD MARQUES
OF
DORCHESTER,
EARLE OF
KINGSTON,

Viſcount Newark, Lord Peirrepont, &c.



HOw low Learning ran in our Land amongſt the Native *Nobility* ſome two hundred yeares ſince, in the Reign of King *Henry* the ſixth, too plainly appeareth by the Motto in the Sword of the Martiall Earle of *Shrewsbury*, (where at the ſame time one may Smile at the *Simplicity*, and Sigh at the

Barbariſme thereof;) SUM TALBOTI, PRO OCCIDERE INIMICOS MEOS. The beſt *Latin* that Lord (and perchance his Chaplains too, in that Age) could afford.

But in the next Generation we may obſerve the Riſe of Learning in Noble Families. I behold *John Tiptoft* Earle of *Worceſter* (bred in *Baiholl Colledge*) as the firſt *Engliſh* Perſon of Honour that graced Learning with the Study thereof, in the dayes of King *Edward* the fourth, both at Home and in Forreign Vniverſities. He made ſo Eloquent an Oration in the *Vatican*, in the preſence of Pope *Pius* the ſecond, (one of the leaſt Bad, and moſt Learned of any of his Order) that his *Holineſs* was divided betwixt Weeping and VVondering thereat.

* I. Bale *de Scripit. Angl.*

This Earle may be ſaid to have left *John Bourchier*, Baron of *Berners* and Governour of *Callis*, the Heir to his Learning; as who wrote many Treatiſes, and made Excurſions into Variety of Studies, in the dayes of King *Henry* the ſeventh.

* *Idem & Pitz de Scrip. Anglic.*

This Learned Baron had ſeverall Succeſſours under King *Henry* the eighth, at the ſame time, to his Parts and Liberall Studies.

1. *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, Son to the laſt Duke of *Buckingham* of that Name.

2. *William* Lord *Montjoy*, a great Patron to *Eraſmus*, and well skilled in Chymiſtry and Mathematicks.

3. *Henry*

3. *Henry Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, (though last in Time, not least in Merit) the first reviver of *English* Poetry: so that he may seem in some sort to *wave* his *Coronet*, to *wear* the *Laurell*.

Since whose time to our dayes Learning hath ever had a *visible succession* in our Nobility. Amongst whom your *Honour*, as Captain of the Higheſt Form, is moſt illuſtrious.

Indeed, your *Lordſhip* is a reall Refutation of that Scandalous *Poſition* which ſome maintain, That ſuch who are *generally ſeen* in *all* Arts, cannot be *eminently skilfull* in any *one*. A *Poſition* no better then a *Libell* on *Learning*, invented and vented either by the *Idle*, who would not themſelves Study; or by the *Envious*, who deſire to diſcourage the Endeavours of others.

VVhereas there is ſuch a Sympathy betwixt *ſeveral Sciences* (as alſo betwixt the *learned Languages*) that (as in a *Regular Fortification* one *Piece* ſtrengtheneth another) a reſultive Firmeneſs ariſeth from their Complication, reflecting Life and Luſtre one on another. *Arts* may be ſaid to be *Arched* together: and all Learned Faculties have ſuch a Mutual Reciprocation. Thus one is the better *Canoniſt*, for being a good *Civilian*, and a better *Common-Lawyer*, for being both of them. And hereof your *Honour* is an Experimentall Proof, whoſe Knowledge is ſpread ſo broad, yet lieth ſo thick in all Liberall Sciences.

VVhat remaineth, but that I crave leave humbly to mind your *Lordſhip* of that *alluſive Motto* to your Name,

Name, The Reason I ; that your *Honour* reposing yourself piously in this life, may in a good Old Age be gloriously translated into another? The desire of

Your Lordships

Most Bounden

Orator

Anno Dom.

THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

VI. CENTURIE.

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IT is wonderfull to see how the Fruits of great Events are vertually compriſed in the ſmall Seed of their Cauſes, and how a Contemptible Accident may give the Occaſion of moſt Conſiderable Effects; as may appeare by the Converſion of the *Saxons* to Chriſtianity. For it happened that certain *Saxon Children* were to be ſold for *Slaves*, at the Market-place at *Rome*; when Divine Providence, the great *Clock-keeper* of Time, ordering not onely Houres, but even [a] Inſtants, to his own Honour, ſo diſpoſed it, that *Gregory*, afterwards firſt *Biſhop* of *Rome* of that Name, was preſent to behold them. It grieved the Good man to ſee the Diſproportion betwixt the Faces and Fortunes, the Complexions and Conditions of thoſe Children, condemned to a Servile Eſtate, though carrying Liberall Looks, ſo legible was Ingenuity in their Faces. It added more to his Sorrow, when he conceived that thoſe Youths were twice Vaſſalls, bought by their Maſters, and [b] *ſold under Sin*; Servants in their Bodies, and Slaves in their Souls to Satan: which occaſioned the [c] Good man to enter into further enquiry with the *Merchants* (which ſet them to Sale) what they were, and whence they came, according to this enſuing Dialogue.

The firſt occaſion of the *Saxons* converſion to Chriſtianity.

a *Luke* 2. 38.

b *Rom.* 7. 14.

c *Bede Hiſt. eccleſiaſt. l.* 2. *cap.* 1.

Greg. *Whence come theſe Captives?*
Mer. *From the Iſle of* Britain.
Greg. *Are thoſe Iſlanders Chriſtians?*
Mer. *O no: they are Pagans.*
Greg. *It is ſad that the Authour of Darkneſſe ſhould poſſeſſe men with ſo bright Faces. But what is the name of their particular Nation?*
Mer. *They are called* Angli.
Greg. *And well may, for their* Angel-like *Faces: it becometh ſuch to be Coheires with the Angels in Heaven. In what Province of* England *did they live?*
Mer. *In* [d] Deira.

d *Which at this day is the Biſhoprick of* Deirham, *or* Durham.

Greg.

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Greg. *They are to be freed* de Dei ira, *from the Anger of God. How call ye the King of that Country?*

Mer. ELLA.

Greg. *Surely* Hallelujah *ought to be sung in his Kingdome to the Praise of that God who created all things.*

Thus *Gregorie's* gracious Heart set the Sound of every word to the Tune of spirituall Goodnesse. Nor can his words be justly censured for Levity if we consider how in that Age, the Elegancy of *Poetry* consisted in Rhythme, and the Eloquence of *Prose* in Allusions. And, which was the main, where his Pleasant Conceits did end, there his Pious Endeavours began; which did not terminate in a Verball Jest, but produce Reall Effects, which ensued hereupon.

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Gregory would convert England in his person, but doth it by his proxy.

2. For repairing to *Pelagius* Bishop of *Rome*, he imparted his Discoveries unto him, desiring that some might be sent to endeavour the Conversion of the *English Nation*, tendering his Personall Service thereunto. But *Pelagius* was unwilling to expose *Gregory* to so dangerous a Design, and the People of *Rome* accounting him a precious Jewell, to be choicely kept for his own wearing, would not *cast this Pearle before Swine*, by hazarding him to the Insolency of the *Pagans*. Now *Pelagius* not long after being called into another *World*, *Gregory* succeeded in his place; who rising to new Greatnesse, did not fall from his old Goodnesse, but prosecuting his Project with more Earnestnesse, sent *Augustine* the *Monk*, with *Mellitus*, and Fourty more, to preach the *Gospell* in *Britain*. He himself tarrying behind in *Body*, went with them in his [a] *Spirit*, accompanying them with his effectuall Prayers: and none will deny, but that [b] Moses in the *Mount* contributed as much to the conquering of *Amalek*, as *Joshua* in the *Valley*.

[a] 1 Corinth. 5. 3

[b] Exod. 17. 11.

Augustine and his fellows shrink for fear.

3. These men had not gone far, when they were surprised with a Qualm of Feare, and sending *Augustine* back again to *Gregory*, requested to be excused from going to so Barbarous a Nation, not as yet converted to Civility, whose Language they did not understand. Here some will be ready to deride them for *Cowards*; who more seriously considering with how many Excuses *Moses*, [c] being sent by God himself, declined the going to *Pharaoh*, and how loth [d] *Jeremy* was to preach to his *Countrey-men*, the *stiffe-necked Jews*, will presently change their Censuring into Commiserating the Frailty of Flesh, and common Condition of Mankind. But those make short Miles, who looking through a Window, travell a Dayes-journey in an instant; whil'st Wayfaring men must honestly pay for every Step, and dearly earn it with their Industry. It is facile for men in their pleasing *Speculations* to project the *Conversion* of a *Kingdome*, and with themselves to discourse a *Heathen Nation* into *Christianity*; whil'st those must encounter many *Difficulties*, who really go about to perform it. *Gregory* perceiving them to tire in their Undertakings, spurr'd them on with his Exhortatory *Letter*; the *Copy* whereof is here inserted, to acquaint us with the *Stile* of the *Bishops* of *Rome* in that *Age*.

[c] Exod. ch. 3. and 4.

[d] Jer. 1. 6.

[e] Bede's History of the Church of England, 1 Book, 23. Chap. translated by Stapleton.

[e] GRegory, *the Servant of the Servants of God, &c. For so much as better it were never to begin a Good Work, then after it is once begun, to go from it again; you must needs (my dear Sons) now fulfill the Good Work, which by the help of God you have taken in hand. Let therefore neither the Travell of the Iourney, neither the Talk of evill-tongued Men dismay you. But with all Force and Fervour make up that you have by the motion of God begun; assuring your selves, that after your great Labour, eternall Reward shall follow. Be you in all points obedient unto* Augustine, *whom I have sent back unto you, and appointed him to be your* Abbot;

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Abbot; *knowing that shall much profit your Souls, which you shall do upon Obedience to his Commandment. Our Almighty Lord defend you with his Grace, and grant me to see the Fruit of your Labours in his Kingdome of Heaven. And though I cannot Labour my self with you, yet I may enjoy part of your Reward, for that I have a Will to labour. God keep you healthy, my dearly beloved Children.*

Dated the 23. *of* July, *our Lord* MAURICIUS TIBERIUS *reigning, our most Vertuous Emperour, in the* 14. *year of his Empire, the* 13. *year after his Consulship,* Indictione 14.

As yet we see the Chaplain had not lorded it over his Patron; as yet the *Popes Crown* was not built three stories high, but observed a Distance of Submission towards the Emperour, as appeares by his respectfull Expressions. Yea, this Bishop measured the time by the yeares of the Emperours Reign, whose Successours have learn't a new Arithmetick, in their modern dates of Charters, onely reckoning by the yeares of their own Consecration, without relating to any Imperiall Account. *Gregory* (by the way) was the first, which in Humility used the Stile of *Servus Servorum Dei.* But as in the Method of Nature, a Low Valley is immediately seconded with an Ambitious Hill: so after this Humble *Gregory*, (a submissive Soul) within two yeares followed *Boniface* the third, in whom was the Pitch of Pride, and Height of aspiring Haughtinesse, to be term'd the *Universall Bishop* of the World.

4. Besides the aforesaid Letter, *Gregory* wrote many others, [a] one to *Theodorick* and *Theodebert*, Kings of *France*, and severall Epistles to sundry *French* Bishops, to accommodate and assist *Augustine* and his Companions in so pious a Design. And, which must not be forgotten, with them he sent over [b] *Candidus*, a Priest, into *France*, to receive the Profits and long-detained Arreres of the Popes [c] *Patrimoniolum*, as he terms it, (the Diminutive is well increased at this time) and with the Mony to buy Cloaths for the Poore, and also to buy *English*-Pagan-captive Youths in *France* of 17 or 18 yeare old, that they might be brought up in Christianity in Monasteries, so at once bestowing both Liberty, Religion, and Learning upon them. A Transcendent degree of Charity; an Almes worthy *Gregorie*'s hands to give it. And now *Augustine* with his Partners well encouraged, effectually prosecute their Project, passing quietly through *France*, save onely at the Village of *Saye* in *Anjou*, where some gigling Huswives, (Light Leaves will be wagg'd with Little Wind) causelesly fell a flouting at them. But in after-Ages, the People of the same Place, to repaire this Wrong, erected a Masculine Church (Women being interdicted the Entrance thereof) to the Memory of S^t. *Augustine*; and how soundly one Woman smarted for her Presumption herein, take it on the trust of [d] my Authour.

Augustine troubled with mocking *Michals* in his Passage through *France*.

a Gregor. *lib.* 5. *Epist.* 58
b *Idem lib.* 5. *Epist.* 10.
c *Idem lib.* 3. *Epist.* 57.

Plebs parat Ecclesiam mulieribus haud reserandam:
Introitum tentat una, sed illa perit.

They build a Church where Women may not enter:
One try'd, but lost her life for her adventure.

d Alexander Elsebiensis *in his Annall of Saints, and* Iohn Capgrave.
e *Lib.* 7. *Ep.* 5.
f *Flores Sanctorum Maii* 26. *in the life of S.* Augustine *pag.* 499.

Yet *Augustine* himself found courteous Usage from the Weaker Sex: witnesse the kind Carriage of *Bruniehilda*, the Queen of *France*, unto him, (for which *Gregory* in an [e] *Epistle*, returned her solemn Thanks,) and *Bertha* the King of *France* his Daughter, Wife to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*.

596 5. *Augustine* safely wasted over the Sea, lands with the rest at *Thanet* in *Kent*, taking, as it seems, deep Footing, if it be true what one [f] writes, that the Print of his Steps where he first landed left as perfect a Mark in a main Rock, as if it had been in Wax; and the *Romanists* will cry shame on our

Augustine for all his Power of working Miracles, needs interpreters to preach to the *English*.

Hard Hearts, if our obdurate Belief, more ſtubborn then the Stone, will not as pliably receive the Impreſſion of this Miracle. But it is worthy our conſideration, that though *Auguſtine* all his way might be track'd by the Wonders he left behind him (when Thirſty miraculouſly fetching [a] a Fountain, when Cold a Fire, reſtoring the Blind and Lame to their Eyes and Limbs) yet for all this he was fain to bring Interpreters out of *France* with him, by whoſe help he might underſtand the *Engliſh*, and be underſtood by them. Whereas in Holy Writ, when the Apoſtles (and Papiſts commonly call *Auguſtine* the *Engliſh Apoſtle*, how properly we ſhall ſee hereafter) went to a Forreign Nation, God gave them the Language thereof, leaſt otherwiſe their Preaching ſhould have the Vigour thereof abated, taken at the ſecond Hand, or rather at the ſecond Mouth, as *Auguſtine*'s was; who uſed an Interpreter (not as [b] *Joſeph* to his brethren, out of State and Policie, but) out of mere Neceſſity. This, I ſay, well thought on, will make our Belief to demurre to the Truth of his ſo frequent Miracles, being ſo Redundant in working them on Triviall Occaſions, and ſo Defective in a matter of moſt Moment. But leaving him and his for a time ſafely landed and lodged, that our Gratitude to God may be the greater, for freeing the *Saxons* our Anceſtours from the Bondage of Idolatry, let us behold with Horrour the huge Fetters of Errour and Ignorance, wherewith the Devil kept them in Durance, before the Goſpell was preached unto them. Anno Dom. 596

a *Idem p.* 498.

b Gen. 42. 23.

The Rabble of *Saxon* Idols.

6. The SAXONS, like the reſt of the *Germans*, whil'ſt pure impure Pagans, worſhipped many Idols, Barbarous in Name, ſome Monſtrous, all Antick for Shape, and Abominable in the Rites and Ceremonies of their Adoration. Some averre that as the *Germans* (affecting an Autarchy, or Sole-ſufficiency amongſt themſelves,) diſdained Commerce in Cuſtomes, or Civile Government with the *Romans*; ſo they communicated not with them in their Religion. Yet others affirm that in after-Ages, the *Dutch* did enter Common with the *Romiſh* Superſtition; at leaſt-wiſe ſome Modern Authours have reduced the *Saxon Idols* (ſymbolizing with the *Romans* in Power and Properties) to ſome conformity with the *Roman Deities*. Now although, according to Gods command to the [c] *Jews*, *their names ſhall not be heard out of our Mouth*, by way of praiſing them, praying to them, or ſwearing by them: yet an Hiſtoricall mention of them here enſuing, is as free from Offence, as uſefull for Information. Beſides the SUN and MOON, the *Saxons* ſacrificed to

c Exod. 23. 13

NAME.	SHAPE.	OFFICE.	*Correſpondent with*
[d] Thor or Thur, *abbreviated of* Thunre, *which we now write* Thunder. Thurſday *named from him.*	*A Corpulent Statue repoſed on a covered Bed, bearing a Crown of Gold, about which twelve Starres; a Kingly Sceptre in his right Hand.*	*He governed the Wind & Clouds, cauſing Lightning, Thunder, Tempeſt, Faire or Foul Weather.*	*The* Roman IUPITER.
[e] Woden, *that is Wood, fierce, or furious, giving the Denomination to* Wedneſday, *or* Wodenſday.	*Armed cap a pe, with a Military Coronet on his head.*	*He was the God of Battel, by whoſe aid and furtherance they hoped to obtain Victory.*	[e] MARS.

d Verſtegan's reſtitution of Decayed Intelligence, ch. 3 pag. 74.

e So Verſtegan, pag. 72. but Camden, Brit. pag. 135. makes him to be Mercury.

Friga

Anno Dom. 596

NAME.	SHAPE.	OFFICE.	*Correspondent with*
Frigg *or* Frea, *remembred on* Friday.	*An* Hermaphrodite, *perchance becauſe the reputed Patroneſſe of Generation, wherein both Sexes are joyned.*	*The giver of Peace and Plenty, the cauſer of Love, Amity, and Increaſe.*	VENUS.
Seater, *ſtill remaining on* Saturday.	*Of a lean Viſage, long Haire, bare Head, holding in one Hand a Wheel, in the other a Paile of Flowers.*	*Conceived to have a great Influence on the kindly Fruits of the Earth.*	SATURNE.
Tuyſe, *whence* Tueſday *took it's name,*	*Covered with a Skin, Armes and Feet naked, with an ancient Aſpect, and a Sceptre in his Hand.*	*The Peculiar Tutelar God of the* Duytſh, *whence they had their name.*	○○○○○○○○○
Crmenſcwl, *that is, the Pillar or ſtay of the Poor.*	*Pictured with a Banner in one Hand with a Red* Roſe, *in the other a pair of Ballance, on his Head a Cock, Breaſt a Beare, before him an Eſcocheon, &c.*	*The Pretended beſtower of VVit and Cunning in Bargains & Contracts.*	MERCURIE.
Heile.	*His ſtately Statue ſtood at* Cern *in* Dorcetſhire.	*The Preventer of Diſeaſes, preſerver & reſtorer of Health.*	ÆSCULAPIUS.

Thus we ſee the whole Week beſcattered with *Saxon* Idols, whoſe Pagan-Gods were the God-fathers of the Dayes, and gave them their Names. This ſome Zealot may behold as the Object of a neceſſary Reformation, deſiring to have the Dayes of the Week new dipt, and called after other Names. Though indeed this Suppoſed Scandall will not offend the wiſe, as beneath their Notice, and cannot offend the Ignorant, as above their Knowledge. Wherefore none need ſo haſtily to hurry to the Top of the Main Maſt, thence to pluck down the Badge of [a] *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: but rather let them be carefull, ſteadily to ſteere their Ship to the Heaven, for which it is bound; *and let us redeem the Time, for the Dayes are evill*: not becauſe in their Name they bear the Cognizance of the Pagan-Gods; but becauſe ſwarming with the Sins of Prophane men, which all ſhould labour to reprove in others, and amend in themſelves.

a *Act.* 28. 11.

7. But it was not a Week or a Moneth, yea ſcarce a yeare of Dayes, which could ſeverally containe the numerous *Saxon Idols*. Beſides the fore-named, they had [b] *Neptune*, to whom in their abominable Decimations, they ſacrificed every tenth Captive, whom they had taken in War; ſo making that Sea-God to ſwim in Man's Bloud, *per hujuſmodi, non tam ſacrificia purgati, quam ſacrilegia polluti*, ſaith an ancient Chriſtian [c] Authour. Secondly, *Eoſter* or *Goſter*, a Goddeſſe, which they worſhipped in the Spring-time, wherein the Feaſt of *Eaſter* afterwards was celebrated, and ſo thence named, as *Bede* obſerveth. Thirdly, *Flynt*, ſo termed becauſe ſet on a great Flint-ſtone, which, I dare boldly ſay, had more Sparks of Divine nature, then that Idol which thereon was erected. Laſtly, *Tacitus* obſerveth, that

A recruit of their Idols.

b Selden *of Tithes*, 10. *ch. pag.* 269.

c Sidonius Apollinaris, *lib.* 8. *Epiſt.*

the *Saxons* worshipped the Peculiar God *Herthus*, the self-same which in *English* we call the Earth, adoring that whereon they did daily trample. Anno Dom. 596

All these antiquated by Christianity.

8. Besides these, they had other Lesser Gods, of a Lower Form and Younger House; as *Helmsteed*, *Prono*, *Fridegast* and *Stwe*: all which at this day (to use the [a] Prophets Expression) *are cast to the Moles and the Bats*; fit Company for them, which *have Eyes and see not*, Blind to the blind, like all those which put Confidence in them. And as the true and reall [b] Serpent of *Aaron*, did swallow up and devour the seeming Serpents, which *Iannes* and *Iambres*, the *Ægyptian* Inchanters, did make: so, long since in *England*, the Religion of the true God hath out-lived and out-lasted, confuted and confounded all false and feigned Deities. To conclude this Discourse. I have heard of a man, who being Drunk, rode over a Narrow Bridge (the first and last that ever passed that Way, as which in likelyhood led him to imminent Death,) and next morning viewing how he had escaped, he fell into a Swound, with acting over again the Danger of his Adventure in his bare Apprehension. So, should *England* (now, thanks be to God, grown sober and restored to her self) seriously recollect her sad Condition, when Posting in the Paths of Perdition, being intoxicated with the Cup of Idolatrie, she would fall into a Trance of Amazement, at the consideration of her desperate state, before Christianity recovered her to her right Senses: the manner whereof we now come to relate.

a *Isaiah* 2.20.

b *Exod.* 7.12.

The character of King *Ethelbert*.

9. When *Augustine* the Monk (as is afore said) landed in *Thanet*, *Ethelbert* was then King of *Kent*. One, who had very much of Good Nature in him; of a *Wild Olive* well civilized, and a Stock fit to be grafted upon. Yea, he was already, with [c] King *Agrippa* (though not in the same sense) *almost a Christian*; because his other half, [d] Queen *Berhta*, daughter to the King of *France*, was a Christian: to whom he permitted the free use of her Religion, allowing her both *Luidhard* a Bishop, for her Chaplain, and an old Church in *Canterbury* (formerly dedicated by the *Romans* to S^t. *Martin*) to exercise her Devotion therein. Besides, at this time, this *Ethelbert* was in effect Monarch of *England*; whilest his Person had Residence chiefly in *Kent*, his Power had Influence even to *Humber*, all the rest of the *Saxon* Kings being Homagers unto him: which afterward much expedited the passage of the Gospel in *England*. Thus each officious Accident shall dutifully tender his Service to the advance of that Design, which God will have effected.

c *Acts* 26.28.

d Bede *Hist. Eccles. lib.* 1. *cap.* 25.

Augustine's addresses, and *Ethelbert's* answer.

10. Then *Augustine* acquainted this *Ethelbert* with his Arrivall, informing him by his Messengers, that he brought the *best Tidings unto him, which would certainly procure eternall Happinesse in Heaven, and endless Reigning in Bliss with the true God, to such as should entertain them.* Soon after *Ethelbert* repaired into *Thanet*; to whom *Augustine* made his addresse μετὰ πολλῆς φαν[τασίας, *with a deal of* [spiritual, carnall] *Pompe*; [e] having a Silver Cross carried before him for a Banner, the Image of our Saviour painted in a Table, and singing the Letanie in the way as they went. King *Ethelbert* desired all things betwixt them might be transacted in the open Aire, refusing to come under a Roof, for fear of Fascination. And indeed a Stranger (who had never seen the like before) beholding *Augustine* with such abundance of Trinkets about him, being formerly jealous, might hereby have his Suspicion encreased, that he went about some strange Machination. However, *Ethelbert* returned him a civil Answer; That their Promises were fair and good; but because new and uncertain, he could not presently assent unto them, and leave the ancient Customes of the *English*, which had been for so long time observed. But because they were Strangers, coming

e Beda, *ut prius.*

Anno Dom. 596 coming from Far Countries, to communicate to him and his such things as they conceived were good and true; he would not forbid any Converts, whom their Preaching could perſwade to their Opinion, and alſo would provide them Neceſſaries for their comfortable Accommodation.

597 11. Hence *Auguſtine*, with his Followers, advanced to *Canterbury*, to the aforeſaid old Church of S^t. *Martin's*. Here they lived ſo piouſly, prayed ſo fervently, faſted ſo frequently, preached ſo conſtantly, wrought Miracles ſo commonly, that many people of Inferiour Rank, and at laſt King *Ethelbert* himſelf was baptized, and embraced the Chriſtian Religion. The ſame *Ethelbert* alſo ordered, that none ſhould be [a] forced into Religion, having underſtood, that Chriſts Service ought to be voluntary, and not compelled. And if his Courtiers had been as cautious, not to embrace Religion for Faſhion, as the King was carefull they ſhould not receive it for Fear, there had not at that time been made ſo many Chriſtians, for *Convenience* (probably) rather, then for *Conſcience*, who ſoon after returned again to Paganiſme. However, as it is rendered a reaſon in the dayes of *Hezekiah*, why the *Iews* at ſo ſhort warning, ſo unanimouſly kept the Paſſeover, *God had prepared the People, for the thing was done ſuddenly*: ſo, on the ſame account it came to paſſe, that in ſo little a time (beſides temporary Believers) ſo many true and ſincere Converts embraced the Chriſtian Faith.

Ethelbert and others converted to the Chriſtian Faith.

a Bede *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 26.

12. Then *Auguſtine* by his Letters informed *Gregory* of the Progreſſe, and Proficiency of his Paines in *England*. *Gregory* returned him a diſcreet Anſwer, rejoycing with him, and adviſing of him, not to be puffed up by Pride, for the great Miracles wrought by him; but, *timendo gaudere, & gaudendo pertimeſcere*. He minded him how, when the Diſciples triumphed at their [b] *caſting out of Devils*, Chriſt more ſpirituallized their joy, rather to rejoyce *that their Names were written in Heaven*. And indeed, as ſome eminent in Piety never attained this Honour ([c] *Iohn* [*Baptiſt*] *did no miracle*:) ſo many, finally diſavowed of God, as unknown unto him, ſhall plead for themſelves (and truly no doubt) [d] *in thy Name have we caſt out Devils*. Yet, this Admonition of *Gregory* is with me (and ought to be with all unprejudiced perſons) an Argument beyond exception, that (though no diſcreet man will believe *Auguſtine*'s Miracles in the latitude of Monkiſh Relations) he is ignorantly and uncharitably peeviſh and moroſe, who utterly denies ſome Miracles to have been really effected by him. About the ſame time, S^t. *Gregory* ſent from *Rome* *Mellitus*, *Iuſtus*, *Paulinus*, and *Ruffinianus*, to be Fellow-labourers with *Auguſtine* in the *Engliſh* Harveſt.

Gregorie's anſwer to *Auguſtine's* letters.

b *Luke* 10. 17.

c *Iohn* 10. 41.

d *Mat.* 7. 22.

600 13. Thus was *Kent* converted to Chriſtianity. For ſuch as account this a Converſion of all *England*, to make their words good, do make uſe of a long and ſtrong *Synecdoche*, *a Part for the Whole*, farre more then Half of the Land lying ſome yeares after in the Darkneſs of Paganiſme; which others afterward enlightned with the Beams of the Goſpel. But, as he is eſteemed the *Architect*, or *Maſter-workman*, not who builds up moſt of the Wall; but, who firſt deſigneth the Fabrick, and layeth the Foundation thereof: in the ſame reſpect, *Auguſtine* carrieth away the Credit of all that came after him, becauſe the primitive Planter of the Goſpel amongſt the *Saxons*. And it is obſerveable that this Converſion was done without any Perſecution (yea conſiderable Oppoſition;) coſting ſome Pain, no Torture, ſome Sweat, no Bloud; not one Martyr being made in the whole managing thereof. Mean time, the poor Chriſtian *Britans*, living peaceably at home, there enjoyed God, the Goſpell, and their Mountains; little skilfull in, and leſſe caring for the Ceremonies *al a mode*, brought over by *Auguſtine*: and indeed their Poverty could not

Concluſion of this Century.

not go to the Coſt of *Auguſtine's Silver Croſſe*, which made them worſhip the *God of their Fathers* after their own homely, but hearty Faſhion; not willing to diſturb *Auguſtine* and his Followers in their new Rites, but that he had a mind to diſquiet them in their old Service, as in the ſequele of the Hiſtory will appeare. Anno Dom. 600

THE

Anno. Dom.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

AMICO SUO

GR. B.

SOcrates *interrogatus, quo* Philtro *Natura* Sympathias *conciliaret, quidve esset in causa, ut alii hominum* primo occursu *ament medullitus, alii sibi mutuò sint infensi; hanc rationem reddidit.* Deus, *inquit, ab æterno quicquid futurum esset animarum creavit; creatas, per immensum temporis spatium in uno cumulo collocavit; collocatas, corporibus, prout indies generantur, infundit. Hinc est, si contingat vel fortuitum consortium inter eos homines, quorum animæ in hoc acervo propinquiores, quòd* primo visu *(quasi veteris vicinitatis memores) se invicem diligant; dum isti,* primo intuitu, *antipathiæ stimulis urgeantur, quorum animæ adversantes diametricè opponebantur.*

Fateor commentum hoc Socraticum *à* Theologia *abhorrere; & in* Philosophia *plurimis asystatis laborare. Quod si ei subesset tantum* veritatis, *quantum* ingenii, *sanctissimè voverem, in hoc* animarum cumulo Tuam *&* Meam *contiguas olim jacuisse; cum* Te *primum conspectum & animitus amarem, & à* Te *redamarer.*

601 1. MUch about this time *Pope Gregory* sent two *Arch-Bishops Palls* into *England*; the one for[a] *London*, the other for *York*. The former of these Cities had been honoured with an *Arch-bishop's See* some hundred yeares since King *Lucius*. But at the instance of *Augustine*, and by a new Order of the foresaid *Gregory*, this *Pall* sent to *London*, was removed thence to *Canterbury*, (whereof *Augustine* was made *Arch-Bishop*) and there, for the future, fixed and confirmed for severall Reasons. First, *London* already had Lustre enough, being the biggest City in *Britain*; and it was needlesse to adde new Spirituall to her old Temporall Greatnesse, which conjoyned, might cause Pride in any one place, whilest divided, they might give Honour to two Cities. Secondly, *London*, by reason of the Receit thereof, was likely to prove the residing place for the *English* Monarch; and it was probable that the *Archiepiscopall* Dignity would there be eclipst and out-shined by the Regall *Diadem*. Thirdly, had *Augustine* been *Arch-Bishop* of *London*, he might have seemed to succeed the *British Arch-Bishops*, and to have derived some Right from them, contrary

Why the Arch-bishops See was removed from *London* to *Canterbury*.

[a] *Reg. Wendover, Matth. Florileg.* and *Reff.* Histor.

Anno. Dom. 601

trary to his Humour, who would Lead All, but Follow None; and therefore would not wear an Old Title, but have a ſpan-New *Arch-Biſhops Chaire* carved out for himſelf. Laſtly, *Canterbury* was the place, wherein Chriſtianity was firſt received by the *Saxons*, and therefore deſerved to be honoured, to perpetuate the Memory thereof. Thus *London* hereafter muſt be contented with the plain Seat of a *Biſhop*, the *Mother* being made a *Daughter*, and muſt come behind *Canterbury*, which did much wrong, and perchance ſomething trouble her. But Churches have more Diſcretion and Humility, then to break their Hearts about earthly Precedency: and the matter is not much, which *See* went firſt, when living; ſeeing our Age hath laid them both alike levell in their Graves.

Auguſtine ſummons a Synod of Saxon and Britiſh Biſhops.

2. *Auguſtine* thus armed with *Archiepiſcopall* Authority, to ſhew a Caſt of his Office, by the Aid of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, called a Councill, for the *Saxon* and *Britiſh Biſhops* to come together, in the Confines of the *Wiccians* and *Weſt-Saxons*. An indifferent Place, for mutuall Eaſe, in mid-way betwixt both; haply preſaging, that as their diſtant Perſons met on equall termes, ſo their oppoſite Opinions might agree in ſome Moderation. The particular Place was called AUGUSTINES AKE (that is his Oak, in our modern Dialect) which [a] *Stapleton* (miſtaken by the affinity of *Wiccii* or *Veccii*, with *Vectis*, the Latine name for the *Iſle* of *Wight*) ſeeketh near *Southampton*; where, indeed, he may find many *Oaks* in the *New Foreſt*, and yet miſſe the right one. For this *Oak* ſtood in the Confines of [b] *Worceſter* and *Hereſordſhire* (though at this day Time hath confounded it *Root* and *Branch*) and therefore this Meeting is in Latine called *Synodus* [c] *Vigornienſis*. Many ſolemn Entertainments, we know, were anciently made under [d] Trees: and a *Palm-tree* ſerved *Deborah* for her *Weſtminſter-Hall*, wherein ſhe *judged* [e] *Iſrael*. But ſeverall reaſons are aſſigned, why *Auguſtine* kept this Councill under an *Oak*. Firſt, ſo publick a place was free from Exceptions; whereunto none were debarred Acceſſe. Secondly, being congregated under the view of Heaven, and not pent within the Walles of a private Houſe, they were minded of clear, fair, and open Proceedings, without ſecret Ends, or ſiniſter Intents. Thirdly, perchance ſome *Pagan Saxons* (allured with *Novelty*) would repair to the Councill, whoſe Iealouſy was ſuch, as in no caſe they would come under a Roof, for fear of [f] Faſcination, as hath been formerly obſerved. Laſtly, *Auguſtine* knowing that the *Pagan Britans* performed their Superſtitions under an [g] *Oak*, celebrated his Synod under the ſame, in ſome Imitation, and yet a Correction of their Idolatry: As in a religious Parallel, *Pagan* Temples had formerly by him been converted into Churches of Saints. But when all is done, the matter is not ſo clear, but that the place called *Auguſtine's Oak*, may as well be a *Town* as a *Tree*, ſo called from ſome eminent *Oak* in, at, or near it: as the *Vine* in *Hampſhire*, ſo named from Vines anciently growing there, is a beautifull *Houſe*, and principall *Seat*, where the *Barons Sandes* have their Habitation. And, what is moſt appoſite for our purpoſe, *Sozomen* calleth the Place where *Theophilus* kept a Synod againſt St. *Chryſoſtome*, the *Oak*; which, notwithſtanding, is notoriouſly known to have been a populous Suburb of the City of *Chalcedon*.

a *In his Tranſlation of* Bede, 2 Book, 2 Ch.

b Camden's *Britannia in* Worceſterſhire.

c Spelman *in Concilijs, Anno* 601. *pag.* 107.

d *Gen.* 18. 4.

e *Judges* 4. 5.

f *This reaſon is given by Sir* Henry Spelman, *ut prius.*

g *See firſt Century* 3. *parag.*

The *Britiſh* Clergy refuſe ſubmiſſion to the Pope of *Rome.*

3. At the firſt Seſſions of this *Synod* there was a very thin Appearance of the *Britans*: of whom *Auguſtine* demanded, that they ſhould mutually contribute with him their Paines to convert the *Heathen* in *Britain*, and that they ſhould ſubmit to the *Pope*, and embrace an Uniformity with the *Romiſh Rites*, eſpecially in the Celebration of *Eaſter*. What their Anſwer was, it is pitty it ſhould be delivered in any other Words, then what the *Abbot* of *Banchor*, being the *Mouth* for the reſt, repreſented, as followeth; and let it ſhift, as well as it can, for its own authenticalneſs.

Bid

Anno Dom. 601

BId iſpis a diogel i, chwi ynbod ni holl vn ac arral, yn vuidd ac ynn oſtingedig i Eglwys Duw, ac ir Paab o Ruvain, ac i Boob Kyar griſdie n dwyuol; y garu pawb yn i radd mewn kariad parfaich, ac i helpio pawb o honaunt ar air a guec thred i vod ynn blant y Duw, ac amgenach wyddod nc hwn nidadwen i vod ir neb yr yddeck chwi y henwi yn Paab ne in Daad o Daad, yw glemio ac yw ovunn: ar uvyddod hi vn idden in yn varod yw rodde ac yw dalu iddo ef ac i pob Krisdion yn dragwiddol. He uid yr ydym ni dan lywodrath Esoob Kaerllion ar Wysc, yr hien ysidd yn oligwr dan Duw ar nom ni, y wuenthud i ni gadwr fordd ysbrydol.

BE it knovvn and vvithout doubt unto you, that vve all are, and every one of us, obedient and ſubjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, *and to every godly Chriſtian, to love every one in his degree in perfect Charity, and to help every one of them, by vvord and deed to be the children of God: and other Obedience then this I do not knovv due to him vvhom you name to be Pope, nor to be the Father of Fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded. And this Obedience vve are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Chriſtian continually. Beſides, vve are under the government of the Biſhop of* Kaerlion *upon* Uske, *vvho is to overſee under God over us, to cauſe us to keep the vvay ſpirituall.*

Copied exactly many yeares ſince by Sr. Henry Spelman out of an ancient Britiſh manuſcript of Mr. Peter Moſtons a Welch Gentleman; Spelman's Concilia pag. 108.

See we here the Pedigree of the *Britiſh* Church, which the ſhorter the ancienter, the fewer Steps it had, the higher it reached. They were ſubject in Spirituall matters to the Biſhop of *Caer-lion*, and above him unto God, without any ſubordination unto the *Pope:* ſo that it was more then a Preſumption, that Religion came into *Britain*, not by the *Semicircle* of *Rome*, but in a Direct *Line* from the *Aſiatick* Churches. We muſt not forget, that though many yeares ſince, the Archiepiſcopall *See* of the *Britans* was removed from *Caer-lion* to S^t. *Davids*; yet it ſtill retained the Title of *Caer-lion*, as of the firſt and moſt famous place.

4. A late Papiſt much impugneth the Credit of this Manuſcript (as made ſince the Dayes of King *Henry* the eighth) and cavilleth at the *VVelſh* thereof, as modern, and full of falſe Spelling. He need not have uſed ſo much Violence to wreſt it out of our Hands, who can part with it without conſiderable Loſſe to our ſelves, or Gain to our Adverſaries; for it is but a Breviate or Abſtract of thoſe Paſſages, which in *Bede* and other Authours appear moſt true, of the *Britiſh* refuſing Subjection to the See of *Rome*. Whileſt therefore the *Chapter* is *Chronicall*, it matters not if the *Contents* be *Apocrypha* (as the Additions of ſome wel-meaning Scribe.) And though this *VVelſh* be far later then the Dayes of *Abbot Dinoth*, and the *Engliſh* (added in the originall) later then the *VVelſh*; yet the *Latin*, as ancienter then both, containeth nothing contrary to the ſenſe of all Authours, which write this Intercourſe betwixt *Auguſtine* and the *VVelſh* Nation.

The credit of this manuſcript impugned.

5. But this Synod in fine proved ineffectuall, the *Britiſh* Biſhops refuſing to ſubmit, and *Auguſtine* to communicate with them without ſuch Submiſſion. Whereupon, at *Auguſtine*'s motion, a Blind man was publick-

The Synod proves ineffectual.

ly presented amongst them: on whom the *British* Bishops practised in vain with their Prayers, to restore him to his Sight; which, at the Request of *Augustine* to God, was [a] presently and perfectly performed. This Miracle convinced the *Britans*, that *Augustine* was in the right for the critticall Observation of *Easter*. But yet, they could not *absque suorum consensu ac licentia*, without the National Consent of their own People, and principall *Elders* therein, renounce their ancient Customes, to embrace new Practices. Indeed, as for their submitting to *Augustine*'s Jurisdiction, they apprehended it unsafe for the present, and mischievous for the future; having another Civil Government under Kings of their own, and suspecting his Spirituall Power might in processe of time intrench upon their Temporall Liberty. Anno Dom. 601

[a] Bede *Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. c. 2.*

The Dialogue betwixt the *British* Bishops and the Anchoret

6. Departing hence, the *Britans* repaired to an Aged Anchoret, characterred by *Beda* to be *sanctus & prudens*, *holy and wise* (and none would wish his Counseller better qualified) and craved his Advise, how hereafter they should behave themselves in the next Synod, wherein they had promised to give *Augustine* a meeting: which out of our Authour may thus be *Dialogue-wise* digested.

British Bishops. Anchoret.

Brit. B. '*Are we bound to desert our Traditions at the Preaching of* Augustine?
Anch. '*If he be a Man of God, follow him.*
Brit. B. '*But how shall we be able to make Triall thereof?*
Anch. '*The* [b] *Lord saith*, Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I 'am meek, and lowly in heart. *If therefore this* Augustine *be Milde, 'and Humble in heart, it is credible that he himself beareth the* Yoke 'of Christ, *and tendereth the same to be born of you: but if he be Cruel, 'and Proud, it appeareth that he is not of God, neither ought ye to heed 'what he saith.*
Brit. B. '*But how shall we make Discovery hereof?*
Anch. '*Contrive it so, that he & his may come first into the Place of the Synod. 'And if he rise up when you draw near unto him, hear him then obe- 'diently, knowing him for a Servant of Christ: but if he slighteth you, 'and vouchsafeth not to rise up unto you (seeing you are moe in Number) 'let him be slighted by you.*

[b] *Matth. 11. 29.*

Armed with these Instructions, the *British* Bishops advance to the second Synod. Where *Augustine*, Pontifically sitting in his Chair, at their Entrance, entertained them onely with Neglect and Contempt; which by the *Britans* was accordingly requited.

Proud Disciples *Augustine.*

7. Herein that stately Prelate forgot S[t]. *Gregorie*'s Precept to him, *Not* [c] *to proceed too rigorously in the Alteration of Ceremonies, but to allow a Latitude according to Time and Place.* Oh, for a little in him of S[t]. *Paul*'s Temper, who was [d] *made all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some.* Had *Augustine*'s Joynts been suppled with the Oyl of Humility, one bended Knee might probably have bowed many Hearts unto him; whereas now he lost their Affections. Pride being an unwinning Quality, rendering the Proud party scorned by his Betters, hated by his Equals, feared (perchance) by his Inferiours, but loved by None. Had not he, who is said to have cured the Blind, need to have his own Eies opened herein? Who, though he be commonly called *Augustine* the *lesse*, in distinction from his Name-sake, Father S[t]. *Augustine* of *Hippo*; yet may be allowed *Augustine* the *great*, if a Measure be taken from the Dimensions of his Pride and Haughtinesse.

[c] *See his answer to* Augustine's *third question.*
[d] 1 Cor. 9. 22.

Augustine's Propheſie.

8. We passe now from this *Augustine*'s Pride, to his Propheſie: who enraged at the *British* Bishops, for denying Subjection unto him, flatly fell a menacing them; that, seeing they would not submit to his Motion, and

joyn

Anno Dom. 601 joyn with him in Preaching to the *Saxons*, soon after they should feel the force of their Enemies Sword, and be suddenly confounded by those, whom they would not endeavour to convert. Which accordingly came to passe.

603 alias 605 9. For not long after, *Ethelfride* the Pagan King of *Northumberland*, having conquered *Chester*, invaded *Wales*, and bade the *Britans* battel. Amongst them was a Regiment of the Monks of *Bangor*, all naked, and unarmed, save with Tears and Prayers (whose Vollies whereof they discharged to Heaven for the good Successe of their Country-men) being all by themselves upon an Advantage of Ground; and one *Brockmaile* a *Britan* (as Captain of their Life-guard) had a Company of Souldiers to defend them. *Ethelfride* being informed that these Monks prayed against him, concluded them to be his effectual Enemies, though otherwise offering him no Hostility; and fiercely falling on them, put twelve hundred of them to the Sword, fifty onely escaping: *Brockmaile* most basely deserting them, whom he was set to defend.

The massacre of the Monks of *Bangor*.

10. But here some Birds sing a different Note from the rest, which must be listened unto; namely, such Authours, considerable for their Number, Antiquity, Gravity, and Learning, who accuse this *Augustine* for the Designer of the Death and Destruction of these innocent *British* Monks: so that he cunningly foretold, what he himself cruelly intended to fulfill. Thus, well might *Iezabel*, who [a] *calleth herself a Propheteſſe*, certainly foreshew the death of *Naboth*, for denying his Vine-yard to *Ahab*, when she had purposely before-hand packed and plotted the same. An heavy Accusation if true, that *Augustine* (to use my [b] Friend's Expression) *Gregorii Vicarius*, should be *Gregis ſicarius*; *& Eccleſiæ futuræ Anglicanæ Converſor*, should be *præſentis Britannicæ everſor*; so that instead of *a Prophets Reward*, he deserved the Punishment of a Murderer. But to clear this point, conceive we a Grand-Jury of four and twenty judicious Readers empannelled, before whom the Memory of *Augustine* is indicted of Murder, and Witnesses produced on both Sides. Let none censure me, if in these Proceedings my Pen failes in legal Formalities, such Exactnesse not being by me intended, but onely some general Conformity with a Law-triall, to fix the History in our Fancies with more Pleasure and Delight.

Augustine suspected to be their murderer.

a *Revel.* 2. 20

b *Mr.* Abraham Wheelock, *in his notes on* Bede, *pag.* 115.

11. The Bill first was solemnly read, running to this effect, *That* Augustine *the Monk* (*commonly called* the English Apostle) *not having the Feare of God before his Eyes, out of fore-thought Malice, feloniously did plot, project, and contrive the Murther of twelve hundred Monks of* Bangor, *by soliciting* Ethelbert *the Christian King of* Kent, *to move* Ethelfride *the Pagan King of* Northumberland, *with force of Armes to kill and slay the Monks aforesaid*, &c. An Accusation so hainous, that at first it filled the whole Jury with Silence, Horrour, and Amazement; till afterwards they recollected themselves to attend unto the following Witnesses.

Witnesses produced against him.

1. *Ieffery Monmouth*, whose *Welsh* Bloud was up, as concern'd in the Cause of his Country-men; *Ethelbert King of* Kent (said [c] he) *when he saw the* Britans *disdaining to yield Subjection to* Augustine, *and that they scorned to be subject to himself, stirred up the* Northumberlanders, *and other* Saxon *Princes, that gathering a great Army against the City of* Bangor, *they should go forth to destroy the Abbot* Dionoth, *and the other Clergy, who had formerly slighted them.*

c *Manuscript. in pub. lib. Cantab. pag.* 167.

2. *Thomas Gray*, an old [d] Chronicler (as it is written in *French*) brought in this Evidence, *That* Augustine *being refused of the Christian* Britans, *enflamed* Ethelbertus *King of* Kent *to levy his Power, and to war against them, himself being also in company*, (as in the old Abstract of Chronicles is recorded) *and marching with him towards the Slaughter*; Where they had no more regard of Mercy, then a Wolf hath upon a Sheep.

d *Cited in* Jewel's *Apolog. part* 1. *pag.* 11.

3. *Nicolas Trivet*, a *Dominican*, who wrote some three hundred years since, [a] deposed, *That* Ethelbert *King of* Kent, *being highly offended, incited* Ethelfride *King of* Northumberland, *and other petty* Saxon *Kings, because they had contemned* Augustine *in the Council*, &c. Anno Dom. 603

4. *Elsebiensis Monachus* commenting on those words of *Merlin, Delebitur iterum Religio, Religion shall again be destroyed*, thus [b] expoundeth them; *This was afterwards fulfilled, either by* Gormund, *or by* Augustine, *who caused twelve hundred Monks to be slain at* Bangor *in* Wales, *because they obeyed him not in a Councill.*

These Testimonies much moved the Jury; who, notwithstanding, reserved their other Eare, as it became Honest men, to hearken to the Depositions in *Augustine*'s behalf.

12. Amongst these, that of [c] *Bede* was most materiall: *Sicque completum est praesagium sancti Pontificis* Augustini [*quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad caelestia regna sublato*] *ut etiam temporalis interitus ultionem sentirent perfidi, quod oblata sibi perpetuae salutis consilia spreverant.* Which words (for, it is seasonably remembred, all Pleas must now be in *English*) may thus be translated; *And so the propheſy of holy Bishop* Augustine *was fulfilled* [*although himself long before that was taken out of this Life to the Kingdome of Heaven*] *that also the treacherous People might feel the Revenge of Temporal Ruine, because they had despised the Counsells of Eternall Salvation offered unto them.*

13. Much Difference arose hereabouts: the rather, because some urged that Parenthesis (*Although himself long before*, &c.) to have been studiously interpolated in *Bede*, on purpose for the Purgation of *Augustine*, by some in after-Ages that favoured him; alledging, that it is not in the ancient *Saxon* Copies, being put in as *a piece of new Cloth into an old Garment*, with intent to *fill it up*, but in event *making it worse*; because this Passage checketh the Pen of *Bede* in the full Speed thereof (no lesse against the Rules of History, then of Horsemanship) as he was writing the Life of *Augustine*, the Story whereof notwithstanding still runs on, and continues untill the end of the next Chapter. Here some of the Jury betook themselves to the point of Chronologie, as most proper to decide the matter now depending; but such was the Variety of Authours, that no Certainty could thence be extracted. For, though the Massacre of the Monks of *Bangor* is generally noted to be [d] *Anno* 603. which falls out before the Death of *Augustine*: yet the Annals of *Ulster* (whose Authority is not to be contemned) [e] observe the same in the year 613. which undoubtedly was after *Augustine*'s Decease.

14. Then a second sort of Witnesses presented themselves, as [f] *M. Parker*, [g] *Bishop Jewel*, and others, somewhat sharp against *Augustine* in their Expressions: which wrought the lesse with the Jury, partly, because of such Authours their known Opposition to the *Romish* Church; and partly, because of their Modern writing, almost a thousand years after the matter in fact. Onely the Moderate Testimony of Reverend M^r. *Fox* much moved the whole Court, as one throughly well-affected in Religion, and averse from all Popery and Cruelty, thus expressing himself: [h] *This seemeth rather suspicious then true, that* Ethelbert *being a Christian King, either could so much prevail with a Pagan Idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel Deed: But of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, lesse to judge.* This (I say) prevailed so far with the Jury, that consulting with themselves, they found an *Ignoramus*. With whose commendable Charity I concurre; preferring rather to clear a *Twi-light* Innocence into *Noon-day*, then to darken it into *Midnight*.

15. To return to the Monks of *Bangor*. Their innocent Bloud went not long unrevenged: for we find [i] recorded, how three *British* Princes, namely, *Bleiderick* Duke of *Cornwall*, *Margadud* Duke of *South-Wales*, and *Cadwan* Duke of *North-Wales*, bade Battel to the *Northumberlanders*, as they were invading *Wales*,

a *Sir* Henry Spelman's *Councills*, *pag.* 111.

b *Matth. Sect. in* Benet Coll. *Librar. Camb.*

Testimonies in his behalf.

c *Eccles. Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *editione Wheloc.*

The Paragraph in *Bede*'s testimony questioned.

d Matt. West. Chichester. *MS. Bibl. pub. Cantabrig.*

e James Usher *Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pag.* 1157. Mr. Fox his moderation much moveth the Jury.

f *Antiq. Britan. pag.* 48.

g *Apol. part* 1. *pag.* 11.

h *Acts and Monum. part* 1. *p.* 154. *col.* 2.

i Nicolas Trivet, largely cited by *Sir* Henry Spelman in his *Councills*, *pag.* 112.

The bloud of *Bangor* Monks revenged.

Anno Dom. 693

Wales, and not onely dangerously wounded the aforesaid *Ethelfride* their King, but also discomfited his Army, and slew ten thousand and sixty of his Souldiers, forcing him at last to Articles of Composition, that he should confine himself within his own Country, North of *Trent*, and leave all *Wales* to be entirely and peaceably enjoyed by the *Britans*, the true Owners thereof.

16. However here, to our great Grief, we are fain to take our Farewell, for some hundreds of years, of the *British* Church, wanting Instructions concerning the Remarkable Particulars thereof. Yet Dr. *Harpsfield* deserves a Check, both for his false[a] Ground-work, and presumptuous Inference built thereupon. For, first, he slighteth the *British* Nation, as such an one, as since this their Dissenting from *Augustine*, and the *Romish* Church in Ceremonies, never archieved any Actions of Renown, or mounted to any Eminency in the world. Then, he imputeth their being so long depressed, and at last subdued by the *English*, as a just Punishment of God, on their not Complying with *Rome*: so pragmaticall a Prier he is into Divine Secrets. But he who thus *casteth forth a National Abuse*, can never see where such a Stone *lighteth*, for (besides the Nation for the time being) their Posterity ingaged therein have just cause either to find, or make Reparation to themselves. I could, and would my self assert the *British* from his Scandalous Pen, were it not against the Rules of Manners and Discretion; to take this Office out of the hands of some of their own Nation, for whom it is more proper, as they are more able to perform it.

Farewell taken for some years of the *British* Church.

[a] *Eccles. Hist. Seculo 7. c. 19. pag. 114.*

17. Onely give me leave to insert a Line or two (some Pleasant Discourse will not do amiss, after so much Sad matter) in Commendation of the *British* Tongue, and Vindication thereof, against such as causelesly traduce it. First, their Language is Native. It was one of those which departed from *Babel*: and herein it relates to God, as the more immediate Authour thereof; whereas most Tongues in *Europe* ow their Beginning to humane Depraying of some Original Language. Thus the *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French*, Daughters, or Neeces to the *Latine*, are generated from the Corruption thereof. Secondly, Unmixed. For, though it hath some few Forrain Words, and useth them sometimes; yet she rather accepteth them out of State, then borroweth them out of Need, as having besides these, other Words of her own to express the same things. Yea, the *Romans* were so far from making the *Britans* to *do*, that they could not make them to *speak* as they would have them: their very Language never had a perfect Conquest in this Island. Thirdly, Unaltered. Other Tongues are daily disguised with forrain Words, so that in a Century of years, they grow Strangers to themselves: as now an *English*-man needs an Interpreter to understand *Chaucer*'s English. But the *British* continues so constant to it self, that the Prophesies of old *Taliesin* (who lived above a thousand years since) are at this day intelligible in that Tongue. Lastly, Durable, which had it's Beginning at the Confusion of Tongues, and is likely not to have it's Ending till the Dissolution of the World.

Commendation of the *British* language.

18. Some indeed inveigh against it, as being hard to be pronounced, having a conflux of many Consonants, and some of them double-sounded, yea, whereas the Mouth is the place wherein the *Office of Speech* is generally kept, the *British* words must be uttered through the Throat. But this rather argues the Antiquity thereof, herein running parallel with the *Hebrew* (the common Tongue of the Old World, before it was inclosed into severall Languages) and hath much Affinity therewith, in joyning of words with Affixes, and many other Correspondencies. Some also cavill, that it grates and tortures the eares of Hearers with the Harshnesse thereof: whereas indeed it is unpleasant onely to such as are Ignorant of it. And thus every Tongue seems stammering, which is not understood; yea, *Greek* it self is Barbarisme to *Barbarians*. Besides, what is nick-named Harshness therein, maketh it indeed more full, stately, and masculine. But such is the Epicurisme of Modern Times,

Causelesly traduced by ignorance.

Anno Dom. 603

Times, to adduce all words to the Eare, that (as in the *French*) they melt out, in pronouncing, many essentiall Letters, taking out all the Bones, to make them bend the better in speaking: and such Hypocrites in their Words speak them not truly in their native Strength, as the plain-dealing *British* do, which pronounce every letter therein more manly, if lesse melodious. Lastly, some condemn it unjustly as a Worthlesse Tongue, because leading to no matter of moment; and, who will care to carry about that Key, which can unlock no Treasure? But this is false; that Tongue affording Monuments of Antiquity, *some being left, though many be lost*, and moe had been extant, but for want of Diligence in Seeking, and Carefulnesse in Preserving them.

Augustine baptizeth 10000. in one day.

19. But, craving pardon of the Reader for this Digression, we reassume our *Augustine*, who all this while was very industrious, and no lesse successefull in converting the *Saxons* to the Christian Faith. Insomuch that a certain [a] Authour reporteth, how in the River *Swale* near *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*, *Augustine* on one day baptized above ten thousand; adding withall, that the People not onely passed without Danger through so deep a River, but also they who were sick, and deformed when they went in, were whole [b] and handsome when they came forth again. The judicious Reader may in this Miracle discover, how the Authour thereof (no doubt some ignorant Monk) hath therein jumbled and confounded three distinct Scripture-Histories, to make a mock-Parallel betwixt the Rivers *Iordan* and *Swale*;

Borrowing	1. The Peoples safe passing through it,	from	*Ioshua*'s [c] conducting the *Israelites* through	*Iordan*.
	2. Their being baptized in it,		*Iohn*'s [d] baptizing the *Iews* in	
	3. The curing of their Infirmities by it,		*Elisha*'s [e] healing *Naaman*'s leprosie in	

But here it must be remembred, that *Bede* maketh no mention at all hereof, and ascribeth this numerous Baptizing to *Paulinus* Arch-Bishop of *York* many years after. It would argue too much Morosity in us, to demurre in our faith to the whole Fact, till Authours are all agreed about the Doer thereof. For mine own part, I conceive *Paulinus* the more probable Person, as questioning whether *Augustine* (most conversant amongst the *South* and *West-Saxons*) ever moved so far Northward.

The simplicity of ancient Baptisme.

20. And, if so many were baptized in one day, it appeares plainly, that in that Age, the Administration of that Sacrament was not loaded with those Superstitious Ceremonies, as essentiall thereunto, of Crossing, Spittle, Oyl, Cream, Salt, and such like Trinkets; which *Protestants* generally as little know what they are, as *Papists* why they use them. I say, in that Age nothing was used with Baptisme but Baptisme; the *Word* and the *Water* made the Sacrament. Yea, the Arch-Bishop is said to have [f] *commanded by the voice of Cryers, that the People should enter the River confidently, two by two, and, in the name of the Trinity, baptize one another by turns.* This, indeed, was the most compendious way; otherwise *Ioshua*'s day, wherein the Sun stood still, had been too short for one mans personal performance of such an Employment.

The Idol Heale destroied by *Augustine* at *Cern*.

21. Another considerable Accession was made to Christianity in the South-West part of this Isle, and particularly in *Dorsetshire*; where *Augustine* at *Cern*, destroyed the Idol of *Heale*, or *Æsculapius*, which the *Saxons* formerly [g] adored. But in his journey hither (Reader, they are not mine, but my [h] Authours words) *with his Holy Company, they were cruelly oppressed with the three familiar Discommodities of Travellers, Hunger, Thirst, and Wearinesse; when* Augustine *striking his Staffe into the Ground, fetch'd forth a crystal Fountain, which quenched the extremity of their Thirst: whence the Place was afterward*

a *Cited by Mr.* Camden, *Preface of Brit. pag.* 136.
b *Flores Sanctorum tom.* 1. *wrote by* Hierome Porter *pag.* 515.
c *Ios.* 4. 1.
d *Matth.* 3. 6.
e 2 *Kin.* 5. 14.
f Camden *ut prius.*
g Camden's *Brit. in Dorsetshire.*
h *Flores Sanctorum in the life of Augustine, p.* 515, 516.

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ward called Cernel, *from* Cerno in *Latine, to see, and* El *in Hebrew, God.* A Composition of a Name hardly to be precedented, that a Word should commence *per saltum*, from *Latine* into *Hebrew*, without taking *Greek* by the way thereof. Why not rather *Cernwell, Behold the fountain*; or *Cernheal, See the Destruction of the Idol*? But in truth, in all Books ancient and [a] modern, the Place is plainly written *Cern*, without any paragogical apposition thereunto.

Malmsb. Gest. Pontif. 250

a *So both in* Camden, *and* Harpsfield.

22. Indeed, most of the Miracles assign'd unto this *Augustine*, intended with their Strangeness to raise and heighten, with their Levity and Absurdity do depresse and offend true Devotion. Witnesse, how when the Villagers in *Dorsetshire* beat *Augustine*, and his Fellows, and in Mockery fastened Fish-tailes at their Backs, in punishment hereof, *All that* [b] *Generation had that given them by Nature, which so contemptibly they fastened on the Backs of these Holy men.* Fy for shame! he needs an hard Plate on his Face that reports it, and a soft Place in his Head that believes it.

A ridiculous miracle.

b *Flores Sanctorum ut prius.*

23. However, for the main, we undoubtedly believe that the Preaching of *Augustine* and his Fellows took good Effect, finding the visible Progresse, and the Improvement thereof, in the Conversion of so many from Paganisme to Christianity. For, *Sebert* King of *Essex* (nephew to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, by *Ricula* his Sister) embraced the Faith, with all his Kingdome, by the Ministery of *Mellitus*, whom *Augustine* ordained Bishop of *London*; much about the same time making one *Iustus* a *Roman* (who was *vir sui nominis*, a man answering his Name) Bishop of *Rochester*. Many other remarkable matters happened in the Life of *Augustine*, especially those Questions and Answers, which passed betwixt him and *Gregory* the Great; by us purposely omitted, partly, because they are too voluminous to insert; and partly, because they are at large in many [c] Authours, to whom we remit the Reader.

The great improvement of the Gospel.

c Bede, *Book of Martyrs, and others.*

610 alias 611 alias 612

24. And now was the time come of *Augustine*'s Dissolution, whose Body was buried in the Northern Porch of the New Church in *Canterbury*, dedicated to *Peter* and *Paul*, having (as [d] *Bede* informs us) this Inscription written upon his Monument; *Here resteth Lord* Augustine *the first Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury; *who being in times past sent hither from Blessed* Gregory *Bishop of the* Roman *City, and supported by God with the working of Miracles, brought King* Ethelbert *and his Countrey, from the Worshipping of Idols to the Faith of Christ: and the dayes of his Office being finished in Peace, he died the seventh of the Calends of* June, *the same King reigning.*

Augustine's death and Epitaph.

d *Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

25. But in this Epitaph *one thing is wanting*, and that mainly materiall; namely the Year when he died. Strangely is that Watch contrived, and is generally useless, which shews the Minute of the Hour, not the Hour of the Day. As this Epitaph points at the Day, of smaller consequence; leaving out the Year, of greater concernment. This hath put mens Fansies on various Conjectures. Some make it a mere *Omission* of *Bede*: which notwithstanding is very strange, because otherwise he is most Criticall, and Punctuall in the Notation of Time. Others conceive it a fault of *Commission*, in some of after-Ages, who purposely expunged the Year (beshrew their Fingers that thrust out *the Eyes*, *the Date* of this Epitaph) lest the same should make too clear Discoveries of *Augustine*'s surviving after the Massacre of the Monks of *Bangor*; which would increase the Suspicion of his having a Finger therein. Others place the Neglect in the Monument-maker, and not in *Bede*; seeing he was but the bare Relater of the Epitaph, and therefore loath to add, or alter any thing thereof. Perchance the Tombe-maker registred the Day, as a Nicety most likely to be forgotten; omitting the Year, as a thing generally, universally, and notoriously known, all men keeping a Record thereof, which in processe of time became wholly forgotten. Thus, those things are not long effectually kept by any, which are equally to be kept by All,

The date of the year, how wanting therein.

All, and not charged on any One mans particular Account. Sure I am, the setting up of this Land-mark, the noting of the Year of his Death, had given excellent Direction to such as travel in the *Saxon* Chronologie; who now wander at Randome for the want of it. Anno Dom. 610

Farewell to S. *Augustine.*

26. And now we take our Farewell of *Augustine*, of whom we give this Character. He found here a plain Religion (Simplicity is the Badge of Antiquity) practised by the *Britans*, living some of them in the Contempt, and many moe in the Ignorance of Worldly Vanities, in a barren Country: And surely, Piety is most healthful in those places, where it can least surfeit of Earthly Pleasures. He brought in a Religion spun with a Courser Threed, though garded with a Finer Trimming, made luscious to the Senses with pleasing Ceremonies, so that many, who could not judge of the Goodnesse, were courted with the Gaudinesse thereof. Indeed the Papists brag, that he was *the Apostle of the English*; but not one in the Stile of S^t. *Paul*, [a] *neither from men, nor by man, but by Iesus Christ*; being onely a derivative Apostle, sent by the second hand: in which sense also he was not our sole Apostle; though he first put in his Sickle, others reaped down more of the *English* Harvest, propagating the Gospel farther, as shall appear hereafter. But because the Beginnings of things are of greatest consequence, we commend his Paines, condemn his Pride, allow his Life, approve his Learning, admire his Miracles, admit the Foundation of his Doctrine *Iesus Christ*; but refuse *the Hay and Stubble* he built thereupon. We are indebted to God his Goodnesse in moving *Gregory*, *Gregorie*'s Carefulnesse in sending *Augustine*, *Augustine*'s Forwardnesse in preaching here: but above all, let us blesse God's exceeding great Favour, that that Doctrine which *Augustine* planted here but impure, and his Successours made worse with watering, is since, by the happy Reformation, cleared and refined to the Purity of the Scriptures.

a *Gal.* 1. 1.

Laurentius succeedeth *Augustine.* b *Bede Eccles. Hist. lib.* 2. *c.* 4.

27. After the death of *Augustine*, *Laurentius* a *Roman* succeeded him, whom *Augustine* in his Life-time not onely designed for, but *ordained* [b] *in that Place*, out of his abundant Caution, that the Infant-Church might not be Orphan an Hour, lest Satan should assault the *Breath of such a Vacancy*, to the Disadvantage of Religion. Such a super-Ordination in such cases was Canonicall, it being [*] a Tradition, that S^t. *Peter* in like manner consecrated *Clement* his Successour in the Church of *Rome*. And sure it is, the Prophet *Elijah* (no doubt to his great Comfort whilest living) [c] anointed *Elisha* to minister in his Room, in his Propheticall Function. In one respect *Laurentius* exceeded *Augustine*, that he reduced the Recusant *Britans* and *Scots*, (probably demeaning himself more humbly then his Predecessour) to some tolerable Conformity to the *Romish* Ceremonies, especially in the Celebration of *Easter*. Now, seeing frequent Mention hath formerly been made, of the Difference between the *Romish* and *British* Churches, in Observation of that Festivall; we will endeavour, as truly as briefly, to state the Controversie betwixt them, with Arguments each side produceth in their own behalf.

* *Idem Ibidem*

c 1 *Kings* 19. 16.

The controversie about *Easter* betwixt *Rome* and the *Britans*, stated.

28. But, because the Point in hand is so nice (rather then necessary) that a little Variation therein may be materiall, I will carefully follow the truest Copy I can get, in stating the Question, taking it from a Learned [d] Pen exactly skilled therein.

The *Romans* kept	The *Britans* kept
Easter *upon that Sunday which fell betwixt the* 15. *&* 21. *day of the* [*] *Moon* (*both terms included*) *next after the* 21. *day of March, which they accounted to be the seat of the Vernall Equinoctiall. And in reckoning the Age of the Moon, they followed the* Alexandrian *Cycle of* 19 *yeares, as it was explained unto them by* Dionysius Exiguus.	Easter *upon the Sunday that fell betwixt the* 14. *and* 20. *day of the Moon, following in their Account thereof, not the* 19 *yeares Computation of* Anatolius, *but* Sulpitius Severus *his Circle of* 84 *yeares.*

d Iames Usher, *in the Religion of the ancient* Irish, *cap.* 9. *pag.* 63.

* *Hence is it, that* Beza *tartly termeth the controversie* Lunatica quæstio.

It

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It is enough to prove the Practice of *Rome* was the right, that it was the Practice of *Rome*; yea, did it not *deserve the Stab* of Excommunication, for any dissenting from her practice, tantamountingly *to give her the Lie*? However, it seems the Reputation of *Rome*'s Infallibility was yet in the Nonage thereof, that the *British* durst so boldly differ from them, without danger of Damnation.

29. Yea, they pretended ancient Tradition on their side, from the Primitive Times, derived from S^t. *John* himself; as by the ensuing Verses (which we thought fit to translate) may appear: The *Britons* their plea.

Nos seriem[a] *patriam, non frivola scripta tenemus,*
Discipulo * *eusebii Polycarpo dante Iohannis.*
Ille etenim bis septena sub tempore Phœbæ
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum,
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sentit.

No writings fond we follow, but do hold
Our Country Course, which *Polycarp* of old,
Scholar to Blessed *John*, to us hath given.
For he, when th' Moon had finish'd Dayes twice seven,
Bad us to keep the holy Paschal Time,
And count Dissenting for an hainous Crime.

a Fridgodus *in the life of* Wilfrid.
* *i. e. Sancti, vel Beati.*

Time was, when once the Activity of *Peter* and *John* with holy Zeal was excellently emploied, contending in a Race, which should first come to the Grave of our [b] *Saviour*: but see here the *Romans* and the *Britans*, the pretended Followers of these two Apostles, not running, but wrestling in a violent Contention, who should most truly observe the Resurrection of Christ out of his Grave.

b *John* 20.4.

30. Strange! that so Good, and Wise men, should thus fall out about the *Mint* and *Cummin* of Religion, a Ceremony not at all decided in Scripture. It is to be feared, that the *When* marred the *How* of *Easter*; and the Controversie about the *Time*, spoiled a more materiall Circumstance, of the *Manner* of keeping this Feast; these opposite Parties scarce being mutually in Charity at the receiving of the Sacrament, at that solemn Festivall, kept among the *Jews* with *unleavened Bread*, celebrated among *Christians* with too much Leaven (sowre and swelling) of Anger and Passion. The best is, for the present *Laurentius* composed the Quarrel, and brought both [c] *Britans* and *Scots* (that is, the Inhabitants of *Ireland*) to complie with the *Romans* therein. But as every small Wrinch, or stepping awrie, is enough to put an ill-set Bone out of joynt: so each petty Animosity was great enough to discompose this Agreement. But enough of this Controversie for the present, we shall meet it too soon again; which like a restlesse Ghost, will haunt our *English* History, for more then an hundred and fifty yeares together. The controversie reconciled by *Laurentius*.

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c Bede's *Hist. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

31. Onely I will adde that, although about *Augustine*'s time, this Controversie was then most heightned and inflamed; yet an old Grudge it was long before, betwixt the *Romans* and *Britans*. For, if old *Taliessyn* (stiled *Chief of Bards* by the *Britans*) lived (as [d] *Pitseus*, a Catholick Writer, will have it) in the year five hundred and fourty; and if the following verses be *Taliessyn*'s, as it is [e] undoubtedly believed; then this Difference was on foot fifty yeares before *Augustine* came into *England*. The antiquity of this difference.

d *De Britan. Scriptoribus ætate 6ª. pag. 95.*
e *Chron. of Wales p. 254.*

Gwae'r offeiriad byd
Nys engreifftia gwyd
Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny cheidwey gail
Ac efyn vigail
Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny cheidwey dheuaid
Rhac bleidhie Rhufemaid
Aiffon gnwppa.

Wo be to that Priest yborn
That will not cleanly weed his Corn,
And preach his charge among:
Wo be to that Shepheard (I say)
That will not watch his Fold alway,
As to his Office doth belong.
Wo be to him that doth not keep
From Romish *Wolves his Sheep*
With staffe and weapon strong.

These words, *From Romish Wolves*, relate to the Vigilancy of the *British* Pastours, to keep their People from *Rome*'s Infection in these points. Thus, whilest the *Britans* accounted the *Romans* Wolves, and the *Romans* held the *Britans* to be Goats, what became of Christ's little flock of Sheep the whiles? The best is, the good God, we hope, will be mercifull in his Sentence on Men, though passionate Men be merciless in their Censures one on another. Anno Dom. 613

The death of *Ethelbert*, and decay of Christianity.

32. To return to *Laurentius*. The great Joy for the Agreement made by him, was quickly abated with Grief, at the Death of King *Ethelbert*: who having reigned fifty six, and been a Christian one and twenty yeares, was buried nigh to his good Wife, Queen *Bertha* (who died a little before him) in the Porch of S^t. *Martin*'s Church in *Canterbury*, which Fabrick, with some other Churches, by him were beautifully built, and bountifully endowed. In *Ethelbert*'s Grave was buried much of the *Kentish* Christianity: for *Eadbald* his Son both refused His Father's Religion, and wallowing in Sensuality, was guilty of that Sin *not so much as named amongst the Gentiles*, in keeping his Father's second Wife. Such as formerly had took up Christianity, as the Court-Fashion, now left it; & whom *Ethelbert*'s Smiles had made Converts, *Eadbald*'s Frowns quickly made Apostates. Yea, at the same time (so infectious are the bare Examples of Great men) the three Sons of the King of the *East-Saxons* fell back to Paganisme. These refused to be baptized, and yet, in Derision, demanded of the Bishop *Mellitus*, to receive the Eucharist; which he flatly denied them; Baptisme being an Introductory Sacrament, and it being unlawfull to break into the Church, without going through this Porch. Yet they gave *Mellitus* fair Warning, and free leave to depart; who coming into *Kent*, held there a Councill with *Laurentius* and *Iustus*, what was best to be done. At last they concluded, that it was in vain, prodigally to lose their Paines here, which they might expend with more profit in their own Country: and seeing Martyrdome, as it is not cowardly to be declined, so it is not ambitiously to be affected; they resolved to go the way which Divine Providence directed them, and to return into *France*: which *Mellitus* and *Iustus* did accordingly. Febr. 24

Mellitus and *Iustus* their departure defended.

33. Was this well done of them, to leave their Charge? Did not God place them *Centinells* in his Church, and could they *come off from their Duty*, before they were *relieved by Order*? But surely their ill Usage was an *interpretative Discharge* unto them. In warrant whereof, we have not onely Christs [a] Precept, to leave *the unworthy House* with a witnesse (namely with *the Dust of our Feet* shaken off as a Testimony against it;) but also his Practice, going from the [b] *Gadarenes*, when they desired he should *depart their Coasts*. Indeed, *the Word of Life* is a quick Commodity, and ought not, as a *Drug*, to be obtruded on those Chapmen who are unwilling to buy it; yea, in whose Nostrills the very *Savour of Life unto Life* doth *stink*, because profered unto them.

a *Matt.* 10. 14.

b *Matth.* 8. 34. *and cap.* 9. 1.

Laurentius, intending to depart, rebuked.

34. *Laurentius* entertained the like Resolution of Departure; when, lying on his Bed, S^t. *Peter* is [c] said to have taken him to task in a Vision. Yea, S^t. *Peter* was not onely *seen*, but *felt*, sharply and soundly Whipping him, for his unworthy Intention to forsake his Flock; who rather should have followed S^t. *Peter*'s Example (as he imitated *Christ*'s) whom no Losses or Crosses could so deterre, as to desert his Charge. Some will say, *Peter* herein appeared a partial Parent, so severely disciplining this his Son, whilest two other of his Children, being more guilty, *Mellitus* and *Iustus* (who had actually done what *Laurentius* onely designed) escaped without any Correction. But we must know, though these seemed more faulty, by what appeares *in open View*, yet the Passages *behind the Curtain* (Considerables concealed from us) might much alter the case. And indeed, *Pastours leaving their People* is so tickliish a Point, and subject to such secret Circumstances, that God and their own Consciences are onely the competent Judges of the Lawfulnesse or Unlawfulnesse thereof.

c Bede *lib.* 2. *cap.* 6.

Eadbald becomes a Christian.

35. Thus, *all black and blew*, *Laurentius* repaireth to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, and presenteth himself unto him in that sad Condition. The King, much amazed

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zed thereat, demands, who durſt offer ſuch Violence to ſo Good a man? Whereby it plainly appears, that though *Eadbald* himſelf refuſed Chriſtianity, yet he afforded Civility and Protection to *Laurentius*, and to all in *Kent* of his Religion. He largely relates what had happened unto him; and in fine ſo prevailed on *Eadbald*, that he not onely put away his *VVife-Mother-VVhore*, but alſo embraced Chriſtianity, and at his deſire, *Iuſtus* and *Mellitus* returned again into *England*.

36. *Rocheſter* readily received *Iuſtus* their Biſhop, being a little Place, of few Perſons, and they therefore the eaſier all to be brought to be of one Mind. But large *London* (though then, for Greatneſſe, but the *Suburbs* to the preſent *City*) I ſay, *London* then, was even *London* then, as wanton in the Infancy, as now wayward in the Old-age thereof; where generally the People, long radicated in Wickedneſſe, refuſed to entertain their good Paſtour returning unto them. But here my good[a] Friend, in his Notes on this Paſſage, makes an ingenious Reſervation, that (though the major part muſt be confeſſed peeviſh in all populous places) *London* in all Ages afforded eminent Favourers of Learned and Religious men. And would I could (being the meaneſt of Miniſters) as truly entitle my ſelf to the foreſaid Qualifications, as I heartily concurre with him in my gratefull Confeſſion, that I have effectually found plenty of good Patrons in that Honourable Corporation. *Mellitus* thus rejected, was glad to lead a private life in *London*, till that after the

*619 Feb. 3. * Death of *Laurentius*, he ſucceeded him in the Church of *Canterbury*.

37. A grave, and good man, but much afflicted with the Gout, and highly meriting of his See of *Canterbury*; eſpecially if true, what *Bede* * reports, that, when a grievous Fire happened in that City, *Mellitus* accoſted the very Fury thereof with faithfull Prayer, and his own bare Hands (ſtrange! that no modern Monk hath ſince in his Relation put a *Crucifix*, or *Holy-water-ſprinkle* into them) and ſo preſently quenched the Raging of the Flames. Say not, why could he not as eaſily have cured his own Gout, as quenched this Fire? ſeeing Miracles are done, not for mens ordinary Eaſe, but God's ſolemn Honour. Yea, the Apoſtles themſelves were not at pleaſure Maſters of their miraculous Power, for their perſonal uſe; ſeeing S[t]. *Paul* could neither cure the[b] *often Infirmities* of his dear Son *Timothy*, nor remove the acute, deſperate Diſeaſe, wherewith he himſelf in[c] *Aſia* was afflicted. Five years ſate *Mellitus* in *Canterbury*: after whoſe

*624 April 24. * Death, *Iuſtus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſucceeded him, and had his *Pall* ſolemnly ſent him by Pope *Boniface*.

38. By the way, the *Pall* is a Pontificall Veſtment, conſiderable for the Matter, Making, and Myſteries thereof. For the Matter, it is made of Lambs Wooll, and Superſtition. I ſay, of *Lambs VVooll*, [d] *as it comes from the Sheeps Back, without any other artificiall Colour*, ſpun (ſay ſome) by a peculiar Order of Nunnes, *firſt caſt into the Tombe of* S[t]. Peter, taken from his Body (ſay[e] others) ſurely moſt ſacred if from both; and [ſuperſtitiouſly] adorned with little black Croſſes. For the Form thereof; *the*[f] *Breadth exceeded not three Fingers* (one of our Bachelours Lamb-skin Hoods in *Cambridge* would make three of them) *having two Labells hanging down before and behind*, which the Arch-Biſhops onely, when going to the Altar, put about their Necks, above their other Pontificall Ornaments. Three Myſteries were couched therein. Firſt, Humility, which beautifies the Clergy above all their coſtly Copes. Secondly, Innocency, to imitate Lamb-like Simplicitie. And thirdly, Induſtry, to follow[g] him who fetched his wandring Sheep home on his Shoulders. But to ſpeak plainly, the Myſtery of Myſteries in this *Pall* was, that the Arch-Biſhops receiving it, ſhewed therein their Dependence on *Rome*; and a *Mote* in this manner ceremoniouſly taken, was a ſufficient Acknowledgement of their Subjection. And, as it owned *Rome*'s Power; ſo in after-Ages it encreaſed their Profit. For, though now ſuch *Palls* were freely given to Arch-Biſhops, whoſe Places in *Britain* for the preſent were rather cumberſome then commodious,

Iuſtus received at *Rocheſter*, and *Mellitus* rejected at *London*.

[a] Mr. Wheelock *on the place in* Bede.

Mellitus his character.
* *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

[b] 1 *Tim.* 5. 23.
[c] 2 *Cor.* 1. 8.

What a Pallis

[d] *Flores Sanctorum Maii 26. pag. 506.*
[e] *Latine* Camden *in* Kent *pag. 238*
[f] *Flores Sanctorum ut prius.*

[g] Camden *ut prius, & Luke* 15.

having *little more then their Paines for their Labour*; yet in after-Ages the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*'s *Pall* was [a] sold for five thousand [b] Florenes: so that the Pope might well have the *Golden Fleece*, if he could sell all his Lambs-Wooll at that rate. Onely let me adde, that the Authour of [c] *Canterbury-Book* stiles this *Pall*, *Tanquam grande Christi Sacramentum*. It is well *tanquam* came in to help it, or else we should have had eight Sacraments. But, leaving these *Husks* to such Palats as are pleased to feed on them, we come to the *Kernell* of Religion, how the same was propagated in other Parts of *England*. And first, of the *Preparative* for the *Purge* of Paganisme out of the Kingdome of *Northumberland*.

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39. *Edwine*, the King thereof, was Monarch of all *England*, with the Isles of *Man* and *Anglesey*, more puissant then any of His Predecessours. And this, saith [e] *Bede*, was *In auspicium suscipiendæ Fidei, in good Handsell of the Faith* he was hereafter to receive. God first made him Great, and after Gracious; that so by his Power, he might be the more effectuall Instrument of his Glory. Now he had married *Edelburge*, daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*: to whom he not onely permitted free Exercise of Religion, to her self and her Servants, but also promised himself to embrace it, if, on Examination, it appeared the most Holy, and fittest for Divine Service. In the Court of this Queen was one *Paulinus*, a pious Bishop, who, with much Pains and little Profit, long laboured in vain to convert the Pagans. God hereby both humbling him, and shewing, that the Hour of his Mercy shall not be ante-dated one Minute, by any humane Endeavours. However, *Paulinus*, seeing he could not be happy to gain, would be carefull to save, and daily plyed the Word and Sacraments, thereby to corroborate his owne People in Piety.

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40. Now it happened that one *Eumere*, a Swash-buckler (a Contemner of his own life, and thereby Master of another man's) sent from *Quichelm*, King of the *West-Saxons*, with an envenomed Dagger sought to kill King *Edwine*: when *Lilla*, one of his Guard, foreseeing the Blow, and interposing himself, shielded his Sovereign with his own Body, yea, deaded the Stroak with his own Death. Loyalty's Martyr; in a Case which is likely to find moe to commend, then imitate it, on the like occasion. *Edwine* notwithstanding slightly hurt, was very sensible of the Deliverance, and promised, that if he might conquer the treacherous *West-Saxon* King, with his Adherents, he would become a Christian. And though there be no indenting, and conditional capitulating with God (who is to be taken on any terms) yet this in a Pagan was a good step to Heaven, and *Paulinus* was glad he had got him thus far; especially, when in Earnest of the Sincerity of his Resolution, he consigned over his infant-Daughter [f] *Eanfled*, to be baptized, whom *Paulinus* christened, with twelve moe of the Queen's Family. Well, the *West-Saxon* King was quickly overcome, and all his Complices either killed, or conquered; and yet King *Edwine* demurred to embrace Christianity. But he communicated with the sagest of his Counsell, with whom he had daily Debates, being loth rashly to rush on a matter of such Moment. And truly, that Religion which is rather suddenly *parched* up, then seasonably *ripened*, doth commonly *unglue* afterwards. Yea, he would sit long alone, making company to himself, and silently arguing the Case in his own Heart, being partly convinced in his Judgement of the Goodnesse of the Christian Religion, and yet he durst not entertain *Truth*, a lawfull King, for fear to displease *Custome*, a cruell Tyrant.

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41. Amongst the many Debates he had with his Counsell about altering his Religion, two Passages must not be forgotten; whereof one was the Speech of *Coifi*, the prime Pagan-Priest. *Surely* (said he) *these Gods, whom we worship, are not of any Power, or Efficacy in themselves; for none hath served them more conscientiously then my self, yet other men, lesse meriting of them, have received moe and greater Favours from their hand, and prosper better in all things they undertake. Now, if these were Gods of any Activity, they would*

have

a Godwin's *Cat. Episc. pag.* 225.
b *A Florene worth* 4*s.* 6*d.*
c *A Manuscript in* Trin. Hall *Library in* Cambridge *d Mr.* Wheelock *on Bede, pag.* 99.
Edwine his preparatory promise to Christianity.
e *Eccles. Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.
His condition performed, and yet he demurres.
f *Idem ibidem.*
The speech of Coifi the Priest.
g *Bede Eccles. Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 13.

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have been more beneficiall to me, who have been so observant of them. Here the Reader will smile at *Coifi* his Solecisme, wherein the Premisses are guilty of Pride, as the Inference thereon of Errour and Mistake. If he turn Christian on these termes, he will be taught a new Lesson: how not onely all outward things happen alike, to good and bad, *to* [a] *him that sacrificeth, as to him that sacrificeth not*; but also, that [b] *Judgement beginneth at the house of God*, and the best men meet with the worst Successe in Temporal matters. However, God was pleased to sanctifie this mans Errour, as introductory to his Conversion: and let none wonder, if the first *Glimmering* of Grace in Pagans, be scarce a degree above *Blindnesse*.

a *Eccles.* 9. 2.

b 1 *Pet.* 4. 17.

42. Better, in my opinion, was the plain Comparison, which another nameless Courtier made at the same time. *Mans life* (*said* [c] *he*) *O King, is like unto a little Sparrow, which, whilest your Majesty is feasting by the Fire in your Parlour with your royall Retinue, flies in at one Window, and out at another. Indeed we see it that short time it remaineth in the House, and then is it well sheltred from Wind and Weather; but presently it passeth from Cold to Cold, and whence it came, and whither it goes, we are altogether ignorant. Thus, we can give some account of our Soul, during it's abode in the Body, whilest housed and harboured therein; but where it was before, and how it fareth after, is to us altogether unknown. If therefore* Paulinus *his Preaching will certainly inform us herein, he deserveth, in my opinion, to be entertained.*

The Courtier's Comparison.

c *Idem ibid.*

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43. Long looked for comes at last. King *Edwine* almost three yeares a *Candidate at large* of Christianity, cordially embraceth the same, and with many of his Nobles, and Multitudes of his Subjects, is solemnly baptized by *Paulinus*, in the little Church * of S[t] *Peters* in *York*, hastily set up by the King for that purpose, and afterward by him changed into a firmer and fairer Fabrick. Thus, as those Children which are backward of their Tongues, when attaining to Speech, pronounce their words the more plainly and distinctly: so *Edwine*, long, yea tedious before his turning to Christianity, more effectually at last embraced the same. And when it was put to the Question, what Person most proper to destroy the Heathen Altars? *Coifi* the chief Priest tendered his Service, as fittest for the purpose, solemnly to demolish what he had before so superstitiously adored. Down go all the Pagan Altars, and Images at *God-mundingham* (now *Godmanham*, a small [d] Village in the East-Riding of *Yorkshire*) and those Idols with their Hands were so far from defending themselves, that their mock-Mouths could not afford one word, to bemoan their finall Destruction.

Edwine converted, and baptized.

* Bede *Eccles. Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 14.

d Camden's *Britannia.*

44. *When thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren*, was the personall Precept given to [e] *Peter*, but ought generally to be the Practice of all good men; as here it was of King *Edwine*, restlesse, untill he had also perswaded *Earpwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, to embrace the Christian Faith. Indeed *Redwald*, *Earpwald*'s Father, had formerly at *Canterbury* (to ingratiate himself with King *Ethelbert*) professed Christianity; but, returning home, he revolted to Paganisme at the instance of His [f] Wife. So great is the Power of the Weaker Sex, even in matters of Religion. For, as *Bertha* and *Edelburge*, the Queens of *Ethelbert* and *Edwine*, occasioned, and expedited the Conversion of their Husbands Kingdomes: so here a Female-instrument obstructed that holy Design. Yea, *Redwald* afterwards in the same Church set up a [g] *Samaritane*-mongrel-Religion, having *Altare* [h] *& Arulam*, a *Communion-Table* and an *idolatrous Altar* in the same Temple. *You cannot be partakers* (saith the [i] Apostle) *of the Lords Table, and of the table of Devils*; that is, *You cannot* lawfully, conscionably, comfortably; but, *de facto*, it may be done, was done by *Redwald* in this his miscellaneous Religion.

The *East-Angles* converted to Christianity.

e *Luk.* 22. 32.

f Bede *Hist. Ecc. l.* 2. *c.* 15.

g 2 *Kings* 17. 41.

h Bede *ut prius.*

i 1 *Cor.* 10. 21.

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45. But three yeares after, the Conversion of the *East-Angles* was more effectually advanced by King *Sigebert*, Brother, and after the death of *Earpwald* his Successour in the Kingdome. This *Sigebert* had lived an Exile in *France*,

The Religion and learning of King *Sigebert.*

France, and got the benefit of Learning by his Baniſhment. For, wanting accommodations to appear in Princely Equipage, he applyed himſelf the more cloſe to his Studies: ſeeing, that Means which would maintain a Prince but like a Scholar, would maintain a Scholar like a Prince. Yea, which was beſt of all, on his Learning he grafted true Religion; *Bede* giving him this Character, that he became *Vir Chriſtianiſſimus & doctiſſimus*: (can more be ſaid in ſo few words?) and returning home, aſſiſted by the Preaching of *Felix*, a Monk of *Burgundy*, *Iuxta nominis ſui ſacramentum*, ſaith *Bede* (happy was his Name, and Happineſſe was with him) converted his Subjects to Chriſtianity. This *Felix* was made the firſt Biſhop of *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*; a place formerly furniſhed with [a] *two and fifty Churches*, and hath ſcarce two now remaining, the reſt being ſwallowed up by the Sea. I can hardly hold my ſelf from calling the Sea *ſacrilegious*; ſave that, on ſecond thoughts, conſidering that Element to be but a *Naturall Agent*, yea, ſuch whoſe Motions are ordered by Divine Providence, *Hither ſhalt thou come, and no farther*, I will rather reſerve this Epithete, *ſacrilegious*, to be beſtowed on thoſe men, who willingly and wilfully demoliſh the places appointed for God's Service.

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[a] Weaver's Funerall Monuments in Suffolk.

46. This *Sigebert* is generally reputed the *Founder* of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. And becauſe the point in hand is ſomewhat litigious, we will take the more Paines in clearing thereof, two things being warily premiſed. Firſt, that *Sigebert*'s founding the Univerſity of *Cambridge* ought not by any to be extended to leſſen and abate, much leſſe to drown and deſtroy her more ancient Title to Learning; which ſhe deriveth (according to good [b] Authours) from many hundred yeares before. *Valeant, quantum valere poſſint*, let ſuch her over-grown Evidences ſtand as valid as they may, by us neither confirmed, nor confuted for the preſent. And indeed, all ſuch Old things in either Univerſity, though ſpecious to the Eye, muſt be cloſely kept, and tenderly touched, leſt otherwiſe, being roughly handled, they ſhould moulder into Duſt. Secondly, let none ſuſpect, my Extraction from *Cambridge* will betray me to partiality to my Mother, who deſire in this Difference to be like *Melchiſedec*, ἀγενεάλογος, *without Deſcent*, onely to be directed by the Truth. And here I make this fair and free Confeſſion, which, I hope, will be accepted for ingenuous: That, as in *Thamar*'s travell of [c] Twins, *Zarah* firſt put out his Hand, and then drew it in again, whileſt *Pharez* firſt came forth into the World; ſo I plainly perceive *Cambridge* with an extended Arme, time out of mind, firſt challenging the Birth-right, and Priority of place for Learning; but afterwards drawing it in again, ſhe lay for many yeares deſolate, and of leſſe account; whileſt *Oxford*, if later, larger, came forth in more entire Proportion, and ever ſince conſtantly continued in the full Dimenſions of an Univerſity.

631 But ſome make it four yeares after.

Difference about the antiquity of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

[b] *See* Cajus *on the antiquity of* Cambridge.

[c] Gen. 38. 28.

47. Theſe things being thus cautiouſly ſtated, we proceed, beginning with *Bede*, on whoſe Teſtimony all the following Hiſtory is founded.

The leading teſtimony of *Bede* explained.

Beda *lib.* 3. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. cap.* 18.

Sigebertus, *ubi Regno potitus eſt, mox ea quæ in* Galliis *bene diſpoſita vidit, imitari cupiens, inſtituit Scholam, in qua pueri literis erudirentur, juvante ſe Epiſcopo* Felice (*quem de* Cantia *acceperat*) *eiſque pædagogos ac magiſtros, juxta morem* Cantuariorum, *præbente.*

Sigebert, when he had obtained the Kingdome, preſently deſiring to imitate thoſe things which he had ſeen well-ordered in *France*, inſtituted a School, wherein Youths might be trained up in Learning, *Felix* the Biſhop (whom he had received out of *Kent*) aſſiſting him, and providing for them Teachers, and Maſters, according to the Cuſtome of thoſe in *Canterbury*.

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See here, King *Sigebert*, to make his School complete, united therein such Conveniences for Education, as he had observed commendable

1. Abroad, in *France*: where Learning at, and before his time, was brought to great Perfection; S^t. *Hierome*[a] affirming, that even in his Age, he had seen *Studia in Galliis florentissima*, most flourishing Universities in *France*.

2. At home, in *Canterbury*: where even at this time Learning was professed, though more increased some fourty yeares after; when as the same *Bede*[b] reports, that in the dayes of *Theodorus* the Arch-Bishop, there were those that taught *Geometry*, *Arithmetick* and *Musick* (the fashionable studies of that Age) together with *Divinity*. The perfect Character of an University, where Divinity the *Queen* is waited on by her *Maids-of-Honour*.

But I question, whether the Formality of Commencing was used in that Age: inclining rather to the negative, that such Distinction of *Graduates* was then unknown, except in S^t. *Paul*'s sense, [c] *Such as used the office of a Deacon well, purchased to themselves a good* Degree.

48. So much for *Bede*'s Text. Come we now to ancient Authours commenting upon him. *Ancient* I call those, who wrote many yeares before the Differences were started about the Seniority of the Universityes, and therefore are presumed unpartiall, as unconcerned in a Controversie which did not appear. First, *Polydore*[d] *Virgil*, who from *Bede*'s words plainly collects, that *Sigebert* then founded the University of *Cambridge*. Nor see I any cause for that Passage in the[e] Assertion of *Oxford*'s Antiquity, charging *Polydore*, *Quod affectibus indulgens, adamatæ studet Academiæ*; who being a Forrainer, and an *Italian*, had nothing to byas his Affection to one University more then the other. Learned[f] *Leland* succeeds, who being employed by King *Henry* the eighth to make a Collection of *British* Antiquities (much scattered at the Dissolution of *Abbies*) thus expresseth himself.

Olim Granta *fuit Titulis Vrbs inclyta multis,*
Vicini à Fluvii nomine, Nomen habens.
Saxones *hanc Belli deturbavere procellis;*
Sed nova, pro veteri, non procul inde sita est:
Quam Felix *Monachus*, Sigeberti *jussa sequutus,*
Artibus illustrem reddidit, atque Scholis.
Hæc ego, perquirens Gentis Monumenta Britannæ,
Asserui in Laudem, Granta *diserta, tuam.*

Grant, long ago a City of great Fame,
From neighbouring River doth receive her Name.
When storms of *Saxon*-warres her overthrew,
Near to the old, sprang up another new.
Monk *Felix*, whil'st he *Sigebert* obeys,
Light'ned this place with Schools, and Learning's rayes.
Searching the Monuments of *British* Nation,
This I assert in *Grant*'s due Commendation.

Here we omit the severall Testimonies of[g] *Bale*, *George Lilie*, and *Thomas Cooper*, in their severall Histories *Anno* 636. with many moe, concluding *Sigebert* then the Founder of the University of *Cambridge*.

49. But our Cousin-germans of *Oxford* will scarce give Credit hereunto, multiplying Objections against it. *Obj.* There were (say they) many places (besides *Cambridge*) in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles* (conteining *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*) which, with equall Probability, may pretend to this School of *Sigebert*'s Foundation, seeing *Bede* doth not *nominatim* affirm *Cambridge* for the particular Place, where this University was erected.

50. *Ans.*

a *In Epistola ad Rusticum.*

b *Hist. Eccles.*

c 1 Tim. 3. 13

Authours commenting on *Bede*'s text.

d *Lib. 4. & lib. 5. pag. 107.*

e *Writers Anno 1566. pag. 20.*

f *In his Comment. in Cygneam Cantionem.*

g *In Sigebertis, & rursus Cent. 13. in Felice.*

First objection against *Sigebert*'s founding of *Cambridge*.

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Answer.

50. *Anſ.* Though *Bede* be Dumb in this particular, not naming *Cambridge*; yet he makes ſuch Signes, that moſt intelligent Antiquaries by us alledged, underſtand him to intend the ſame: eſpecially ſeeing *Cambridge* is acknowledged by all Authours, *time out of mind*, to have been a place for the Education of Students in Literature.

Second Objection.

51. *Obj.* If any ſuch Univerſity was founded by *Sigebert*, it was at *Grantcheſter*, differing, as in Appellation, ſo in Situation from *Cambridge* (as being a good mile South-Weſt thereof.) *Cambridge* therefore cannot entitle it ſelf, but by apparent Uſurpation, to the ancient Priviledges of *Grantcheſter*.

Answer.

52. *Anſ.* Moſt uſuall it is for ancient places to alter their Names (*Babylon* to *Bagdet*, *Byzantium* to *Conſtantinople*, our old *Verulam* to S^t. *Albans*) ſtill retaining the numerical Nature they had before. *Oxford* (they tell us) was once called [a] *Belloſitum*, and yet not altered from it's ſame ſelf by another Name. Nor is it any news for great Cities, in proceſſe of time (as weary of long ſtanding) to eaſe themſelves a little, by hitching into another place. Thus, ſome part of modern *Rome* is removed more then a mile from the ancient *Area* thereof. Thus, *Ieruſalem* at this day is come down from Mount *Sion*, and more South-Weſt climbed up Mount *Calvary*. Yet, either of theſe Places would account themſelves highly injured, if not reputed, for the main, the ſame with the former. Sufficeth it, that ſome part of *Cambridge* ſtands at this day, where [b] *Grantcheſter* did (which anciently [c] extended North-Weſt, as far as the Village called *Howſe*) and that's enough to *keep poſſeſſion* of the Priviledges of *Grantcheſter*, as properly belonging thereunto. Eſpecially, ſeeing *Oxford* at this day layes claim to the Antiquityes of *Crekelade* and *Lechlade* (Towns diſtant ſixteen miles off, the one in *Wilts*, the other in *Gloceſterſhire*) two ancient Schools of *Greek* and *Latine* (as ſome will have it) removed afterwards to *Oxford*; from whence ſome of her Aſſertours do date her Beginning.

a Bryan Twine *Antiq. Acad. Ox. pag.* 114.

b *Mr.* Camden *an Oxford-man in his deſcription of* Cambridgeſhire, *alloweth* Grantcheſter *and* Cambridge *for the ſame place.*

Third Objection.

53. *Obj. Sigebert* founded but *Scholam*, which makes little to the Honour of *Cambridge:* For thereby her Profeſſours are degraded to Pedants; and by a retrograde Motion *Cambridge* is ſent back to *Eaton*, I mean, is made no better then a great Grammar-School.

c Cajus *de Antiq. Cantab. (ex libro* Barthwellenſi) *pag.* 11.

Answer.

54. *Anſ.* If the beſt of *Latine* Oratours may be believed, *Schola* properly ſignifies the Place where all Arts are publickly profeſſed. [d] *Ex Platonis ſchola Ponticus Heraclides, Ponticus Heraclides came out of the ſchool of Plato*: Which is notoriouſly known to have been an *Academie*; yea, all his Scholars known by the name of *Academicks* to this day. Thoſe of *Salerno* in *Italy*, dedicating a book of Phyſick to our *Henry* (the ſecond, I take it) begin thus,

d Tully *De natura Deorum.*

Anglorum Regi ſcribit Schola tota Salerni.

School-boys deſerve to be whipped indeed, if preſuming to preſcribe Receipts to a King: But that *Schola* there is ſufficiently known to have been a famous Univerſity. And under the favour of the *Univerſity*, the word *Univerſitas* is but a baſe, and barbarous *Latine* (whiles *Schola* is pure *Greek* originally) to deſign, either the Place where generall Learning is publickly profeſſed, or the Perſons ſtudying therein. And, though I dare not totally concurre with that [e] Learned Critick, that *Univerſitas* was firſt uſed in the foreſaid ſenſe, about the reign of King *Henry* the third; yet, I believe, it will not be found in any Claſſicall Authour, in that modern acception.

e *Mr.* Camden *in his Britannia, pag.* 381. *in* Oxfordſhire.

Fourth Objection.

55. *Obj.* In good Authours, *Sigebert* is ſaid to have founded not only *Scholam*, a *School*, but *Scholas*, *Schools*, in the plurall. If *Schola* therefore be an Univerſity, either he made moe Univerſities then one in *Cambridge* (which is abſurd to affirm;) or elſe he erected moe Univerſities in other places of his Kingdome, which *Cantabrigians* will not willingly confeſſe.

Answer.

56. *Anſ.* The variation of the Number is of no Concernment. For, if reſpect be had to the ſeverall Arts there profeſſed, *Sigebert* founded *Schools* in the plurall:

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plurall: but if regard be taken of the Cyclopædy of the Learning reſulting from thoſe ſeverall Sciences, he erected but one Grand School. Every Freſh-man knows that the *ſingle Quadrant*, wherein the publick Lectures are read, and Acts kept, is called plurally the Schools, in each Univerſity.

57. *Obj.* But *Bede* terms them *Pueros, Boyes*, properly under the Rod, and *Ferula*, whom *Sigebert* placed in his School: and the word *Pædagogi*, *Vſhers*, placed over them, imports the ſame; that they were no Univerſity-Students, but a company of little Lads, that lived there under Correction. Fifth Objection.

58. *Anſ.* Criticks will ſatisfie you, that the word *Pueri* ſignifies even thoſe of more Maturity, eſpecially if living *ſub regimine*, under the *Diſcipline* of Superiours. Secondly, *Bede*, being a great Divine, and converſant in Scripture-phraſe, borroweth an expreſſion thence; Chriſt calling his Diſciples Παιδία, [a] *Children*. He uſeth alſo *Pædagogos* in the ſame notion with [b] St. *Paul's* παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστὸν, which our laſt Tranſlatours reade *Inſtructours in Chriſt*, even to the *Corinthians*, who ſtill needed ſuch Pædagogues or Teachers, though already [c] *enriched in all utterance and knowledge*. Thirdly, the *Saxon* ancient Copy of *Bede*, which (doubtleſſe) doth emphatically render the *Latine*, tranſlates *pueri* geonge menn. Fourthly, *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, ſpeaking of *Alfred's* founding of *Oxford*, ſaith, that he endowed the ſame, *Suæ propriæ Gentis nobilibus Pueris, & etiam ignobilibus*; and it is but equal, that the *Pueri* at *Cambridge* ſhould be allowed *as much man in them*, as thoſe at *Oxford*. Laſtly, the young Frie of Scholars, when firſt admitted, is ſuch, to whom * *Pueri*, in the proper ſenſe thereof, may well be applyed. And here it may ſeaſonably be remembred, how an [d] *Oxford* Antiquary affirmeth, that *Edward* the fifth Prince of *Wales*, and *Richard* his brother, Duke of *York*, *Oxoniæ ſtuduerunt*, ſtudied at *Oxford*, in the life-time of their Father. Stout Students no doubt, whereof the Elder could not then be ten, the Younger not nine yeares old. But I forget what Lawyers hold, that the Kings eldeſt Son is at full Age (for ſome Purpoſes) at the day of his Birth (in which reſpect he may *ſue out his Liveries* for the Dukedome of *Cornwall*:) and this (perchance) may ſomewhat mend the matter. Answer.

a *Iohn* 21. 5.
b 1 *Cor.* 4. 15.
c 1 *Cor.* i. 5.
* *All the Scholars of* Pembroke-Hall *in* Cambridge, *not being Fellows, are termed* pueri *in their Statutes.*
d Bryan Twine *Antiq. Oxon.* p. 322.

59. But enough of this matter, which ſome will cenſure as an Impertinency to our *Church-Hiſtory*, and ſcarcely coming within the *Church-yard* thereof. My Prayers ſhall be, that each Univerſity may turn all Envy into generous, yea gracious, yea glorious Emulation; contending by laudable means, which ſhall ſurpaſſe other in their Serviceableneſſe to God, the Church, and Common-wealth: that ſo *Commencing* in Piety, and *Proceeding* in Learning, they may agree againſt their two generall Adverſaries, Ignorance, and Profaneneſſe. May it never be ſaid of them, what *Naomi* [e] ſaid of her ſelf, *that ſhe was too old to bear Sons*: may they never be ſuperannuated into Barrenneſſe, but like the good Trees in Gods Garden, *They ſhall ſtill bring forth Fruit in their old age, they ſhall be fat and flouriſhing*. Conclusion with prayer.

e *Ruth* 1. 12.

632 60. Seaſonably *Sigebert* erected an Univerſity at *Cambridge*, thereby in part to repair the late great Loſſe of Chriſtianity in *England* when (the year after) *Edwine*, King of *Northumberland*, was ſlain in [f] Battel by *Cadwald* King of *Wales*, and *Penda* King of the *Mercians*. After whoſe Death, his whole Kingdome relapſed to Paganiſme; and *Paulinus*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, taking with him Queen *Ethelburge*, returned into *Kent*, and there became Biſhop of the (then vacant) Church of *Rocheſter*. Mortified man, he minded not whether he went up, or down hill, whileſt he went on ſtrait in his Calling to glorifie God, and edifie others; ſenſible of no Diſgrace, when degrading himſelf from a great Arch-Biſhop, to become a poor Biſhop. Such betray much Pride and Peeviſhneſſe, who, outed of eminent Places, will rather be *Nothing* in the Church, then *any thing leſſe* then what they have been before. *Edwine*, King of *Northumberland*, ſlain.
f Beda *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 2. *cap.* 10.

The unhappy year.

61. After the death of King *Edwine*, his Kingdome of *Northumberland* was divided into two parts, both petty Kingdomes; Anno Dom. 632

1. *Bernicia*, reaching[a] from the River *Tees* to *Edenburgh Frith*, whereof *Eanfrith* was King.
2. *Deira* (whence (say some) *Deirham*, or *Durham*) lay betwixt *Tees* and *Humber*, whereof *Osrick* was King.

a Camden's Brit. pag. 797.

These both proved Apostates from the Christian Faith: and God in his justice let in *Cadwald*, King of the *Britans*, upon them, who slew them, harassed their Countrey, and made a lamentable Desolation, within the compasse of one year, without respect to Age or Sex; untill *Oswald* (bred and brought up in *Scotland*) next of the Bloud-Royall, came to be King of *Northumberland*, whom God sent to redeem that miserable Country from the hands of their Enemies, and many eminent Victories he obtained. 633

A lost year well found.

62. The fatall year, wherein so many Outrages were committed on the Apostate *Northumberlanders*, by *Cadwald* King of the *Britans*, is detested by all *Saxon* Chronologers. And therefore all the *Annalists*, and writers of Histories in that Age, by joynt-consent, universally resolved to damn and drown the Memoriall of that *Annus infaustus* (as they call it) *Unlucky year*, but made so by *Ungodly men*. Yea, they unanimously[b] agreed to allow those two Apostate Kings, no yeares reign in their Chronicles, adding the time (subtracted from them) to *Oswald*, their Christian Successour, accounting him to have reigned[c] nine yeares; which indeed were but eight of *his own*, and one of these Historians *their Adoption*. Yet is it no news even in Scripture it self, to bury the reign of Tyrants, under the Monument of a good Prince succeeding them. Thus when *Ehud* is[d] said *to have judged the land fourscore year*; those *eighteen*[e] *yeares* are included, wherein *Eglon* the *Moabite* oppressed *Israel*.

b Bede Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. c. 1.

c Idem lib. 3. cap. 9.

d Judg. 3. 30.

e Vers. 14.

A victory given from heaven. 635

63. Amongst the many Victories atchieved by this *Oswald*, one most remarkable was gained by him near *Hexam* in *Northumberland*, against the Pagans, against whom he erected the Standard of the Crosse, in a place which time out of mind was called *Heafen-feld* (*Haledon* at this day,) by a *Prolepsis*, not answering the name thereof untill this time. Hence a Poet writing the life of *Oswald*;

Tunc primum scivit causam cur nomen haberet
Heafen-feld, *hoc est*, cœlestis campus, *& illi*
Nomen ab antiquo dedit appellatio Gentis
Præterita, tanquam belli præsaga futuri.

Then he began the reason first to know
Of *Heafen-feld*, why it was called so;
Nam'd by the Natives long since by forefight,
That in that field would hap an heavenly fight.

Thus it is generally reported, that the place nigh *Lipsick*, where the King of *Sweden* got one of his signal Victories, was, time out of mind, termed by the *Dutch*[f] *Gots Acre*, or, *Gods ground*. And thus, as *Onesimus* and *Eutychus* were so called from their Infancy, but never truely answered their Names, till after the[g] Conversion of the one, and Reviving of the[h] other: so Places (whether casually, or prophetically) have Names anciently imposed upon them, which are sometimes verified many Ages after.

f Swedish Intelligencer.

g Philem. v. 11

h Acts 20. 12.

Pope Honorius his ineffectual letter.

64. About this time *Honorius* the Pope sent his Letter to the *Scotch* Nation, advising them to an Uniformity with the Church of *Rome* in the Celebration of *Easter*. His main Reason is thought to have more of State, then Strength; humane Haughtinesse, then holy Divinity in it. Namely he counselleth them, *Ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiorem omnibus Christi Ecclesiis æstimarent*. This is that *Honorius*, of whom *Leo* the

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the ſecond, his Succeſſour, complaineth in his [a] Epiſtle to the Biſhops of *Spain*, *Flammam hæretici dogmatis non* (*ut decuit Apoſtolicam authoritatem*) *incipientem extinxit, ſed negligendo conſovit*; *By his negligence he did countenance the heretical Opinions* (meaning of the *Monothelites*, then beginning afreſh to ſpring up again) *which he ought to have ſuppreſſed.* Thus he, who could ſtickle about the Ceremony of *keeping Eaſter*, could quietly connive at, yea (interpretatively) conſent to the depraving of the Doctrinall part of Religion. But his Letter to the *Scotch* took little effect, who kept their *Eaſter* not one Minute the ſooner, or later, for all his writing unto them.

a *Tom.* 2. *Decret. Epiſt. ed. Romæ* 1591. *pag.* 654.

65. In a better Work, and with better Succeſſe, was *Birinus* employed, an *Italian* by Birth, ſent over by Pope *Honorius* for the Converſion of the remainder of *England*; and to that purpoſe (that his Preaching belike might be the more powerfull) made a Biſhop before his [b] coming over, by *Aſterius* Biſhop of *Genoa*. Here I am at a loſſe. Biſhop of what? Where was his Dioceſe or Biſhoprick? Were not *Biſhop* and *Biſhoprick* ſo *correlated* in that Age, that they muſt be together? the trick of making Titular Biſhops not as yet being uſed in *Rome*. It is impoſſible, that Biſhop here ſhould import no more then a *plain Prieſt*; and, that he onely took *Orders* before he came over into *England*. Well, commend me to the Memory of this man, who firſt was made Biſhop, and then made himſelf a *Biſhoprick*, by earning it out of the Pagan *Engliſh*, whom he intended to convert to Chriſtianity. Yea, he paſſed his ſolemn Promiſe in the preſence of the Pope, that he would preach the Goſpel *in the heart of the* [c] *uttermoſt coaſts of* England (meaning the Northern parts thereof) *whither no Teacher had at any time gone before him.* Minded herein like [d] St. *Paul, not to boaſt in another mans line, of things made ready to his hand.*

Birinus converts the *VVeſt-Saxons* to the faith.

b Bede *lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.

c *Idem ibid.*

d 2 *Cor.* 10. 16.

636 66. This his Promiſe *Birinus*, though he literally brake, virtually kept; for he chanced to land amongſt the *Weſt-Saxons* (then called *Geviſes*) in the *South-VVeſt* part of *England*, where as yet the Inhabitants were pure-impure Pagans. Having here found a fit ſubject for his Pains, why ſhould he go farther to ſeek the ſame? Is not Providence the beſt Herauld to marſhal us? and ought we not to ſit down where it diſpoſeth us? Beſides, according to Military Rules, it was beſt to *clear the Coaſts* as he went, and not to leave a Pagan-Foe behind his back. Moved herewith, *Birinus* here ſets up his Staffe [Epiſcopal,] fixeth himſelf, falls a preaching, converts many, and amongſt the reſt, *Kyngils* the *VVeſt-Saxon* King, whom he baptized. *Oſwald*, King of *Northumberland*, chanced to be [e] preſent at that time, and was firſt *God-Father*, then *Father in Law* to King *Kyngils*, to whom he gave his Daughter to Wife.

A broken promiſe well kept.

e Bede *Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 3. *cap.* 7.

67. *Dorcheſter* (not the Town which denominates *Dorſetſhire*, but) an old City in *Oxfordſhire* (not in *Barkſhire*, as *Stapleton* [f] miſtakes it) was made the Seat of *Birinus* his Biſhoprick. *Bede* ſaith, *Donaverunt autem ambo Reges eidem Epiſcopo civitatem, quæ vocatur* Dorinca, &c. *Both the Kings* (Oſwald, and Kyngils) *gave to the ſaid Biſhop the City* Dorinca, *or* Dorcheſter. *Both of them*] Hence obſerve, firſt, that *Oſwald* (whoſe Concurrence in this Grant was required) though particular King of *Northumberland*, was alſo Monarch of all *England*. To juſtifie our former Obſervation, that amongſt the ſeven *Saxon* Kings, alwayes one was paramount above the reſt. Secondly, that this *Dorcheſter* (though it lay North of *Thames* in *Oxfordſhire*, which properly belonged to the Kingdome of *Mercia*) pertained now to the *VVeſt-Saxons*, beyond the ordinary Limits aſſigned to that Kingdome.

Dorcheſter made a Biſhops See.

f *In his tranſlatione of* Bede *Fol.* 82.

637 68. In this year *Honorius* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* divided *England* (underſtand, ſo much thereof as was Chriſtian) into Pariſhes. But that moſt exquiſite [g] Antiquary ſeems very unwilling to admit ſo early and ancient Pariſhes, in the modern proper Acception of the word. Who knoweth not, that *Parochia* at large, ſignifieth the Dioceſe of the Biſhop? and two new

England divided into Parishes.

g *Mr.* Selden *in his Hiſt. of Tithes, cap.* 9. *pag.* 256.

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Dioceſes, (*Dunwich* and *Dorcheſter*) were erected under *Honorius* in the Province of *Canterbury*. But whether Pariſhes, as uſually underſtood for places bounded in regard of the Profits from the people therein, payable onely to a Paſtour incumbent there; I ſay, whether ſuch Pariſhes were extant in this Age, may well be queſtioned, as inconſiſtent with the Community of Eccleſiaſtick Profits, which then ſeemed joyntly enjoyed by the Biſhop and his Clergy.

A moroſe Preacher little edifieth.

69. No ſooner was *Oſwald* (whom we formerly mentioned) ſettled in his Kingdome of *Northumberland*, but his firſt Princely Care was, to provide Paſtours to inſtruct his People in Chriſtianity. In order whereunto he ſends into *Scotland* (where he had his own Education) for ſome Eminent Preachers. Unuſuall the Sun ſhould come out of the *North*, to enlighten the *South*, as here it came to paſſe. One Preacher was ſent him thence, whoſe Name we find not, but thus much of his Nature; that, being over-rigid and ſevere, his Sermons made no Impreſſion on his *Engliſh* Auditory. *Hard with hard* (ſaith the Proverb) *makes no Wall*: and no Wonder, if the ſpirituall Building went on no better, wherein the Auſterity and Harſhneſſe of the Paſtour, met with the Ignorance and Sturdineſſe of the People. Home he returns, complaining of his ill Succeſſe; and one *Aidan*, of a Milder temper, and more Diſcretion (a Grace which none ever ſpake againſt, but ſuch as wanted it) was ſent back in his room.

Aidan his due commendation.

70. *Aidan* coming into *England*, ſettled himſelf at *Lindisfern*, or *Holy-Iſland*, in *Northumberland*; a place which is an *Iſland* and *no Iſland* twice in twenty four hours, as divided by the Tide from, ſo conjoyned at Low-water to the Continent. His exemplary Life was a Pattern for all pious Paſtours. Firſt, he left to the Clergy, *Saluberrimum abſtinentiæ, vel continentiæ exemplum*; though we read not he vowed Virginity himſelf, or impoſed it on others. He lived as he taught; and, whatſoever the Bounty of Princes or great Perſons beſtowed on him, he gave to the Poor. He ſeldome travelled but on Foot; and, when invited to large Feaſts at Court, uſed to ariſe after a ſhort Refection, and betake himſelf to his Meditations. He redeemed many Slaves from Captivity, making them firſt Free-men, then Chriſtians.

Bede his allay.
[a] *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 3.*
[b] *Rom. 10. 2.*

71. All theſe his excellent Practices *Bede*[a] daſheth with this *Allay*, that, *He had a Zeal of God, although not fully according to Knowledge*; merely becauſe he diſſented from the *Romiſh* Church in the Celebration of *Eaſter*. But whether thoſe words of [b] S[t]. *Paul*, ſpoken of his Country-men the *Jews*, in reference to their Stumbling at Chriſt, the Saviour of Mankind, be fitly appliable to *Aidan*, onely differing in an outward Ceremony, let others decide. True it is, this *Aidan* was a prime Champion of the *Quartadecimans*, as who had been brought up under, or with S[t]. *Colme*, in *Ireland*. The writer of the Life of this S[t]. *Colme* (let this be inſerted by the way) reports, how the ſaid Saint had a Revelation [c] of the Holy Ghoſt, which *propheſied unto him of this Diſcord, which after many dayes ſhould ariſe in the Church, about the diverſity of the Feaſt of Eaſter*. Yet he telleth us not, that the Holy Ghoſt reproved this *Colme* (whoſe Example animated others againſt the *Roman* Rite) for his Errour; as if God cared not, which of both Sides carried the Controverſie.

[c] *Arch-Biſhop Uſher in the Religion of the Iriſh p. 89.*

Lay-mens diligence in reading Scripture.

72. But all which *Bede* ſpeaketh in Diminution of *Aidan*, may freely be forgiven him, were it but for his faithfull recording of the following Paſſage in *Aidan*'s Life: and take it with *Stapleton*'s own Tranſlation thereof.

[*] *Omnes qui cum eo incedebant, ſive Attonſi, ſive Laici, meditari debebant; id eſt, aut legendis Scripturis, aut Pſalmis diſcendis operam dare.*

All they which went with him, were they profeſſed into Religion, or were they Laybrethren, gave themſelves continually to Contemplation; that is to ſay, beſtowed all their time in reading Scripture, or learning the Pſalter.

Bede, ſpeaking hereof, addeth moreover, *tantum vitæ illius à noſtri temporis ſegnitia*

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segnitia distabat, so much differed his life from the Laxinesse of our Age: taxing those of his Time for Neglect of the Scriptures. And the Ignorance bemoaned in his Age, continued and encreased after his Death.

637 73. When *Aidan* came first into *England*, he was not perfect in the Language of our Country. For although the Speech of the modern Southern-*Scot* be onely a *Doricke* Dialect of, no distinct Language from *English*; yet *Aidan*, who naturally spoke *Irish*, was not intelligible of his *English* Congregation. Wherefore King *Oswald*, a better *Scotch*-man (as bred amongst them) then *Aidan* was *English*-man, interpreted to the People, what the other preached unto them. Thus these two put together made a perfect Preacher. And although some will say, Sermons thus at the Second-hand must lose much of their Life and Lustre; yet the same Spirit working in both, the Ordinance proved effectuall to the Salvation of many Souls. The royall interpreter.

640 74. This year the first *Lent* was kept in *England*; conceive it in those Parts thereof which obeyed the *Roman* Celebration of *Easter*. Otherwise it is suspicious, that the *Quartadecimans* were no good *Quadragesimarians*, and no such conscientious Observers of *Lent* on the *Romish* Account. Surely, if people were taught in *Lent* to fast (as from Flesh, so) from a proud and false opinion of Meriting thereby, Policy would be well pleased, and Piety not offended at the Observing thereof; whilest Continent-Countries might keep it without any Losse to their Souls, and Islands with great Gain to their Estates. The first Lent in England.

642 75. *Oswald*, King of *Northumberland*, fighting at *Maserfield* (since *Oswastree*) in *Shropshire*, against *Penda* the Pagan Prince of *Mercia*, was overthrown, slain, and his Body most barbarously abused, and chopped in Pieces. Yea, it is observable that such *Saxon* Kings, which were first converted to Christianity, and such who were the most active Restorers of Religion after a generall Apostasie, commonly came to Violent Deaths, by the hands of Heathens. As, The ill successe of good Kings.

Edwine, first Christian King of *Northumberland*, slain by Pagan *Penda*, Anno 632.

Erpenwald, first Christian King of *East-Angles*, slain by his own People, Anno 639.

Peada, first Christian King of *Mercia*, slain by his own Wife, Anno 659.

Edelwald, or *Ethelwald*, first Christian King of *Sussex*, slain likewise.

Oswald, the most Religious Restorer of Christianity in *Northumberland*, slain Anno 642.

Anna, the most Pious King of the *East-Angles*, slain by *Penda*, Anno 654.

Edmond, the most Devout King of the *East-Angles*, martyred by the *Danes*, Anno 870.

Inquiring into the Causes hereof, we find; First, that the Lustre of their Lives shining before men, made them the fairer Mark for their malicious Enemies. Secondly, Satan, accounting them Traitours against his *Kingdome of Darknesse*, left no stone unturned, thereby to bring them to Temporall Destruction, the greatest Hurt which his Power could inflict. Thirdly, God, to try the Patience of his Infant-Church, acquainted them with Afflictions from their very Cradle. Such therefore are mistaken, who make Prosperity a note either of Piety in particular Persons, or Verity in a whole Church; seeing, take it one time with another, and it misseth the Mark oftner then it hits is. As for our *Oswald*, Legions of Miracles are attributed unto him after Death; all which we willingly omit, insisting onely on One as most remarkable.

76. The Story goes thus. On an *Easter-day Oswald* was sitting in his Palace at Dinner with Bishop *Aidan*: when in comes one of his Servants, and informeth him, that abundance of Poor people from all parts sate in the Streets, expecting some Almes for their Relief. Presently King *Oswald* commands, *Oswald*'s hand said never to putrifie.

mands, not onely that the Meat set before him should be given them, but also that the large Silver-Charger holding the same should be broke in pieces, and (in want perchance of present Coin) parted betwixt them. Whereupon, *Aidan* laying hold on *Oswald*'s *right Hand* (and that alone, we know, ought to be the [a] Almoner) *May this hand* (said he) [b] *never be consumed*: which is said accordingly to come to passe. So that when all the other Members of King *Oswald*'s Body (torn asunder by his barbarous Enemies) were putrified, his *right Hand* always remained unconsumed. Anno Dom. 642

a *Manh.* 6. 5.
b *So* Stapleton *translatith what in* Bede *is*, inveteraſcat.

c Camden's *Brit. in* Lincolnshire.

Nullo [c] *Verme perit, nulla Putredine tabet*
Dextra viri; nullo conſtringi Frigore, nullo
Diſſolvi Fervore poteſt: ſed ſemper eodem
Immutata ſtatu perſiſtit, mortua vivit.

No Worm, no Rottenneſſe taints his right Hand;
Corruption-free in vain the Cold doth ſtrive
To freeze, or Heat to melt it, which doth ſtand
Still at one ſtay; and though dead, is alive.

But it is not enough for us, that we have the *Poets Pen* for it; if we also had *Oswald*'s *Hand* to shew for the same, much might be wrought on our belief herein.

Mystically true.

77. For my own part, I conceive that *Aidan* his words to *Oswald*, that *his Hand should never wax old, or be consumed*, were spiritually spoken, in a Mysticall Meaning, parallel to those Scripture-expressions; *The Righteous shall be in* [d] *everlasting Remembrance*, even, *when the name of the Wicked shall* [e] *rot. The bountifull hand never consumes*: neither *actually*, it never wastes nor empairs an Estate, God so ordering it, that the more he giveth the more he hath; nor *passively*, *it is not consumed*, the Acts thereof remaining in a perpetuall Memoriall here, and hereafter. But, grant this Miracle of *Oswald*'s *Hand* literally true in the Latitude thereof; I desire any ingenuous Papist to consider the Time wherein it was acted. It was *Easter-day*, yea, such an *Easter-day* as was celebrated by the *Quartadecimans*, *Aidan* being present thereat, contrary to the time which the Canons of *Rome* appointed. Now, did not a Divine Finger in *Oswald* his miraculous Hand, point out this Day then to be truly observed? Let the Papists produce such another Miracle, to grace and credit their *Easter Roman-stile*, and then they say something to the Purpose.

d *Psal.* 112. 6.
e *Prov.* 10. 7.

Over-officiousnesse occasioned purgatory.

78. It plainly appears, that the Survivers had not onely a charitable Opinion, but a comfortable Presumption, yea, an infallible Perswasion, that the Soul of King *Oswald* was possessed of Heavenly Happinesse, instantly after his Death. What better Demonstration of his present being in perfect Blisse, then those many Miracles, which the Papists confidently report to be done by him after his Death, in curing Sick people of their severall Maladies? For such Souls which they fancy in *Purgatory*, are so farre from healing others, that they cannot help themselves. Yea, [f] *Bede* calleth this *Oswald*, *jam cum Domino regnantem, now reigning with the Lord*. Yet the same [g] Authour attesteth, that even in his time it was the anniversary Custome of the Monks of *Hexam*, to repair to *Heofen-feld* (a place hard by, where *Oswald*, as aforesaid, obtained his miraculous Victory) and there *to observe Vigils for the Salvation of his Soul, plurimaq; Psalmorum laude celebrata, victimam pro eo, mane sacræ oblationis offerre*. A Mongrel Action, betwixt *Good-will* and *Will-worship*: though the eyes of their Souls in those Prayers looked not forward to the future, petitioning for *Oswald*'s Happinesse; but backward to what was past, gratulatory to the Blisse he had received. *Purgatory* therefore cannot properly be founded on such *Suffrages* for the dead. However, such over-Officiousnesse (though at first it was like the *Herb* in the Pot, *which doth neither good nor ill*) in af-

f *Eccles. Hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 12.
g *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 2

ter-

Anno Dom. ter-Ages became like that wild [a] *Gourd*, poysoning mens Souls with Superstition, when they fell to down-right Praying for the departed. a 2 *King.* 4. 40

644 79. This year *Paulinus*, late Arch-Bishop of *York*, since Bishop of *Rochester*, ended his Life; and one *Ithamar* succeeded him, born in *Kent*, and the first *English*-man Bishop, all being Forrainers before him. As he was the first of his Nation, I believe him the second of his Name, meeting with no moe save onely [b] *Ithamar, the youngest Son of Aaron*, High-Priest of *Israel*. The death of *Paulinus*. b *Exod.* 6. 23.

645 80. After King *Oswald* his Death, four Christian contemporary Kings flourished in *England*. First *Oswy*, King of *Northumberland*, more commendable for the Managing, then the Gaining of his Kingdome; except any will say, that no good Keeping can make amends for the ill Getting of a Crown, seeing he defeated *Ethelwald* (*Oswald*'s Son, and) the true Heire thereof. *Bede* [c] termeth him *Regem Christianissimum, The most Christian King*; a Stile wherewith the present Majesty of *France* will not be offended, as which many years after was settled on his Ancestours. Long had this *Oswy* endeavoured in vain by Presents to purchase Peace from *Penda*, the Pagan King of *Mercia*, who miserably harassed his Country, and refused any Gifts, (though never so rich and great) which were tendered unto him. At last, saith my [d] Authour, *Oswy* resolved, *We will offer our Presents to such a King, who is higher in Command, and humbler in his Courtesie, as who will not disdain to accept them.* Whereupon he devoted his Daughter to God, in her perpetuall Virginity, and soon after obtained a memorable Conquest over his Enemies, and cleared the Country from his Cruelty. Most Christian King *Oswy*. c *Lib.* 3. *c.* 21. d *Idem.*

81. Secondly, *Sigebert*, King of *Essex*, and the Restorer of Religion in his Kingdome (which formerly had apostatized after the Departure of *Mellitus*) valiant, and pious, though taxed for his contumacious Company-keeping (contrary to his Confessours command) with an Excommunicated Count, in whose House he was afterward murdered by two Villains: Who, being demanded the Cause of their Cruelty, why they killed so harmlesse and innocent a Prince, had nothing to say for themselves, but they did it, because *his* [e] *Goodnesse had done the Kingdome hurt; such his proneness to pardon Offenders, on their* (*though but seeming*) *Submission, that his Meekness made many Malefactours.* But I hope, and believe, that the Heirs of *Sigebert* (though the Story be silent herein) finding his Fault, amended it in themselves, and exercised just Severity in the Execution of these two damnable Traitours. *Sigebert* the too-good. e Beda *lib.* 3. *cap.* 22.

654 82. *Anna* may be accounted the third Successour to *Sigebert*, and happy in a numerous and holy Off-spring. Yea, all his Children (save *Firminus* the eldest, slain with his Father in a Fight against Pagan *Penda*) were either Mitred, or Vailed, when Living; Sainted, and Shrined, when Dead: as *Erkenwald*, Bishop of *London*; *Ethelred*, or *Audrey*, and *Sexburga*, successively Foundresses and Abbesses of *Elie*, *Withgith*, a Nun therein; and *Ethilburg*, Abbesse of *Beorking*, nigh *London*. *Anna* happy in an holy issue.

656 83. *Peada*, Prince of *Mercia*, may make up the Quaternion, who married *Alfrede*, Daughter of *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*; and thereupon renouncing Paganisme, embraced Christianity, and propagated it in his Dominions. Indeed *Penda*, his Father, that Persecuter of Piety, was still alive (and survived two yeares after) persisting an Heathen till Death, but mollified to permit a Toleration of Christianity in his Subjects. Yea, *Penda* in his Old-age used an expression (which might have beseemed the Mouth of a better man) namely, That he hated not Christians, but *onely such who* [f] *professed Christ's Faith, without his Works*; accounting them contemptible, who pretended to Believe in God, without Obeying him. The conversion of the *Mercians* to Christianity under Prince *Peada*. f Beda *lib.* 3. *cap.* 21.

84. A brace of Brethren, both Bishops, both eminent for Learning and Religion, now appeared in the Church; so like in Name, they are oft mistaken in Authours one for another. Now, though it be *pleasant for Brethren to live* St. *Cedde*, and St. *Chad*.

live together in Vnity; yet it is not fit, by Errour they ſhould be jumbled together in Confuſion. Obſerve their Difference therefore. Anno Dom. 656

S^t. *Cedde* (in Latine *Ceddus*) I believe the elder, born at [a] *London* (where afterward he was Biſhop) bred in *Holy Iſland*, an active promoter in making the *Eaſt-Saxons Converts* (or rather *Reverts*) to the Faith. He is remembred in the *Romiſh* Kalendar, *January* the ſeventh.

S^t. *Chad* (in Latine *Cedda*) born in [b] *Northumberland*, bred likewiſe in *Holy Iſland*, and Scholar to *Aidanus*. He was Biſhop of *Lichfield*; a milde, and modeſt man, of whom more hereafter. His death is celebrated in the Kalendar *March* the ſecond, and the Duſt of his Tombe is by Papiſts reported to cure all Diſeaſes [alike] in Man and Beaſt. I believe it might make *the dumb to ſee, and the lame to ſpeak.*

a *Flores Sanctorum* pag. 55.
b *Idem* p. 224.

The later of theſe was, as the Longeſt Liver, ſo the moſt eminent in his Life; who made many Chriſtians, and amongſt the reſt *VVulfade* and *Ruſine*, Sons to *Wulphere* King of *Mercia*, ſucceeding *Peada* therein, who was ſuddenly ſlain, and his untimely Death was a great Loſs to Religion.

Fridona firſt *Engliſh* Arch-biſhop.

85. Look we now on the See of *Canterbury*, where (to our comfort) we have gotten one of our own Country-men into the place, *Fridona* a *Saxon*. Yet, for the more State of the buſineſſe, he aſſumed the name of *Deus-dedit*. We know, Arch-Biſhops of his See are termed *Alterius orbis Papa*, and ſuch changing of Names was faſhionable with the Popes. He was conſecrated by *Ithamar* alone, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the firſt *Engliſh* Biſhop conſecrating the firſt *Engliſh* Arch-Biſhop. Let no Sophiſter cavill with his thread-bare Maxime, *Nihil dat quod non habet*, and therefore a ſingle Biſhop could not conferre Archiepiſcopal Power, but leave it to the Canon-Lawyers, to decide what may be done in caſe of Extremity. Mean time, how cauſeleſſe is the Caption of the Papiſts [c] at the Conſecration of *Matthew Parker*, becauſe no Arch-Biſhop (though four Biſhops) was preſent thereat. Seeing, though an Arch-Biſhop be requiſite *ad Dignitatem*, Biſhops will ſuffice *ad Honeſtatem*; and a ſingle Biſhop (as [d] *Ithamar* here) may be effectuall *ad eſſentiam* of an Archiepiſcopal Conſecration. No wonder therefore if *Evagrius* was acknowledged a legitimate Biſhop by the [e] Pope himſelf, though contrary to the Rigour of the Canon, conſecrated by [f] *Paulinus* alone. *Deus-dedit* anſwered his Name (A good Arch-Biſhop is Gods Gift) and for nine yeares and more, ruled the Church to his great Commendation.

c Sanders *de Schiſm. pag.* 297.
d Bede *Hiſt. lib.* 3. *p.* 217.
e Binnius *Tom.* 1. *p.* 579. *in Notis in Epiſt.* 17. *Innocentii primi.*

Wolphere's murther of his two Sons.

86. A barbarous Murther was committed by *Wolphere*, King of *Mercia*, who 662
underſtanding that his two Sons, *Wulfade* and *Ruſine*, had embraced Chriſtianity, cruelly ſlew them with his own Hands. But afterwards, repenting of ſo foul a Fact, he himſelf turned Chriſtian; and in Teſtimony thereof, finiſhed the fair Fabrick of the Monaſtery at *Peterborough*, begun by *Peada* his Brother. The whole Story thereof was, till lately, ſet forth in Painting, and Poetry (ſuch as it was) in the Glaſs-windows, round about the Cloiſters of *Peterborough*.

f Theodoret. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

Wulfade *pray'd* Chad, *that ghoſtly Leach,*
The Faith of Chriſt him for to teach.

The making of Glaſſe brought firſt into *England*.

87. And now, having fallen on the mention of Glaſſe, be it ſeaſonably remembred, that juſt at this time one *Benault*, a forrain Biſhop (but of what place I find not) brought the Myſtery of making Glaſſe into *England*, to the great Beautifying of our Churches and Houſes; the Eyes being the Grace of the Body, as Windows are of Buildings. I conceive, his Invention was White Glaſſe alone, more ancient then Painted Glaſſe in this Iſland, as Plain-ſong is much ſeniour to all Deſcanting, and running of Diviſion.

Scotiſh Biſhops diſſent from others in keeping Eaſter.

88. The Paroxiſme continued and encreaſed, betwixt the *Scotiſh* Biſhops (headed, after *Aidan*'s Death, by *Finan*, Biſhop of *Holy-Iſland*) and ſuch who celebrated *Eaſter* after the *Roman* Rite. The later ſo bitterly deteſted the forme

Anno Dom. 662 former, that they would not receive Conſecration of them, or Impoſition of Hands; as if their very Fingers ends were infected with Schiſme, for diſſenting from *Rome*. Yea, they would neither give the Sacrament of the Euchariſt to them, nor receive it from them: and yet they never quarrelled at, or queſtioned the validity of Baptiſme conferred by them; ſeeing Biſhop *Finan* chriſtened the King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and all his Subjects. Somewhat more moderate were the *Scots*, or *Quartadecimans*, in their Cariage to the other, ſeeing S^t. *Chad* (*Scotized* in his Judgement) refuſed not Conſecration from *Wyni*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, though one of the contrary Opinion.

89. Nor was this Controverſie confined to Cloiſters and Colledges, but derived it ſelf from the Kings Court, down into private Families. Thus *Oſwy*, King of *Northumberland*, was of the *Scotiſh* perſwaſion, whileſt his Queen and eldeſt Son were of the *Romiſh* Opinion, in Celebration of *Eaſter*. One *Board* would not hold them, whom one *Bed* did contain. It fell out ſo ſometimes, that the Husband's *Palm-Sunday* was the Wife's *Eaſter-day*; and in other Families, the Wife faſted, and kept *Lent* ſtill, whileſt her Husband feaſted, and obſerved *Eaſter*. Say not, that Wife deſerved to faſt alwayes, who in ſo indifferent a Ceremony would not conform to her Husband's Judgement. For Conſciences, in ſuch kinds, are to be led, not drawn. Great was the Diſturbance in every great Family; onely the Poor gained by the Difference, cauſing a *Duplicate* of *Feſtivalls*, two Eaſters being kept every year in the ſame Houſe.

This controverſy ſpreads into private families.

663 90. To compoſe this Controverſie (if poſſible) a Councill was called at *Streanch-Hall* (now *Whitby* in *Yorkſhire*) by the procurement of S^t. *Hilda*, Abbeſs therein. Here appeared, amongſt many others,

A Councell is called to compoſe this controverſie.

For the Romiſh Eaſter,	*Moderatours.*	*For the* Scotiſh Eaſter.
VVilfride, an Abbot, a zealous Champion. *Romanus*, a Prieſt, very hot in the Quarrel: And others.	*Hilda*, the Abbeſs of *Streanch-Hall*. S. *Cedd*, Biſhop of *London*, propending to the *Scotiſh*, but not throughly perſwaded.	S^t. *Coleman*, Biſhop of *Holy-Iſland*, who ſucceeded *Finan* in that place.

But *Baronius* and *Binnius* will in no caſe allow this for a Councill (though elſewhere extending that name to meaner Meetings) onely they call it a Collation, becauſe (forſooth) it wanted ſome Councill-Formalities, all Biſhops not being ſolemnly ſummoned, but onely ſome Voluntiers appearing therein. Beſides, as there was ſomething too little, ſo ſomething too much for a Canonicall Councill; *Hilda*, a Woman, being Moderatreſſe therein; which ſeemed irregular.

91. In this Councill, or Collation (call it which you pleaſe) after much arguing *pro* and *con*, *VVilfride* at laſt knockt all down with this Argument; That the *Romiſh* Celebration of *Eaſter* was founded on the Practice of S^t. *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles, and Porter of Heaven. King *Oſwy* hearing this was affrighted, who had rather anger all the other eleven Apoſtles, then offend S^t. *Peter*, one ſo high in Power and Place; for fear (as he ſaid) leſt coming to Heaven-gate, S^t. *Peter* ſhould deny him a *Caſt of his Office*, and refuſe to let him into Happineſſe. S^t. *Coleman*, being on the other ſide, was angry, that ſo ſlight an Argument had made ſo deep an Impreſſion on the King's Credulity. And, to manifeſt his Diſtaſte, after the Councill was broken up, carried all thoſe of his own Opinion home with him into *Scotland*. One *Tuda* ſucceeded him in his Biſhoprick of *Holy-Iſland*, the firſt of that See that conformed himſelf in this Controverſie to the *Romiſh* Church, and died in the ſame year, of the Plague.

Wilfride his prevailing argument.

92. As for *VVilfride*, he was well rewarded for his Paines in this Councill, being preſently promoted to be Biſhop of *York*, which, ſince *Paulinus* his Death, was no longer an Arch-Biſhop's, but a plain Biſhop's See. But, though

His intended, but diſappointed preferment.

appointed for the place by King *Oſwy*, he refuſed Conſecration from any *Engliſh* Biſhops, being all irregular, as conſecrated by the ſchiſmaticall *Scots*; onely *VVyni*, late Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, now of *London*, was ordained canonically, but lately he had contracted juſt Shame for his Simony, in buying his Biſhoprick. Over goes *VVilfride* therefore to *Rome* for Conſecration, and ſtayes there ſo long, that in his Abſence the King put S^t. *Chad* into the Biſhoprick of *York*. The writer of *VVilfride*'s Life complains lowdly hereof; Anno Dom. 663

Audacter ſponſam vivo rapuere marito.
Boldly in the Husband's life,
Away from him they took his Wife.

But, by the Poets leave, *York* was but eſpouſed, not married to *VVilfride*, whileſt he was in *England*: and after his going over beyond-Sea, he ſtayed ſo long, that his Church preſumed him dead, and herſelf a Maid-Widow, which lawfully might receive another Husband. At laſt *VVilfride* returning home had *York* reſtored unto him, and S^t. *Chad* was removed to the new-founded Biſhoprick of *Lichfield*.

Abbeſs *Hilda*. a 2 *Chr.* 34. 22.

93. The Abbeſs *Hilda*, whom we mentioned before, was like another *Huldah*, which lived in the [a] Colledge, ſuperiour to moſt of her Sex in Learning, inferiour to none in Religion. Monks aſcribe it to her Sanctity, that ſhe turned many Serpents in that Country into Stones. Plenty of which Stones are found at this day about *VVhitby*, the place of her Aboad, having the Shape of Serpents, but moſt headleſſe; as the Tale is truthleſſe, relating it to her Miraculous Operation. Who knows not, but that at *Alderly* in *Gloceſterſhire*, there are found Stones reſembling Cockles, or Periwincles, in a place far from the Sea? which are eſteemed by the Learned the Gameſome Work of Nature, ſometimes pleaſed to diſport it ſelf, and poſe us by propounding ſuch Riddles unto us.

A miracle imputed to her holineſs.

94. Some impute it alſo to *Hilda* her Holineſſe, that Wilde-geeſe, when flying over the Grounds near her Convent, fell down to the ground, as doing Homage to the Sanctity thereof. As the Credit of the Reporters hath converted wiſe men to believe the Thing: ſo they juſtly remain incredulous, that it proceedeth from any Miracle, but ſecret Antipathy. But as Philoſophers, when poſed in Nature, and proſecuted to render Reaſons of her Myſteries, took Sanctuary at *Occulta Qualitas*: Monks in the ſame kind make their Refuge to the Shrine of ſome Saint, attributing all they cannot anſwer, to His, or Her miraculous Operation. Yea ſometimes ſuch is Monkiſh Impudence, falſely to aſſign that to a Saint (though all Chronologies proteſt againſt the Poſſibility thereof) which is the plain and pregnant effect of Nature. Witneſſe when they [b] write, that *Richard de la VVich*, Biſhop of *Chiceſter*, with his fervent Prayers obtained, that the *VViches*, or ſalt Springs, ſhould boil out of the earth in *Durtwich* in *VVorceſterſhire*; which are mentioned, and deſcribed by ancient Authours dead before the Cradle of the ſaid *Richard de la VVich* was made.

b *Ar.* Camden *ſaith in* Worceſterſhire.

Theodorus Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*.

95. Look we now on the See of *Canterbury*, and there after the Death of the laſt Arch-Biſhop (and four yeares Vacancy) we find that Church hath changed her *Latine* into *Greek*, I mean, dead *Deus-dedit*, into *Theodorus* his Succeſſour, put in by the Pope. This *Theodorus* was a *Grecian* by Name, and Nation, fellow-Citizen with S^t. *Paul*, born in [c] *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; and herein like him, that *he* [d] *ſpake with Tongues more then they all*, had more skill in learned Languages then all his Brethren, Biſhops of *England*, in that Age. Yea, as Children when young, are permitted to Play; but when of ſome yeares, are ſent to learn their Book: ſo hitherto the Infant-Church of *England* may be ſaid to have loſt time for matter of Learning, and now *Theodorus* ſet it firſt to School, brought Books to it, and it to Books; erecting a well-furniſhed Library, and teaching his Clergie how to make uſe thereof. 668

c *Acts* 22. 3. d 1 *Cor.* 14. 18.

e 1 *Cor.* 9. 22. His fierceneſs to keep *Eaſter* after the *Romiſh* rite.

96. I could wiſh this *Theodorus* had had one Quality more of S^t. Paul; that in matters Indifferent, he would have been [e] *made all things to all men, that by* 67[1]

all

Anno Dom. 673

all means he might ſave ſome. Whereas he moſt rigourouſly preſſed Conformity to *Rome*, in the Obſervation of *Eaſter*: and to that purpoſe a Councill was called at *Herad-ford*, now *Hartford*, and not *Hereford*, as judicious and induſtrious Biſhop *Godwine* (partiall to the place whereof he himſelf was Biſhop) doth miſtake it. Here *Eaſter* was ſettled after the *Romiſh* Rite; and we are not ſorry for the ſame, willing rather it ſhould be any way ordered, then that the Reader (with whom I ſympathize, more then grutch my own Pains) ſhould be troubled any longer with ſuch a ſmall-great Controverſie, low in it's own Merit, but heightned with the Spleen and Paſſion of ſuch as proſecuted it. In this Synod nine other Articles were concluded of, as they follow here in order, out of *Bede*, [a] as *Stapleton* himſelf hath tranſlated them.

a *Lib. 4. cap. 5.*

1. That no Biſhop ſhould have ought to do in anothers Dioceſe, but be contented with the Charge of the people committed unto him.
2. That no Biſhop ſhould moleſt, or any wiſe trouble ſuch Monaſteries as were conſecrated, and given to God, nor violently take from them ought that was theirs.
3. That Monks ſhould not go from place to place, that is to ſay, from one Monaſtery to another, unleſſe by the leave of their own Abbot; but ſhould continue in the Obedience which they promiſed at the time of their Converſion, and entring into Religion.
4. That none of the Clergie forſaking his own Biſhop, ſhould run up and down where he liſt, nor when he came any whither, ſhould be received without Letters of Commendation from his Dioceſan. And, if that he be once received, & will not return, being warned and called, both the Receiver and he that is Received ſhall incurre the Sentence of Excommunication.
5. That ſuch Biſhops and Clerks as are Strangers, be content with ſuch Hoſpitality as is given them; and that it be lawfull for none of them to execute any Office of a Prieſt, without the permiſſion of the Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſe they are known to be.
6. That whereas by the ancient Decrees, a Synod and Convocation ought to be aſſembled twice a year; yet becauſe diverſe Inconveniences do happen among us, it hath ſeemed good to us all, that it ſhould be aſſembled once a year, the firſt day of *Auguſt*, at the place called *Cloſeſhooh*.
7. That no Biſhop ſhould ambitiouſly preferre himſelf before another, but ſhould all acknowledge the time, and order of their Conſecration.
8. That the Number of Biſhops ſhould be encreaſed, the number of Chriſtian folk waxing daily greater; but hereof at this time we ſaid no further.
9. That no man commit Advoutry nor Fornication; that no man forſake his own Wife, but for onely Fornication, as the Holy Goſpel teacheth. And, if any man put away his Wife being lawfully married unto him, if he will be a right Chriſtian man, let him be joyned to none other: but let him ſo continue ſtill ſole, or elſe be reconciled again to his own Wife.

I wonder, no mention herein of ſettling the Tonſure of Prieſts (a Controverſie running parallel with that of *Eaſter*) according to the *Roman* Rite. To conclude, let not the Reader expect the like exemplification of all Articles in following Synods, ſo largely as here we have preſented them. For this Synod *Stapleton* [b] calls *the firſt of the Engliſh-Nation* (underſtand him, whoſe Canons are completely extant) and therefore more Patrimony is due to the Heir and Eldeſt Son, then to the younger Brethren, who ſhall be content to be confined to their Penſions, I mean, to have their Articles not exemplified, but epitomized hereafter.

b *In his tranſlatione of Bede fol. 118.*

He envieth *Wilfride* Bishop of *York*.

97. *Theodorus*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, beheld *VVilfride*, Bishop of *York* (one of great Parts, and greater Passions) with envious eyes; and therefore, to abate his Power, he endeavoured that the Diocese of *York* might be divided. *VVilfride* offended hereat goes over to *Rome* to impede the Project, and by the way is tossed with a grievous Tempest. *It is an ill wind which bloweth no man Profit.* He is cast on the Shoar of *Freezland* in *Belgia*, where the Inhabitants, as yet Pagans, were by his Preaching converted to Christianity. This may be observed in this *Wilfride*, his πάθη were better then his ἔργα; his *casuall* and *occasionall* were better then his *intentionall Performances* (which shews plainly, that Providence acted more vigourously in him, then his own Prudence:) I mean, when at Ease in Wealth, at home, he busied himself in Toyes and Trifles of Ceremonious Controversies; but when (as now, and afterwards) a Stranger, and little better then an Exile, he effectually promoted the Honour and Glory of God. Anno Dom. 678

The *South-Saxons* (as formerly the *Frezlanders*) converted by *Wilfride*.

98. And as it is observed of Nightingales, that they sing the sweetest, when farthest from their Nests: so this *VVilfride* was most diligent in God's Service, when at the greatest distance from his own Home. For though returning into *England*, he returned not unto *York*, but stayed in the Pagan Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, who also, by God's Blessing on his Endeavours, were perswaded to embrace the Christian Faith. 679

The first, the last.

99. These *South-Saxons*, of all the seven Kingdomes, were the last which submitted themselves to the perfect Freedome of God's Service, and yet their Country was in Situation next to *Kent*, where the Gospel was first planted. Herein it was verified, *Many that are first, shall be last; and the last, first.* Yea, the Spirit, *which bloweth where it listeth*, observeth no visible Rules of Motion; but sometimes taking no notice of those in the middle, reacheth to them which are farthest off. Indeed *Edilwalch* their King, was a little before Christened by the perswasion of *VVolphere*, King of *Mercia* (who was his Godfather, and at his baptizing gave him for a Gift the Isle of *VVight*, *& provinciam* [a] Meanuarorum *in gente Occidentalium Saxonum*) but his Country still remained in Paganisme. And although *Dicul*, a *Scot*, with some six of his Brethren, had a small Monastery at *Bosenham* in *Sussex*; yet they, rather enjoying themselves, then medling with others, were more carefull of their own Safety, then their Neighbours Conversion. And indeed, the Pagans neither heeded their Life, nor minded their Doctrine.

[a] Bede *lib.* 4. *cap.* 13.

Pagan obstinacy punished with famine.

100. However, these *South-Saxons* paid for their Stubbornesse, in standing out so long against the Gospel; for they alwayes were a miserable people, and at this present afflicted with a great Famine, caused by three years Drought; so that fourty men in a row, holding hand in hand, used to throw themselves into the Sea, to avoid the misery of a Lingering Death. In this wofull Condition did *VVilfride*, Bishop of *York*, find them, when he first preached the Gospel unto them; and on that very day wherein he baptized them (as if God from Heaven had powred water into the Font) he obtained store of Rain, which procured great Plenty. Observe (though I am not so ill-natured as to wrangle with all Miracles) an Apish Imitation of *Elijah* (who carried the Key of Heaven at his Girdle, to lock, or unlock it by his Prayer:) onely *Elijah* gave Rain after three yeares and six moneths, *VVilfride* after bare three yeares; it being good manners to come a little short of his Betters.

South-Saxons first taught to fish.

101. Also (saith my [b] Authour) he taught the people (who till then knew not how to catch any Fishes, but Eeles) how to take all kind of Fish in the Sea, and Rivers. Strange! that thus long they should live in Ignorance of so usefull a Trade, being (though Infidels) no Idiots: especially seeing mens Capacities come very soon to be of age to understand their own Profit; and the Examples of their Neighbours might have been Tutours unto them.

[b] Bede *ibidem*

But

Anno Dom. 680

But *Wilfride* afterward wanted no Hearers, People flocking unto him; as when Christ made his Auditours his Guests, they followed after him, *because they ate of the Loaves, and were filled.* The Priests *Eappa, Padda, Bruchelin,* and *Oidda*, assisted in baptizing the common people; and King *Edilwalch* gave *Wilfride* a piece of Land, containing eighty nine Families, at *Selsey*, where he erected a Bishops See, since translated to *Chichester.*

A double good deed.

102. Amongst other good deeds, *Wilfride* freed two hundred and fifty men and maid-Servants, both out of Soul-Slavery, and Bodily Bondage. For, having baptized them, he procured their Liberty of their Masters, which they (no doubt) chearfully embraced, according to S^t. *Paul*'s [a] counsel, *Art thou called a Servant? care not for it: but if thou maist be made free, use it rather.* And thus by God's Blessing, in the space of eighty and two yeares (from five hundred ninety seven, to six hundred seventy nine) was the whole *Saxon Heptarchie* converted to Christianity, and did never again relapse to Paganisme.

a 1 Cor. 7. 21.

Godfathers used to men of mature Age.

103. Mention being [b] lately made of *Wolphere*, the *Mercian* King, his being Godfather unto *Edilwalch*, King of the *South-Saxons*, some will much admire, that one arrived at yeares of Maturity, able to render an Account of his Faith, should have a Godfather, which (with *Swadling-clouts*) they conceive belong to Infants alone. Yet this was very fashionable in that Age: not onely for the *greater state*, in Kings, Princes, and Publick Persons; but, *in majorem cautelam*, even amongst Private people. For such Susceptors were thought to put an Obligation on the Credits (and by reflection on the Consciences) of new Christians (whereof too many in those dayes were baptized out of civile Designes) to walk worthy of their Profession, were it but to save their Friends Reputation, who had undertaken for their Sincerity therein.

b Parag. 99.

Cadwallader founds a *Welsh* Hospital at Rome.

104. *Cadwallader*, the last King of *Wales*, wearied out with Warre, Famine, and Pestilence, left his own Land, and (with some small Treasure) fled to *Alan*, King of Little *Britain*. But Princes are welcome in forrain parts, when Pleasure (not Need) brings them thither; or, whilest they are so considerable in themselves, as to command their own Entertainment. Whereas this distressed King his Company was beheld not onely as Useless, and Expensive, but Dangerous, as likely to draw with it the Displeasure of the *Saxon* Kings (his Enemies) on his Entertainer. But it seems, *Cadwallader* had better Friends in Heaven, then any he found on Earth, if it be true what confidently is reported, that an [c] Angel appeared unto him, advising him to go to *Rome*, there to take on him the Habite of a Monk, and spend the remainder of his Life. Here he purchased Lands, all by the foresaid Angelicall Direction, built an House (after his Death converted into an Hospitall) and by his Will so ordered it, that certain Priests of his own Country should for ever have the Rule and Government thereof. These were to entertain all *Welsh*-Pilgrims with Meat, Drink, and Lodging, for the space of a moneth, and to give them a certain Summe of Money for a *viaticum* at their Departure, towards their Charges in returning to their own Country.

685

c Lewes Owen *his running Register, pag.* 17.

Since, injuriously taken from the *Welsh.*

105. Many a year did this Hospitall flourish in good Plenty, till the middle of Queen *Elisabeth* her Reign; when fair the Revenues belonging, and few the *Welsh*-Pilgrims repairing thereto. This made Father *Parsons*, with the rest of our *English Iesuites*, cast an envious eye thereon, who would never be quiet, untill they had obtained of Pope *Gregory* the 13. to eject the old *British*, and unite this Hospitall to the *English* Colledge at *Rome*. This, no doubt, stirred up the *Welsh* bloud of D^r. *Morris*, D^r. *Lewes*, D^r. *Smith*, M^r. *Griffith*, who in vain stickled to the utmost of their Power, to continue this Foundation to their Country-men. In my poor Opinion, seeing an Angel is said to direct in the Founding and endowing of this Hospitall, it was

but

but fit that either the ſame Angel appearing again, or ſome other of an higher (or at leaſt equall Dignity and Degree, in the Celeſtiall *Hierarchie*) ſhould have altered the Uſe, and confirmed the Alienation thereof. But of this more [a] hereafter. Anno Dom.

a *Vide Annum Domini* 1569. The Eccleſiaſticall Laws of King *Ina*.

106. *Ina*, King of the *VVeſt-Saxons*, about this time ſet forth his *Saxon* Laws, tranſlated into *Engliſh* by M^r. *Lambert*. Eleven of his *Laws* concerned *Church-matters*; Kings in that Age underſtanding their own Power, the *Pope* having not as yet intrenched on their juſt *Prerogative*. Theſe Conſtitutions were concluded on by the King, through the Perſwaſion of *Kenred* his Father, *Hedda* and *Erkenwald* his Biſhops, and all his Aldermen and wiſe Senatours of the People. Let none wonder that *Ina*, in his Preface to theſe Laws, termeth *Erkenwald His Biſhop*, whoſe *See* of *London* was properly under the King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. For he might call him *his* in *Affection*, (whoſe Dioceſe was in another King's Poſſeſſion;) *Ina* highly honouring *Erkenwald* for his Piety, and therefore inviting him (forward of himſelf to all Goodneſſe) to be preſent at the paſſing of theſe Laws. Beſides, [b] ſome aſſign *Surrey* as part of the Kingdome of the *VVeſt-Saxons*: probably at this preſent *Ina*'s Puiſſance ſallied over the *Thames*, and *London* might be reduced into his *Honorary Protection*. But ſee here a Breviate of his Church-Laws. 692

b Iac. Uſſer. *Arch. Armach. de Brit. Eccleſ. primord. p.* 394

1. That *Miniſters* [c] obſerve their appointed form of living.
2. That every *Infant* be baptized within thirty dayes after his Birth, on the Penalty of his Parents forfeiting thirty ſhillings; and if the Child chance to die before he be baptized, all his Eſtate.
3. If the Servant doth any Work on the Lords day at the Maſters Command, the Servant ſhall be [d] acquitted, and the M^r. pay thirty ſhillings. But if he did that work without his Maſters Command, let him be beaten, or redeem it with Money, &c. A Prieſt offending in this kind was to be double puniſhed.
4. The *Firſt-fruits of Seeds* were to be paid to the Church on the Feaſt of S^t. *Martin*, on the Penalty of fourty ſhillings, beſides the payment of the ſaid Firſt-fruits twelve times over.
5. If any deſerving Stripes ſhall flie to a *Church*, his Stripes ſhall be forgiven him. If guilty of a Capitall Crime, he ſhall enjoy his Life, but make Recompence according to what is right and due.
6. Fighters in the King's Court, to loſe their Goods, and to be at the King's Mercy for their Life. Such as fight in the Church, to pay 120 ſhillings. If in the houſe of an Alderman, 60 ſhil. &c.
7. Such as falſifie their Witneſſe or Pawn in the preſence of the Biſhop, to pay 120. ſhillings.
8. Severall Penalties of Money impoſed on thoſe that ſhould kill a Stranger.
9. Such as are breakers of the Peace in the Town of the King or Arch-Biſhop, puniſhable with one hundred and twenty ſhillings; in the Town of an Alderman, eight ſhillings; in the Town of one of the King's Servants, ſixty ſhillings, &c.
10. Firſt-fruits of all Seeds were to be paid by Houſe-keepers as due to that place wherein they themſelves were reſident on the day of Chriſt's Nativity.
11. What Summes of Money are to be paid by ſuch who have killed their God-fathers or God-ſons.

c S^r. Henry Spelman *his Councils pag.* 182. *&c.*

d *The Latine*, Liber eſto, *may not onely import a freedome from ſaule, but alſo, that ſuch a ſlave-ſervant ſhould be manumiſs'd from ſervitude. See the following* 113. *paragraph.*

In this laſt *Law*, expreſſe Proviſion is made, *Epiſcopi filius ſi occidatur*, in caſe the Son of a Biſhop be kill'd: a Paſſage impertinently alledged by ſome, for the Proof of Biſhops married in that Age; ſeeing neither Sons *natural*, nor *conjugal*, but onely *ſpirituall*, at the Font, are thereby intended. Now let the learned in the Law render the Reaſon, why Murder in that Age was not puniſhable with Death, but might be bought off with Money.

107. A great

Anno Dom. 694

107. A *great Council* (for ſo it is tituled) was held at *Becanceld* by *Withred*, King of *Kent*, and *Bertuald*, Arch-Biſhop of *Britain* (ſo called therein) underſtand him of *Canterbury*; wherein many things were concluded in favour of the Church. Five *Kentiſh Abbeſſes*, namely, *Mildred*, *Etheldred*, *Æbe*, *Wilnolde*, and *Hereſwide*, were not onely preſent, but ſubſcribed their Names and Croſſes to the Conſtitutions concluded therein. And we may obſerve, that their Subſcriptions are not onely placed before and above all *Presbyters*, but alſo above [a] *Botred* a Biſhop, (but of what *Dioceſe* not ſpecified) preſent in this *great Council*. It ſeems it was the *Courteſy* of *England* to allow the upper hand to the *weaker Sex*, as in their *Siting*, ſo in their *Subſcriptions*.

Women preſent at the great Council of *Becanceld*.

a *Sr.* Henry Spelman's *Councills pag.* 190.

108. We will conclude this Century with the miraculous Holineſs of *Ethelreda*, or S[t]. *Audre*: profeſſing at firſt to be afraid to adventure on ſo high a Subject, diſheartened in reading a Popiſh Authour to rant ſo in her Commendation. "Let [b] the fabulous *Greeks* talk no more of their chaſt "*Penelope*, who in the twenty yeares abſence of her Husband *Vlyſſes* lived "continently, in deſpite of the tempting Importunity of many noble Woers: "and let the proud *Romans* ceaſe to bragg of their fair *Lucretia*, that "choſe rather to become the bloudy inſtrument of her own Death, then "to live after the violent Raviſhment of her Honour: and let all the world "turn their Minds to admire, and their Tongues and Pens to ſound the "Praiſes of the Chriſtian Vertues and Chaſtity of our bleſſed *Ethelreda*, &c. But leaving the Bubbles of his Rhetorick to break of themſelves, on ſerious conſiderations we are ſo far from admiring, 'tis more then we can do to excuſe this S[t]. *Audre*, as her Story is reported.

Romiſh braggs of S[t]. *Audre*'s Chaſtity.

b *The Flowers of the Saints written by* Hierome Porter.

109. This *Audre* was Daughter to *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and from her Infancy a great affecter of Virginity. However, ſhe was over-perſwaded to marry one *Tombert*, Prince of the *Fen-land*, with whom ſhe lived three yeares in the *Bands of unexperienced Wedlock*, both, by mutuall Conſent, abſtaining from Carnal Copulation. After his Death, ſo importunate were her Friends with her, that ſhe married with *Egfride* King of *Northumberland*.

Twice a Wife, ſtill a Maid.

110. Strange, that being once free, ſhe would again entangle her ſelf; and ſtranger, that being married, ſhe utterly refuſed to afford her Husband what the [c] Apoſtle calls *due Benevolence*, though he by importunate Intreaties requeſted the ſame. Being *Benevolence*, it was Uncharitable to deny it; being *Due*, it was Unjuſt to detain it; being *both*, ſhe was *uncharitable* and *unjuſt* in the ſame action. Was not this a Mockage of Marriage (if in that Age counted a Sacrament) ſolemnly to give her ſelf unto her Husband, whom formerly ſhe had paſſed away by a previous Vow of Virginity? At laſt ſhe wreſted leave from her Husband to live a *Nun* in the *Monaſtery* of *Ely*, which ſhe built and endowed. After her entrance therein ſhe ever wore Woollen, and never [d] Linen about her: which whether it made her more Holy, or leſſe Cleanly, let others decide. Our [e] Authour tells us, that in Memory of her, our *Engliſh* Women are wont to wear about their Necks a certain Chain made of fine ſmall Silk, which they call *Ethelred*'s *Chain*. I muſt profeſſe my ſelf not ſo well acquainted with the Sex, as either to confute or confirm the truth thereof. At laſt ſhe died of a Swelling in her Throat, and was buried in *Ely*.

Pretended chaſtity, real injuſtice.

c 1 *Cor.* 7. 3.

d Bede *Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 4. *c.* 19.

e Hierome Porter *in his Flowers of the Saints*, and Harpsfield *ſec.* 7. *cap.* 24.

111. Sixteen yeares her Corps ſlept in a private Grave near her own Convent; when it came into the head of Biſhop *Wilfride* and her Friends, to beſtow on her a more coſtly Buriall. But alaſs, the ſoft and fenny Ground of *Ely Iſle* (where ſcarce a ſtone bigg enough to bury a Worm under it) afforded not a Tombe-ſtone for that purpoſe. Being thus at a Loſſe, their want [f] is ſaid
696 to be miraculouſly ſupplyed; for under the ruined Walls of *Grantcheſter*, or *Cambridge*, a Coffin was found, with a Cover correſpondent, both of white *Marble*, which did fit her Body ſo exactly, as if (which one may believe was true) it was made for it. Herein was *Audre*'s *Corps* ſtately inſhrined, and for many yeares ſuperſtitiouſly adored.

Her miraculous Monument of Marble.

f Beda *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19.

112. But

Confuted by a credible witnesse.

112. But *Io. Cajus*, Fellow of *Gonvile-Hall*, within ten Miles of *Ely*, at the Dissolution of *Abbyes*, being reputed no great Enemy to the *Romish* Religion, doth on his own Knowledge report, Anno Dom. 696

In his *Histor. Cantab. lib.* 1. *pag.* 8.

Quamquam illius ævi cæcitas admirationem in eo paret, quod regnante Hen. *nuper* 8. *dirutum idem sepulchrum ex lapide communi fuit, non, ut* Beda *narrat, ex albo marmore.*

Although the blindnesse of that Age bred Admiration therein: yet when the Tombe was pluckt down in the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, it was found made of common Stone, & not of white Marble, as *Bede* reporteth.

Thus was her Tombe degraded & debased one degree, which makes the Truth of all the rest to be suspected. And if all Popish Miracles were brought to the *Test*, they would be found to shrink from *Marble* to *common Stone*, nay from *Stone* to *Dirt* and *untempered Morter*.

697

The Council at Berghamsteed.

113. It is needlesse here to insert the *Canons* concluded on at *Berghamsteed*, by *Withred* King of *Kent*, and *Bertuald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. First, because Topicall, confined to that small Kingdome. Secondly, hard to be understood, as depending on some *Saxon* Law-terms, whereon Conjectures are the best Comment. Thirdly, such as are understood are obsolete; *viz.* If a Master gave his Servant Flesh to eat on a Fasting-day, his Servant was on the Refusall, and Complaint thereof, to be made [a] free. Some punishments therein were very absurdly proportioned; *viz.* Six shillings or a Whipping was to be paid by that Servant who ate flesh on Fasting-dayes: and just the same Penalty was inflicted on him if convicted of offering Oblations to the Devil: as if equall their Offences. And be it remembred, that this Council was kept *cum viris quibusdam Militaribus, some Souldiers being present thereat*; and yet the fifth Canon therein was made to punish Adultery in men of their Profession.

[a] *Sr. Henry Spelman's Councils p.* 190. *&c.*

Wilfride restored to *York*, and outed again.

114. As for Bishop *Wilfride*, whom lately we mentioned so active about the removall of S*t*. *Audre*'s Corps, he was about this time restored to his Bishoprick of *York*. Whereupon he fairly quitted the Bishoprick of *Selsey*, which *Edilwalch*, and after *Cedwall*, Kings of *Sussex*, bestowed upon him, and returned to *York*. It is much this *Rowling Stone* should gather so much *Mosse*, and get Wealth enough to found two *Monasteries*; who sometimes had three Bishopricks together, *York*, *Lindisfern*, and *Hagulsted*; sometimes none at all, living many yeares together in *Exile*. And indeed he continued not long in *York*, but being expelled thence again, was for a time made Bishop of *Leicester*. Nor was the King of *Northumberland* content with his bare Expulsion, but also he would have him confesse the same Legall, and resign it according to the late Decrees which the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* had made against him. But more hereof, God willing, in the next Century.

THE

Anno Dom.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Thomæ Adamidi, *Senatori* Londinensi, Mecœnati *meo.*

IN hac tanta rerum Vicissitudine, quis, qui te novit, Constantiam tuam non suspicit? Vndique turbatur; *Tu interim tibimet ipsi tota* Tranquillitas, *cum* Deo, *&* Bonis, *&* Studiis *tuis vacas.* *Perlegas, quæso, hanc* Centuriam, *vel eo nomine, quod Funera* Tui *&* Mei Bedæ *exhibeat.* Tuum *dico, quia haud ita pridem sub auspiciis Patronatus tui,* typis Saxonicis *pulcherrimus prodiit:* Meum, *quo* Authore (*vel potius* Authoribus) *in hoc Opere toties usus sum.* *Pluribus* Viro occupatissimo *molestus esse nolo. Vale.*

701 PAinfull *VVilfride* was no sooner out of one Trouble, but he was engaged in another. Hereupon[a] *Harpsfield* calls him the *Athanasius* of that Age; onely saith he, that *Father* was persecuted by *Hereticks*, and this *VVilfride* by *Catholicks*. He might have added, that *Athanasius* was troubled for Essentiall and Doctrinall Truths, whilest *VVilfride* was vexed about Ceremonious and Circumstantiall matters. And now *Alfride*, who succeeded *Egfride*, King of *Northumberland*, powerfully opposed him, being the paramount *Prince*, and in effect *Monarch* of the *Saxon Heptarchie*. For, as we have noted before, amongst these seven Kings, as amongst the *Planets*, there was ever one *Sun* that out-shined all the rest. *This Alfride*, joyning with *Bertuald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, called a [b] Council, and summoned *Wilfride*, who appeared there accordingly. But being demanded, whether he would obey the Decrees of *Theodore* late Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, he warily returned; That he was willing to obey them so farre as they were consonant to the *Holy Canons*. This Answer was not satisfactory to his Adversaries, as having in it too little of a Grant, to please them, and yet not enough of a Deniall, to give them a just Offence. Then they sought by fair means to perswade him, because much Trouble had arose in the Church about him, voluntarily to resign under hand and seal his Possessions, and Arch-Bishoprick; affirming, it would be a glorious act, to preferre the Publick Good before his Private Profit. But *Wilfride* persisted loyall to his own Innocence, affirming, such a Cession might be interpreted a Confession of his Guiltinesse; and appealed from that Councill to his *Holinesse*: and this

Wilfride persecuted afresh by *Alfride* King of *Northumberland*.

[a] *Hist. Eccles. Angl.* pag. 95.

[b] Malmesb. *de Gestis Pont. lib.* 3. *See Sr.* Henry Spelman *in Concilijs Anno* 701.

this tough old man, being 70. yeares of age, took a Journey to *Rome*, there to tugg it out with his Adversaries. Anno Dom. 705

Wilfride appealeth to *Rome*, and is acquitted.

2. They accused him of Contumacy, that he had contemptuously denied Canonicall Obedience to the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*. He cleared himself, and complained that he had been unjustly deprived, and that two *Monasteries* of his own Founding (*Rippon* and *Hexham*) were violently detained from him. No fewer then seventy severall [a] *Councils*, (understand them so many severall Meetings of the *Conclave*) were assembled in four moneths, and employed onely, or chiefly about deciding of this Difference: belike there were Intricacies therein more then are specified in *Authours* (Knots to employ so many cunning Fingers to unty them) or else the *Court* of *Rome* was well at Leasure. The Sentence of *Pope John* the seventh passed on his side, and his Opposers were sent home with Blame and Shame, whilest *Wilfride* returned with Honour, managing his Successe with much Moderation; equally commendable, that his Innocence kept him from Drooping in Affliction, and his Humility from Insulting in Prosperity.

a *Septuaginta concilia bula coacta*, Malmsbury *ut prius.*

He is at last restored, and dyeth in peace.

3. *Bertuald*, *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*, humbly entertained the *Popes Letters* in behalf of *Wilfride*, and welcomed his Person at his Return. But *Alfride*, King of *Northumberland*, refused to re-seat him in his *Bishoprick*, stoutly maintaining, [b] *that 't was against reason to communicate with a man twice condemned by the Council of* England, *notwithstanding all Apostolick Commands in favour of him.* But soon after he fell dangerously sick, a consequent of, and therefore caused by his former Stubbornesse, as those that construe all Events to the advantage of the *Roman See*, interpret this a Punishment on his Obstinacy. Supplied with Sickneſſe, he confessed his *Fault*; and so *Wilfride* was restored to his *Place*: whose *Life* was like an *April-day* (and a Day thereof is a *Moneth* for Variety) often interchangeably fair and foul; and after many Alterations, he set fair in full Lustre at last. Being fourty five yeares a Bishop, in the seventie-sixth year of his age, he died, and was buried in his Monastery at *Rippon*. And as he had been a great Traveller, when living; so his Bones took one Journey after his death, being translated by [c] *Odo* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, from *Rippon* to *Canterbury*; in Reparation (perchance) for those many Wrongs, which the Predecessours of *Odo* had done to this *Wilfride*. Let not therefore the Papists vaunt immoderately of the Unity of their Church, neither let them uncharitablie insult on our unhappy Differences; seeing by the confession of their own Authours, there was *Digladiabile Odium*, *Hatred* (as one may say) *even to Daggers-drawing*, betwixt *Wilfride*, and certain principall Persons, conceived signall for Sanctity in that Age, and sithence put into the Calender of their Saints. And it is as sure, as sad a Truth, that as long as Corruption resides in the bosomes of the Best, there will be Dissensions, inflamed by malicious Instruments, betwixt Pious people, which otherwise agree in main matters of Religion.

b *Contra rationem, hominijam bis à toto Anglorum consilio damnato, propter quælibet Apostolica Scripta communicare.* Malmesbury *de Gestis Pontificum, lib.* 3.

c Godwin *in his catalogue of the Arch-bishops of* York, *pag.* 11. *viri illi quos sanctissimos celebrat antiquitas*, Theodorus, Bertualdus, Iohannes Bosa, & Hilda Abbatissa, *digladiabili odio impetierunt Wilfridum deo acceptissimum.*

Sherborn taken out of *Winchester* Bishoprick.

4. The Bishoprick of *Sherborn* was taken out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, by King *Ina*, and *Adelme* his Kinsman made first Bishop thereof. I find no Compensation given to the See of *Winchester*, for this great Canton cut out of it: as in after-Ages, when *Ely* was taken out of *Lincoln* Dioceſe, the Manour of *Spaldwick* in *Huntingtonshire* was given by King *Henry* the first to *Lincolne*, in Reparation of it's Loss, for so much of the Jurisdiction taken from it. But at this time, when *Sherborn* was parted from *Winchester*, the Damage to *Winchester* accruing thereby, was not considerable; Episcopall Jurisdiction in that Age not being beneficiall, but rather burthensome. So that *Winchester* might turn her Complaints into Thankfulnesse, being thus eased of her cumbersome Greatnesse. This *Adelme*, Bishop of *Sherborn*, was the [d] first of our *English* Nation, who wrote in *Latine*; and the first that taught *English*-men to make *Latine* Verse, according to his Promise,

d *Camden's* Britannia *in Wiltshire.*

Primus

Anno Dom. 705

Primus ego in Patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.

If life me last, that I do see that Native Soile of mine,
From *Aon* top I'll first with me bring down the Muses nine.

He wrote many Works: one of Virginity, another of the Celebration of *Easter*. And about this time, the Libraries of Monasteries began to be replenished with Books, many being written in that Age.

a Bede.

8. By the way, one Mistake (I could not have discerned it my self, had not a learned [b] Writer discovered it unto me) makes Books of this Age more numerous, and the Kings therein more Learned then indeed they were. Namely, because every *Latine* Charter, granted by any King to a Monastery, is termed by the *Saxon* Writers, *Liber*, or *Libellus*, a Book. Wherefore, when they tell us of such and such Books, made by the *Saxon* Kings; understand we most of them of their Charters of Donation. In which sense King *Edgar*, who, some two hundred yeares after this time, founded as many Monasteries as Weeks in the year (and consequently made as many Charters) was a voluminous Writer, of no lesse then fifty two Books. And yet this large acception of Books will not make up the Number, which *Bale* and *Pitz* pretend they have seen in this Age. A Vanity in them to affect a *Title-learning*; (though a Stationers Apprentice, after some weeks Experience might excell them therein) and the greater, because many imaginary Authours, which they make as if they had seen, either were never extant, or long since extinguished.

Multitude of books created by a mistake.

b Spelman *in Concilia* pag. 210.

6. But the multitude of Books encreaseth not our Marvel so much, as the Numerosity of Saints (such as they were) in this Age; whereof four parts of five (according to the Heraldry of such who wrote their Lives) were of Royall, or Noble Extraction. It addeth to the wonder, because S^t. *Paul* [c] saith, *Not many Noble are called*: except any confine that Observation of the Apostle to times of Persecution, whereas Christianity now in *England* flourished in all Peace and Prosperity. But, to reader their noble Parentage at this time the more probable, know, that under the *Saxon* Heptarchy, Royalty was encreased seven-fold in *England*, which must beget a proportionable multiplication of Nobility attending them. Yet, when all is done, as the *Jewish Rabbins*, on their bare Tradition, without ground from Scripture, make *Ruth* the Daughter to *Eglon*, King of *Moab*, merely to make the Descent of their King *David* from her the more illustrious: so it is suspicious, that to advance the Temporall Reputation of these Saints, such Monks as wrote their Lives causelesly clarifyed, and refined many of their Bloods into Noble Extraction. However, if truely pious indeed, such Saints have the best Nobility in the Scripture-sense, [d] *These were more noble, because they received the word with all readinesse of mind.*

The numerosity of noble Saints in this Age.

c 1 *Cor.* 1. 26.

d *Act.* 17. 11.

708

7. Of these noble Saints, S^t. *Guthlake*, a *Benedictine* Monk, was the first *Saxon* that professed an Heremitical life in *England*, to which purpose he chose a Fenny place in *Lincolnshire*, called *Crowland*; that is, the *raw* or *crudd-land*; so *raw* indeed, that before him no man could digest to live therein. Yea, the Devils are said to claim this place as their peculiar, and to call it [e] *their own land*. Is any place, but the Prison of Hell, properly theirs? Yet wonder not at their Presumption, pretending this Spot of ground to be theirs, whose Impudence durst affirm, that God had given them [f] *all the World, and the Glory thereof*. Could those infernal Fiends, tortured with immateriall Fire, take any Pleasure, or make any Ease to themselves, by padling here in Puddles, and dabling in the moist dirty Marishes? However *Guthlake* took the Boldnesse to *enter common* with them, and erect his Cell in *Crowland*. But if his prodigious Life may be believed, Ducks and Mallards do not now flock thither faster in *September*, then Heards of Devils came about him; all whom he is said

S^t. Guthlake the first Saxon Heremite.

e *Flores Historiarum written by* Hieromo Porter *in the Use of* S^t. Guthlake, pag. 348.

f *Matth.* 4. 8.

said victoriously to have vanquished. But, whom Satan's Power could not foil, his Policy had almost destroyed; by perswading *Guthlake* to fast fourty dayes and nights together, after the Example of *Moses* and *Elias*: till, finding this Project destructive to Nature, he was forced in his own Defence, to take some necessary, but very sparing Refection. He died in his own Cell, and *Pega* his sister, an Anchoritesse, led a solitary life, not far from him. Anno Dom. 708

a *Idem, p. 347.*

9. *Eowes* also, a poor plain man, was eminent in this Age: a *Shepheard*, say some; a *Neatherd*, others; *Swineherd*, say the third sort, and that most probable. For whilest he lived in *Worcestershire*, not far from the River *Avon*, the *Virgin Mary* is said to have appeared unto him, even where (fare well all good Tokens) *he found a lost Sow* [b] *with seven Piggs sucking upon her*; and to have given order, that in that very place a Monastery should be erected to her Honour. The beastly Monk, who made this Vision, had e'ne learned as far as *Virgil's Æneids*, whence he fetched the Platform of this pretty Conceit, a place so marked being foretold fortunate to *Æneas*, to found *Alba* [since *Rome*] therein.

A swinish conceit of a Monk.

b Godwin in Catalogo Episcoporum, pag. 581.

c *Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus Sus*
Triginta capitum fœtus enixa jacebit.
Alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati:
Hic locus Urbis erit, requies ubi certa laborum.

c Eneidos l. 3.

Where under Oakes on Shore there shall be found
A mighty Sow, all white, cast on the ground,
With thirty sucking Piggs; that place is sign'd
To build your Town, and ease your wearied Mind.

Here the Monk, *mutatis mutandis*, (but principally shrinking the Number of the Pigs from *thirty* to *seven*, as more mystical) he applies the Apparition to his Purpose) A pretty Parallel, that *Pagan-Rome*, and *Popish Superstition* (if *Hue-and-cry* should be made after them) might be discovered by the same Marks. This gave the first motion to the Foundation of *Eovesham* Abbey (so called from *Eowes* aforesaid), first built in that *Sow-place*.

9. But the Building thereof was hastened by a second, more near and cleanly, Apparition of the *Virgin Mary* in the same place; who is pretended to have shewed her self, with two Maiden-attendants, to *Egwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*, prompting him to expedite a Structure therein. [d] *Egwin* posts presently to *Rome*, and makes faith of this Vision to *Constantine* the Pope; who convinced in his judgement of the truth thereof, dispatcheth his Commands to *Brightwall*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to assemble a Synod at *Alnestler* in *Worcestershire*, to promote the building of an Abbey in that place: which was done accordingly, and the same was bountifully endowed by *Offa*, and other *Mercian* Kings, with very large Revenues. And not long after, another Synod (saith my [e] Authour) was called at *London*, to introduce into *England* the Doctrine of *Image-worship*, not heard of before, and now first beginning to appear in the publick practice thereof. 709

The first Synod for Image-worship in England.

d See Sir Henry Spelman's Councils pag. 210.

e Magdeburgenses Cent. 8. ex recentioribus authoribus, Nauclero viz. & Balæo. Binnius and Baronius sullen, and why.

10. Here we expected that *Binnius* and *Baronius*, two of the *Romish* Champions, should have been both joyfull at and thankfull for this *London* Synod, in favour of *Image-worship*, a point so beneficiall to the Popish Coffers. But behold them, contrary to our expectation, sad and sullen; insomuch as they cast away the Credit of this Synod, as of no account, and disdain to accept the same. For, say they, long before, by *Augustine* the Monk, Worship of Images was introduced into *England*. But let them shew us when, and where the same was done. We deny not but that *Augustine* brought in with him, in a Banner, the [f] Image of Christ on the Crosse, very lively depictured; but this makes nothing to the Worshipping thereof. Vast the distance in their own nature, betwixt the Historical Use, and Adoration of Pictures; though, through

f See our second Book, Cent. 6. pag. 297. 10.

humane

Anno Dom. 709 humane Corruption; the former, in after-Ages, hath proved introductory to the later. Not was it probable, that *Auguſtine* would deliver Doctrine point-blank againſt *Gregory*, that ſent him, who moſt zealouſly[a] inveigheth againſt all Worſhipping of Images. Wherefore, let *Binnius* and *Baronius* make much of this *London*-Synod for *Image-worſhip*, or elſe they muſt be glad to accept of later Councils in *England* to prove the ſame, ſeeing before this time none can be produced tending thereunto.

a In his epiſtle ad Serenum Maſſilienſem.

11. Now alſo flouriſhed another noble-born Saint, namely *John* of *Beverley*, Arch-biſhop of *York*, a Learned man, and who gave the[b] Education to one more learned then himſelf, I mean, *Venerable Bede*. Now, though *John Baptiſt* did[c] none, yet *John* of *Beverley* is ſaid to have done many Miracles. But, did not the Monk over-do, who reports in his Relation, that this *John* of *Beverley*, by making the Sign of the Croſſe on a Dumb Youth, with a ſcalled head, not onely reſtored him to Speech, and an Head of Haire, but Eloquent Diſcourſe, and brave[d] Curled Locks? Some yeares before his Death, he quit-

718 ted his Arch-biſhoprick, and retired himſelf to his Monaſtery at *Beverley*, where he died: and which afterwards King *Athelſtan* made (I will not call it a SANCTUARY, becauſe unhallowed with the largeneſſe of the Liberties allowed thereunto, but) a place of Refuge for Murderers and Malefactours: ſo that the FREED-STOOL in *Beverley*, became *the Seat of the Scornfull*; and, ſuch hainous Offenders as could recover the ſame, did therein ſecurely deſie all Legall Proſecution againſt them.

The miracle-working of St. John of Beverley.

b Bede acknowledgeth that he received the order of Prieſthood from him.

c John 10. 41.

d Flowers of the lives of English Saints pag. 416.

12. About this time it grew faſhionable with Kings and Queens in *England*, to renounce the World, and turn Monks and Nuns, commonly in Convents of their own Foundation. Surely, it is not onely lawfull, but commendable for men to leave the World, before it leaveth them, by *being* [e] *crucified thereunto, and uſing it as if they uſed it not*: But let others diſpute, whether this properly be Renouncing the World, for Chriſtians to bury their Parts and Perſons in a Cloiſter, which, put forth to the Bank, would turn *to good Account* for Church and Common-wealth. *David* (I dare ſay) as holy a man as any of theſe, lived a King, and died a King: the ſwaying of his Sceptre did not hinder the tuning of his Harp; his Dignity being no Impediment to his Devotion. And whileſt theſe Kings turning Monks, pretended to go out of the World, a world of ſpirituall Pride and Superſtition went into them, if (as it is too too ſuſpicious) they had an high opinion to Merit Heaven thereby.

Kings and Queens turn Monks and Nuns.

e Gal. 6. 14.

13. Amongſt the *Saxon* Princes who thus renounced the World, in this and the next Century, theſe nine following were the principall.

King Ina his fine, and rent to the Church.

1. *Kinigilſus*, King of *VVeſt-Saxons*.	4. *Edbertus*, King of *Northumberland*.	7. *Offa*, King of *Eaſt-Saxons*.
2. *Ina*, King of *VVeſt-Saxons*.	5. *Ethelredus*, King of *Mercia*.	8. *Sebbi*, King of *Eaſt-Saxons*.
3. *Ceololfus*, King of *Northumberland*.	6. *Kenredus*, King of *Mercia*.	9. *Sigebertus*, King of *Eaſt-Angles*.

Of all whom King *Ina* was paramount, for his reputed Piety; who accounting himſelf to *hold* all that he had *of God*, his *Land-Lord in chief*, paid not onely *a great Fine*, but ſettled *a conſtant Rent* on *the Church*, then accounted the *Receiver-general* of the God of Heaven. *Great Fine*; for beſides his Beneſaction to other, he beſtowed on the Church of *Glaſſenbury* two thouſand ſix hundred fourty pounds[f] weight, in the Utenſills thereof, of maſſie Gold and Silver. So that whiles ſome admire at his Bounty, why he gave ſo much; others wonder more at his Wealth, how he got ſo much; being in that Age wherein ſuch Dearth of Coin, and he (though perchance, the honorary Monarch of *England*) but the effectuall King of the *VVeſt-Saxons*. The *conſtant*

f Sir Henry Spelman in his Councils, pag. 229.

726 *Rent* he ſettled, were the[g] *Peter-pences* to the Pope of *Rome*, to be paid out of every

g Antiq. Brit. fol. 58.

every fire-house in *England* (a small Summe in the single Drops, but swelling great in the general Chanel) which (saith *Polydore Virgil*) this King *Ina* began in *England*. I say, *Polydore Virgil* (and let every Artificer be believed in his own Art) seeing (as he confesseth) this place was his first Preferment in *England*, which brought him over to be the Popes *Publicane*, or Collectour of that Contribution. Afterwards this King went to *Rome*, & there built a School for the *English*, and a Church adjoyning unto it, to bury their Dead. Anno Dom. 726

Winnifride an English-man converteth the Germans.

14. But, if my judgement mistake not, *Winnifride*, an *English*-man, was better employed, being busied, about this time, to convert to Christ the Provinces of *Frantonia* and *Hassia* in *Germany*. True it is, the *English* were indebted to the *Dutch*, from them formerly deriving their Originall, by Naturall Generation: and how none will censure them for Incest, if the Son begate his Parent; and this *Winnifride*, descended from the *Dutch*, was an active Instrument of their Regeneration. 730

Bede, though sene soe, went not to Rome.

15. Now, although many in this Age posted from *England* to *Rome*, possessed with an high opinion of the Holinesse thereof, yet sure I am, one of the best Judgement (namely *Venerable Bede*) was often sent for by Pope *Sergius* himself, to come to *Rome*; yet, for ought we can find, never went thither: which, no doubt, he would not have declined, if sensible of any transcendent Sanctity in that Place, to advantage the Dwellers therein the neater to Heaven. This *Bede* was born in the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, at [a] *Girvy* [now *Tarrow*] in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, brought up by *S. Cuthbert*, and was the profoundest Scholar in his Age, for Latine, Greek, Philosophy, History, Divinity, Mathematicks, Musick, and what not? Homilies of his making were read in his Life-time, in the Christian Churches; a Dignity afforded to him alone. We are much beholding to his Ecclesiasticall History, written by him, and dedicated to *Ceolwolfus* King of *Northumberland*. A worthy Work indeed, though, in some respect, we could heartily wish that his Faith had been lesse, and his Charity more. *Faith lesse*, in believing and reporting so many prodigious Miracles of the *Saxons*: except any will say, that this in him was not so much *Vitium Hominis*, as *Seculi*. *Charity more*, I mean to the *Britans*, being no Friend to them, and over-partial to his own Country-men, slightly, and slenderly touching *British* matters, onely thereof to make a *Pedestall*, the more fairly to reare and advance his *Saxon* History thereupon.

[a] Camden's Brit. pag. 743.

Bede probably went out of his Cell.

16. Some report that *Bede* never went out of his Cell, but lived and died therein. If so, the Scholars of *Cambridge* will be very sory, because thereby deprived of their Honour, by *Bede*'s living once in their University, whose House they still shew, betwixt *S. John*'s Colledge and *Round-Church*, or *S. Sepulchres*. Surely *Bede* was not fixed to his Cell, *as the Cockle to his Shel*, seeing no Observance of his *Benedictine* Order imposed such a Penance upon him. Indeed his own words, in the end of his Book, give some Countenance to their Conjecture of his voluntary Confinement, speaking of himself, *Cunctum tempus vitæ in ejusdem Monasterii habitatione peragens*. But his Expression imports onely his generall Residence therein, that he was no Gadder abroad, or Discontinuer from his Convent, for a long time; though he might for some short space make his Abode elsewhere. Thus, when of the Prophetesse it is said, [b] *that she departed not from the Temple*: we understand it not so, as if she never went out thereof, but that for the main, she spent the most of her time therein.

[b] Luke 2. 37.

Bede why surnamed Venerabilis.

17. He is generally surnamed *Venerable*, but why, Authours differ therein. Some say, a Dunce-Monk, being to make his Epitaph, was *non-plust* to make that *Dactyle*, which is onely of the *Quorum* in the Hexameter, and therefore at Night left the Verse thus gaping,

Hic sunt in fossa Bedæ . . . . . *ossa.*

till he had consulted with his Pillow, to fill up the *Hiatus*. But returning in the morning, an Angel (we have often heard of their Singing, see now of their

Poetry)

Anno Dom. 730

Poetry) had filled up the *Chaſma* with *Venerabilis*. Others, diſclaiming this Conceit, aſſign this Reaſon: Becauſe *Bede*'s Homilies were (as aforeſaid) read in all [a] Churches in his Life-time; *plain Bede* was conceived too little, and S[t]. *Bede* too much; becauſe, according to Popiſh, (but not S[t]. *Paul*'s) Principles, *Saint* is too much Flattery to be given to any whileſt alive; *Solon* allowing none *happy*, and this mine Authour none, in this degree, *holy*, before their Death. Wherefore *Venerable* was found out as an Expedient to accommodate the Difference, luckily hitting the Mark, as a Title neither too high, nor too low; juſt even to ſo good a man, and great a Scholar, whileſt alive. This is obſervable in all thoſe who have written the Life of *Bede*; that, whereas ſuch *Saxon*-Saints, as had not the tenth of his Sanctity, nor hundredth part of his Learning, are ſaid to have wrought Miracles *ad Lectoris nauſeam*; not one ſingle Miracle is reported to have been done by *Bede*. Whereof (under favour) I conceive this the Reaſon: Monks, who wrote the Lives of many of their Saints, knew little more of many of them then their bare Names, and Times wherein they lived; which made them *Hiſtoriæ vacuam miraculis ſupplere*, to plump up the Hollowneſſe of their Hiſtory with improbable Miracles, ſwelling the Bowells of their Books with empty Wind, in default of ſufficient ſolid Food to fill them. Whereas *Bede*'s Life affording plenty and variety of reall and effectuall Matter, the Writer thereof (why ſhould a Rich man be a Thief, or Lyar?) had no Temptation (I am ſure no Need) to farſe his book with fond Miracles, who might rather leave, then lack of materiall Paſſages therein.

[a] *Flores Sanctorum in the life of* Bede, *pag.* 528.

734 18. One of the laſt things he did, was the tranſlating of the Goſpel of S[t]. *John* into *Engliſh*. When Death ſeiſed on him, one of his devout Scholars, whom he uſed for his Secretary, or *Amanuenſis*, complained, *My beloved Maſter, there remains yet one Sentence unwritten.* Write it then quickly, replied *Bede*: and ſummoning all his ſpirits together (like the laſt Blaze of a Candle going out) he indited it, and expired. Thus Gods Children are immortall, whiles their Father hath any thing for them to do on Earth; and Death, *that Beaſt, cannot overcome and kill them, till firſt they have* [b] *finiſhed their Teſtimony*: which done, like Silk-worms, they willingly die, when their Web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own Endeavours. Nor have I ought elſe to obſerve of *Bede*, ſave onely this; A forreign Embaſſadour, ſome two hundred yeares ſince, coming to *Durham*, addreſſed himſelf firſt to the high and ſumptuous Shrine of S[t]. *Cuthbert*, *If thou beeſt a Saint, pray for me*: then coming to the plain, low, and little Tombe of *Bede*, *Becauſe* (ſaid he) *thou art a Saint, good* Bede, *pray for me*.

Bede's laſt blaze, and the going out of the candle of his life.

[b] *Revel.* 11. 7.

735 19. Now began the *Saxons* to be infected with an univerſall Vitiouſneſſe. The cauſe whereof was; *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, contemned Marriage: and though Abſtinence from it in ſome caſes may be commendable, the Contempt thereof alwayes is dangerous, yea damnable; as it proved in him. For, his unlawfull Luſt made no difference of Places, or Perſons. Caſtles, or Cloiſters; common-Kerchief, or Nuns-vaile; all came alike to him. But, oh *the legiſlative power* which is in a great Prince his Example. His Subjects preſumed, they might not onely *impune*, but *legitime*, follow his Precedent; which made the Land ſwarm with Wickedneſſe.

The general viciouſneſſe of the *Saxons*, how occaſioned.

20. This cauſed the Letter of *Boniface*, Arch-biſhop of *Ments* (an *Engliſh*-man born, and lately very eminent for converting the *Germans* to Chriſtianity) to King *Ethelbald*; wherein he obſerved the prudent method of S[t]. *Paul* to the [c] *Corinthians*. As the Apoſtle firſt commended them, *I praiſe you, Brethren, that you remember me in all things, &c.* ſo he began with a large *Encomium* of King *Ethelbald* his Charity, and bountifull Almes-giving. Hence ſeaſonably he deſcended to his Faults; *ſhall I praiſe you in this? I praiſe you not*; and ſoundly and roundly told him of his notorious Incontinency; proving, both by Scripture, and Reaſon, the Hainouſneſſe of that Sin, and heavy Iudgements of God

The effect of *Boniface* his letter to the King of *Mercia*.

[c] 1 *Cor.* 11. 2. *and* 22.

God upon it. In fine, this wrought so farre on the King's good Nature, that he not onely reformed himself, but, with *Cuthbert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, called a solemn Synod at *Cloves-Ho*, or *Clives-at-Ho*, for the Reformation of others. Anno Dom. 733

Cliff in *Kent* probably the ancient *Cloves-Ho*. a Camden's *Brit.* in Kent.

21. But where this *Cloves-Ho* should be, Authours make much Inquiry. It is generally conceived the same with *Cliff*, near *Gravesend*, in *Kent*. Though a learned [a] Authour will hardly consent thereunto; and his Intimations to the contrary are of no great Validity. For, whereas he alledgeth that this *Cliff* is in *Kent*, whilest *Ethelbald*, who called this Synod, was King of *Mercia*; He minded not mean time (what, no doubt, he knew well) that this *Ethelbald* is stiled in the [b] Letter of *Bonifate* Arch-bishop of *Ments* unto him, *Inclyta Anglorum Imperii sceptra gubernans*, *Ruling the famous Sceptre of the* English *Empire*. And whereas he objecteth, *the Site of that place inconvenient for such an Assembly*; It seems fit enough (though confessed dirty in Winter, and unhealthy at all times) for the Vicinity thereof to *London* and *Canterbury*, the residing places of the King and Arch-bishop, the two Persons in this Synod most concerned. Nor doth the modern Meanness of the place make any thing against it; it might be a Gallant in that Age, which is a Beggar now-a-dayes. And though, we confesse, there be many *Cliffs* in the In-land Shires (properly belonging to *Mercia*,) yet the addition of *Ho*, or *Haw*, speaketh the maritime posture thereof. So that *Clives-Ho*, [c] or *Haw*, seems to be a *Cliff* near the Sea, well agreeing to the Situation of *Cliff* in *Kent* aforesaid.

b *Extant in* Sr. Henry Spelman's *Councils*, pag. 233.

c Plimmouth Haw. *See* Speed *his Survey of* London, *the meaning of* Haw.

22. But the Acts of this Synod are more certain, then the Place thereof, being (generally accounted) one and thirty Canons (although some small Variation in their Number, and Order) all extant at large in [d] *Malmesbury*; and of which we take notice of these four, as of most Concernment;

The chief Canons of this Synod.

d *Dr Gesse Pont. lib.* 1. *in* Cuthberto.

1. *That the Priests* [e] *learn, and teach to know the Creed, Lords Prayer, and words of Consecration in the Masse* [or Eucharist] *in the English tongue.* It seems, Learning then ran low, that the Priests themselves had need to learn them: yet Ignorance was not then so high, but that the people were permitted to be taught them.

e *Discant, & doceant.* Malmesbury.

2. *That the Lords Day be honourably observed.* We understand it not so, as if the Sanctity of that Day depended onely upon Ecclesiasticall Constitutions; or, that the Command thereof in Scripture is so infirm, in point of right to oblige mens Consciences, that it needs the title of mans Power, *ad corroborandum*: Onely, Humane Authority was here cast in as *over-weight*, for the better Observation of the day. Carnal men being more affected, and affrighted with Corporal Penalties of mans inflicting (as nearer unto them,) then with Eternal Punishments, which Divine Iustice, at distance, denounceth against them.

3. *That the sin of Drunkennesse be avoided, especially in the Clergy.* Indeed it was high-time to suppresse that Sin, which was grown so rife, that (as *Bonifface*, Arch-bishop of *Ments*, doth observe in his Letter to [f] *Cuthbert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) the *English* Bishops were so farre from punishing it, that they were guilty of the same. Moreover he addeth, *Ebrietas speciale malum nostræ Gentis: hoc nec* Franci, *nec* Galli, *nec* Longobardi, *nec* Romani, *nec* Græci *faciunt*; *Drunkennesse is a speciall Evill of our Nation* (namely of the *Saxons*, of which Country this *Bonifface* was a Native) *for neither* Franks, *nor* Gauls, *nor* Lombards, *nor* Romans, *nor* Greeks (understand him, anciently, for we know the modern Proverb, of a *merry Greek*) *are guilty thereof.*

f *Extant in* Sr. Henry Spelman's *Councils* p. 241.

4. *That Prayers be publickly made for Kings and Princes.* An excellent Canon indeed, because Canonicall Scripture, and long before made by [g] St. *Paul* himself, *I exhort therefore, that Supplications be made for all men, for Kings*, &c.

g 1 Tim. 2. 1.

This

Anno Dom. 747 This Synod being finished, with the Royall Assent, & all the Bishops their Subscriptions thereunto; *Cuthbert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with wonderfull Celerity, returned the Canons concluded therein, by *Rinebert* his Deacon, to *Bonifface* Arch-bishop of *Ments*, who was affected with great joy at the sight thereof.

23. At this time flourished *Egbert*, Arch-bishop of *York*, famous in his Generation for, First his Royall Extraction, being Brother to *Eadbert*, King of *Northumberland*; both of them lovingly lying buried together, in the Porch of the Church of *York*. For in that Age, the greatest Princes and Prelates their Corpses came no nearer then the Church-Porch, and (as I may say) onely knocked at the Church-Doors; though, in after-Ages the Bodies of Meaner persons were admitted into the Church, and buried therein. Secondly, for his procuring the Archiepiscopal *Pall* to his See. For after the Departure, or rather the Banishment of *Paulinus* from *York*, his Successours were content with the plain Title of Bishop, untill this *Egbert* (to do something extraordinary, proportionable to his Princely Extraction) procured the Restitution of his *Pall*, which *ipso facto* re-advanced his Church into an Arch-bishoprick. Thirdly, for furnishing the same with a plentifull Library, highly commended by *Alcuinus*, in his Epistle to *Charles the Great*, wishing *France* had the like; which though exceeding *England* in *Paper*, till of late years, ever came short of it in *Books*.

Egbert Arch-bishop of *York* famous in severall respects.

750 Fourthly, for his Canons, for the regulating of his Province. Whereof one sort is called, *Egbert his* [a] *Excerptions out of Fathers*, and is generally good: the other intituled, *Canons for the remedie of Sin*, and are fraught with abundance of abominable Beastlinesse, and Superstition.

a *At large in* Sr. Henry Spelman's *Councils*, *pag.* 258. The beastly Canons of *Egbert*.

24. I will give the Reader onely a Taste (or rather a Distaste) of these Canons, by which he may guesse the rest. *If a Lay-man hath carnal knowledge of a Nun, let him doe Penance for two yeares &c. five three. If a Child be begotten betwixt them, then four yeares: if they kill it, then seven yeares* [b] *Penance*. Penance also is provided for Bestiality, and Sodomie, in the same Canons. Thus, where God in Scripture denounceth Death, [c] *Whoso sheddeth mans Bloud, by man shall his bloud be shed*; they now changed it into Penance, and in after-Ages commuted that Penance into Money; so by degrees *making the Word of God of none effect*, by their paltry Canons. See we here also, how forced Virginity was the Mother of much Uncleanesse; it being appliable to them, what the Apostle speaketh of others: [d] *It is a shame even to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret*. And one may justly admire how these Canonists, being pretended Virgins, could arrive at the knowledge of the Criticismes of all Obscenity; so that chast Love may lye seven and seven yeares in the *undefiled Marriage-bed*, and be utterly ignorant what the Language of Lust meaneth in such filthy Canons. Yea, when such Love, by the help of an Interpreter, shall understand the same, it would blush for Shame; were it not that that Red would be turned into Paleness, as amazed at so horrid Uncleanness.

b *See* Sr. Hen. Spelman's *Councils*, *pag.* 282.

c *Gen.* 9. 6.

d *Ephes.* 5. 12.

755 23. Some five yeares after, *Kenulphus*, King of *West-Saxons*, conferred large Priviledges on the Monastery of *Abbington*. We will recite so much of his [e] Charter, as concerns us, because usefull to shew the Power which Kings in that Age had in Ecclesiasticall Matters.

The Charter of *Kenulphus* to the Abbot of *Abbington*.

e *Cited by* Stanford, *l.* 3. *fol.* 111. *and this Charter was pleaded primo* Hen. 7. *fol.* 23. & 25.

Kenulphus, *Rex, &c: per literas suas patentes, consilio & consensu Episcoporum, & Senatorum gentis suæ, largitus fuit Monasterio de* Abbindon *in Comitatu* Barke, *ac cuidam* Richino *tunc Abbati Monasterii &c. quandam ruris sui portionem, id est, quindecim Mansias in loco, qui a ruricolis tunc nuncupabatur* Culnam, *cum omnibus utilitatibus ad eandem pertinentibus, tam in magnis, quam in*

Kenulphus, King, &c. by his Letters Patents, with the advice and consent of the Bishops, and Counsellours of His Country, hath given to the Monastery of *Abbindon* in the County of *Barks*, and to one *Richine* then Abbot of the Monastery, &c. a certain portion of his land, that is to say, fifteen Mansions, in a place which then of the Inhabitants was called *Culnam*, with all Profits to the same belonging, as well in great, as

modicis rebus, in æternam hæreditatem. Et, quod prædictus Richinus, *&c. ab omni Episcopali jure in sempiternum esset quietus, ut inhabitatores ejus nullius Episcopi, aut suorum Officialium jugo inde deprimantur; sed in cunctis rerum eventibus, & discussionibus causarum, Abbatis Monasteriis prædicti decreto subjiciantur. Ita quod,* &c.

mean matters, as an inheritance for ever. And, that the aforesaid *Richine*, &c. should be for ever acquit from all Episcopal jurisdiction, that the Inhabitants thereof be thenceforth oppressed with the yoke of no Bishop, or his Officials; but in all events of matters, and discussions of causes, they be subject to the decree of the Abbot of the aforesaid Monastery. So that, &c.

Anno Dom. 755

From this Charter, S^t. *Edward*[a] *Cook* the Kings Attorney inferreth, that King *Kenulphus* had Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in himself, in that he had power to discharge and exempt this Abbot from the Iurisdiction of the Bishop. Which Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction was alwayes invested in the Imperiall Crown of *England:* and therefore the Statute made under *Henry* the eighth, concerning the Kings Spirituall Authority, *was not introductory of a new Law, but declaratory onely of an old.*

a *His Reports part 5. fol. 9.*

26. But Father *Parsons* (for he it is who stands under the Vizard of the *Catholick Divine*, in a Book wrote of set purpose against Master Attorney, in this point) will by no means allow King *Kenulphus* any Ecclesiasticall Power, but by many Fetches seeks to evade so pregnant a Proof.

The Cavills of *Parsons* against S^t. *Edw. Cook* confuted.

Arg. 1. First he[b] pleadeth, *that in this Charter,* Kenulphus *did not exempt the Abbot from all Iurisdiction Spirituall of the Bishop, but from some Temporall Interest, or Pretense, which, perhaps, the Bishop of the Diocese claimed over the Lordship of* Culnam.

b *Catholick Divine, alias Parsons, in his answer to the Kings Attorney, p. 95, 96, &c.*

Answ. *Perhaps* (commend not his Modesty, but thank his Guiltinesse, for his timorous Assertion) saith he: but, how doth this appeare? for he bringeth no proof: and, if he affirmeth it on *free cost*, we can confute it *as cheap*, by denying it.

Arg. 2. Secondly, saith he, *the King exempted the Abbot*, ab omni Episcopali jure, that is, *from all Right of the Bishop*, and not *Iurisdiction.*

Answ. Sharp Wit, to cut so small a Mote in two parts, for no purpose; seeing, *jus* and *Iurisdiction* are often known to import the same sense.

Arg. 3. Thirdly, he objecteth, *the words no way seem fitly to agree to be spoken of the Bishops Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, which run thus, That the Abbot should be quiet from the Bishops Right, and that the Inhabitants from thenceforward should not be oppressed by the Yoke of the Bishops Officers.*

Answ. Why? what Incongruity, but that these words may be spoken, as they are, of Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction? Is the word *Yoke* too course a Phrase to be applied to the Bishops Spirituall Power, as they sometimes did manage it? I appeale to those who felt it: for no Yoke is heavy to him that puts it on, but to those who bear it. Mark by the way, the word he rendereth *Officers*, is in the Charter (not *Officiarii*, Lay-Latine, but) *Officiales*, which is Church-language, and the very dialect of the Court-Christian, and should be translated *Officials*, to whom Bishops committed their Spirituall Power. But *Parsons* knew well how to lay his Thumb on what he would not have seen.

Arg. 4. Fourthly, *However it were, it is manifestly false*, saith he, *that this Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction of King* Kenulphus *was derived from his Crown; it might be, he had it from the Pope, which is most likely.*

Answ. Which is most unlikely; for no Clause in the Charter relates to any delegate power; and yet such a Passage might easily have been inserted, yea, could not justly have been omitted, if he had claimed his Iurisdiction by Deputation from the Pope.

Arg. 5.

Anno Dom. 755

Arg. 5. Lastly, (*which*, he saith, *seemeth to convince the whole matter, and decide the very Case*) *one*[a] Rethurus, *Abbot of* Abbington, *went afterwards to* Rome, *to obtain confirmation of the Priviledges of his Monastery from the See Apostolick.*

a Harpsfield *Hist. Ang. seculo primo c.* 9. *ex* Mariano Scoto.

Answ. What of this? This post-fact of *Rethurus* argues no Invalidity in *Kenulphus* his former Grant, but rather shews the over-Officiousnesse of a pragmaticall Abbot, who, to ingratiate himself with the Pope, craved of him what he had before. Yea, such cunning Compliance of the Clergy with his Holinesse, by degrees fixed in him a supposed Ecclesiasticall Power paramount, which really he never had, nor rightly ever ought to have.

See here the King's Power in Church-matters, in conferring Ecclesiasticall Priviledges; and this single Threed we will twist with another Instance, so strong, that the *Iesuites* Art shall be unable to break it in sunder.

758 27. By the Constitution of *Augustine*, first Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, confirmed by the authority of *Gregory* the Great, Bishop of *Rome*, it was decreed, that no Corpse, either of Prince or Prelate, should be buried within the Walls of a City, but onely in the Suburbs thereof; and that alone in the Porch of the Church, and not in the Body. Now *Cuthbert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, having built *Christ-Church* therein, was desirous to adorn it with the Corpses of great Persons, therein afterwards to be interred. In pursuance of this his Design, he durst not adventure on this Innovation by his own Power, nor did he make his applications to the Pope of *Rome* (as most proper to repeal that Act, which the See Apostolick had decreed) but onely addresseth himself to *Eadbert*, King of *Kent*, and from him, *partim precario, partim etiam pretio, partly praying, partly paying for it*, saith my[b] Authour, obtained his Request. Behold here an ancient Church-Canon recalled at the Suit of an Arch-bishop, by the Authority of a King. This *Cuthbert* afterwards handselled *Christ-Church* with his own Corpse; whose Predecessours were all buried in S^t. *Augustines*, without the Walls of *Canterbury*. Thus began Corpses to be buried in the Churches, which by degrees brought in much Superstition; especially after degrees of inherent Sanctity were erroneously fixed in the severall parts thereof: the Porch saying to the Church-yard, the Church to the Porch, the Chancel to the Church, the East-end to all, *Stand farther off, for I am holier then you.* And, as if the *Steps* to the *High Altar*, were the *Stairs* to Heaven, their Souls were conceived in a nearer degree to Happinesse, whose Bodies were mounted there to be interred.

Bodies first brought to be buried in Churches.

b Tho. Spot *in his Hist. of* Canterbury. *Also Archiv. Cantuariens. cited by Antiq. Brit. in* Cuthbert.

28. About this time the Bill of fare of Monks was bettered generally in *England*, and more liberty indulged in their Diet. It was first occasioned some twenty yeares since, when *Ceolwolphus*, formerly King of *Northumberland*, but then a Monk in the Convent of *Lindisfern*, or *Holy Island*, [c] gave leave to that Convent to drink Ale and Wine, anciently confined by *Aidan*, their first Founder, to Milk and Water. Let others dispute, whether *Ceolwolphus* thus dispensed with them by his new Abbatical, or old Regal Power, which he so resigned, that in some cases he might resume it, especially to be King in his own Convent. And indeed, the cold, raw, and bleak Situation of that place, with many bitter Blasts from the Sea, and no Shelter on the Land, speaks it self to each Inhabitant there, [d] *Drink no longer Water, but use a little Wine for thy Stomacks sake, and thine often Infirmities.* However, this locall Priviledge, first justly indulged

The occasion of Monks their first drinking of wine in *England*.

c Roger. Hoved. *in parte priori.*

d 1 Tim. 5. 23

760 to the Monks of *Lindisfern*, was about this time extended to all the Monasteries of *England*, whose primitive over-Austerity in Abstinence was turned now into a Self-sufficiency, that soon improved into Plenty, that quickly depraved into Riot, and that at last occasioned their Ruine.

789 29. This Year the *English* have cause to write with Sable letters in their *Almanack*, on this sad Occasion, that therein the *Danes* first invaded *England* with

Danes their first arrivall in *England*.

with a considerable Army. Severall Reasons are assigned for their coming hither, to revenge themselves for some pretended Injuries; though the true Reason was, because *England* was richer and roomthyer then their own *Countrey*. Anno Dom. 789

Denmark formerly fruitfull, is now become barren of men.

30. It is admirable to consider what *Sholes of people* were formerly vented out of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, take it in the largest [a] extent for *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Swedeland*, who by the terrible Names of *Gothes*, *Ostro-Gothes*, *Visi-Gothes*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, *Danes*, *Nortmans*, overranne the faireſt and fruitfullest parts of *Christendome*; whereas now, though for these last three hundred yeares (the *Swedish* Warres in *Germany* excepted) that *Countrey* hath sent forth no visible Numbers of People, and yet is very thinly inhabited, so that one may travell some hundreds of Miles therein through mere Desarts, every man whom he meeteth having a *Phœnix* in his right hand. Yea, so few the *Natives*, that some of their *Garrisons* are manned with *Forreigners*, and their *Kings* fain to entertain *mercenary Dutch* and *Scotch* to manage their Warres.

[a] Otherwise strictly, it containeth onely part of Denmark, Continent to Germany.

Two reasons thereof.

31. Strange, that this *Countrey*, formerly all *on the giving*, should now be onely *on the taking hand*. Some [b] impute their modern comparative Barrennesse to their excessive Drinking (a Vice belike which lately hath infected that *Nation*) drinking themselves past *Goats* into *Stocks*, out of *Wantonnesse* into *Stupidity*, which by a contracted Habit debilitateth their former Fruitfulnesse. Others, more [c] truely, ascribe their former Fruitfulnesse to their *promiscuous Copulations* with Women during their *Paganisme*, which are not so numerous since *Christianity* hath confined them to the Marriage of one *Wife*.

[b] Barclay in Icon animarum.

[c] G. Tayl. in his Chronicle of Normandy

The reason of reasons.

32. If I might speak according to my own Profession of a *Divine* (soaring over Second Causes in Nature) I should ascribe their ancient Populousnesse to *Divine Operation*. As the Widow her Oyle multiplyed till her Debts were satisfied, and that effected for which the *Miracle* was intended, which done, the Increase thereof instantly ceased: So these *Northern Parts* flowed with Crouds of *People*, till their Inundations had payed the Scores of *sinfull Christians*, and then (the *Birch* growing no more, when the *wanton Children* were sufficiently *whipped*) the *Procreativeness* of those Nations presently stinted and abated.

Bad presages of the Danes approach.

[d] Sim. Dunel. Ranulphus Cestrensis, & alii.

33. The Landing of these *Danes* in *England* was ushered with many sad *Prognosticks*: [d] *Starres* were seen strangely falling from Heaven, and sundry terrible Flames appeared in the *Skies*. From the *firing* of such extraordinary *Beacons*, all concluded some new Enemie was approaching the *Nation*. *Serpents* were seen in *Sussex*, and Bloud reigned in some parts of the Land. *Lindesfern* or *Holy Island* was the first that felt the Fury of these *Pagans*, but soon after no place was safe and secure from their Cruelty; whereof more hereafter.

The Archepiscopal Pall removed to *Lichfield*.

34. At this time the *Arch-bishoprick* of *Canterbury* was in part removed to *Lichfield*, five essentiall things concurring to that great Alteration. 790

1. The Puissance and Ambition of *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, commanding in *Chief* over *England*. He would have the brightest *Mitre* to attend the biggest *Crown*.

2. The complying nature of *Pope Adrian*: except any will call it his *Thankfulnesse*, to gratifie *King Offa*, for the large Gifts received from him.

3. The easy and unactive Disposition of *Iambert* (or *Lambert*) *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*: unlesse any will term it his Policy, that finding himself unable to resist (a *Pope* and a *Prince* over-match for a *Prelate*) he would not strive to keep what must be taken away from him.

4. The commodious Situation of *Lichfield*, almost in the Navell of the Land: and where should the highest Candlestick stand (the *Metropolitan Cathedrall*) but in the middest of the Table? whereas *Kent* it self was but a Corner (whence it taketh it's Name) and *Canterbury* seated in the Corner of that Corner, a remote Nook thereof.

5. The

Anno Dom.

790 5. The Antiquity of *Lichfield* in *Christianity*, where the *British Church* ſuffered a Maſſacre[a] from the *Pagans* three hundred yeares before S^t. *Auguſtine's* coming to *Canterbury*; witneſſe the name of the place, being another *Helkath-hazzurim*,[b] or *Field of ſtrong men*, where ſo many *VVorthies* died *for the Teſtimony of the Truth*.

a *Vide ſupra, Cent. 4. par. 8.*

b *2 Sam. 2. 16.*

On theſe and other conſiderations, *Aldulph* was made the firſt (and laſt) *Archbiſhop* of *Lichfield* (though others make *Humbert* and *Higbert* his *Succeſſours* in that *Dignity*) and ſix *Suffraganes* (*viz. VVorceſter, Hereford, Leiceſter, Sidnaceſter, Helmham*, and *Dunwich*,) ſubjected to his Juriſdiction. Yet was not the *Archiepiſcopall See* removed (as ſome ſeem to conceive) but communicated to *Lichfield*: *Canterbury* ſtill retaining it's former Dignity, and part of it's *Province*; the *Biſhops* of *London, Rocheſter, VVincheſter*, and *Sarisbury* continuing ſtill ſubject unto him.

793 35. King *Offa* having ſettled an *Arch-biſhoprick* at *Lichfield*, his next Deſign was to enſhrine the Corps of S^t. *Alban*: five[c] hundred and ſeven years had paſſed ſince his Death and *plain Buriall*. For as *Iohn Baptiſt*, the laſt *Martyr* before *Chriſt*, and S^t. *Steven*, the firſt *Martyr* after him, were fairly interred by their *Friends* and *Followers*, without any more adoe: ſo the Corps of S^t. *Alban* were quietly committed to the Earth, and there ſome *Centuries of yeares* peaceably repoſed. But now *Offa*, they ſay, was admoniſhed in a *Viſion*, to beſtow more publick Sepulture upon him. A *Starre*, we know, directed to the place of *Chriſt's Birth*, whereas a *bright*[d] *Beam* (ſay the *Monks*) diſcovered the place of S^t. *Alban's* Buriall. A *Beam* ſuſpected by ſome *ſhot* by him, who can turn himſelf into an *Angell of Light*, becauſe gaining ſo much by their *Superſtition*. Then was *Alban's* Body in pompous manner taken up, enſhrined, and adored by the *Beholders*. No wonder then if the *Danes* now invaded the *Dominions* of the *Engliſh*, ſeeing the *Engliſh* invaded the *Prerogative* of God, diverting the Worſhip due to him alone, to the rotten *Relicks* of Dead men: And henceforth the old *Romans City* of *Verulam*, loſt it's Name under the new *Saxon Town* of S^t. *Albans*.

St. *Alban's* body enſhrined.

c *Vita Offæ ſecundi, annexed to the new Edition of M. Paris, p. 28.*

d *Ibid. p. 26.*

794 36. King *Offa* went to *Rome*, and there confirmed and enlarged to *Pope Adrian* the Gift of *Peter-pence*, what *Ina* King of the *VVeſt-Saxons* had formerly beſtowed. For this Favour the *Pope* granted him, that no *Engliſhman* for *Penance impoſed* ſhould be baniſhed out of his own *Countrey*.

Peter-pence re-confirmed to *Rome*.

37 But bold Beggars are the Bane of the beſt Bounty, when grown ſo impudent, that what at firſt was given them for *Almes*, in proceſſe of time they challenge for *Rent*. Some call this a *Tribute* (Badge of Subjection) of *England* to the *See* of *Rome*; among whom is *Polydore Virgil*, once *Collectour* of thoſe *Peter-pence* in *England*. But blame him not for *magnifying his own Office*; who, had he owned this Money (as indeed it was) given in *frank-Almonage*, had then appeared no better then a *gentle Beggar*, whereas now he hopes to advance his Employment to a *nobler Notion*.

Gift no debt.

795 38. *Offa* having done all his work at *Rome*, namely procured the *Canonization* of S^t. *Alban*, the *Abſolution* of his own Sins and many *Murders*, and viſited and endowed the *Engliſh Colledge* there, returned home, fell to found the *Monaſtery* of S^t. *Albans*, beſtowing great Lands and Liberties upon it; as freeing it from the Payment of *Peter-pence*, *Epiſcopall Iuriſdiction*, and the like. This is alleadged and urged by our *Regians*, to prove the *Kings Paramount Power in Eccleſiaſticis*; ſeeing none can give, ſave what they are formally or eminently poſſeſſed of. And whereas *Papiſts* plead that *Offa* had fore-requeſted the granting of theſe *Priviledges* from the *Pope*, no mention at all thereof appears in the *Charter*[e] of his *Foundation* (here too large to inſert) but that all was done by his own abſolute Authority. Next year *Offa* ended his Life; buried at *Bedford*, on that Token that the *River Ouſe* ſwelling on a ſuddain ſwept his Corps clean away.

The Royall foundation of St. *Albans* Abbey.

e *Amongſt Sr. Tho. Cotton his Manuſcripts, and in exemplified in* Weaver *his Fun. Mon. p. 99.*

799 39. *Offa* being dead, down fell the beſt *Pillar* of *Lichfield Church*, to ſupport the

Canterbury recovereth it's former dignity.

the *Archiepiſcopality* thereof. And now *Canterbury* had got *Athelard* a new *Arch-biſhop*, who had as much Activity to ſpare, as his *Predeceſſour Iambert* is ſaid by ſome to want. Wherefore he prevailed with *Kenulph* King of *Mercia*, and both of them with *Leo* the new *Pope*, to reſtore back the *Archiepiſcopall See* to *Canterbury*; as in the next *Century* was perfectly effected. Anno Dom. 799 Anno Regis

Learned *Alcuinus* confuteth Image-worſhip.

40. We will conclude this *Century* with two eminent men (to leave at laſt a good Relliſh in the memory of the *Reader*) now flouriſhing therein. The one *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*: it being queſtionable whether he were more famous for *Venerable Bede*, who was his *Maſter*, or *Charles the Great*, who was his *Scholar*; whileſt it is out of doubt that he is moſt honoured for his own *Learning* and *Religion*. And becauſe *Engliſh-men* may be preſumed partiall in the praiſe of an *Engliſh-man*; hear what a *Character* a learned [a] *Forreigner* gives of him: *Vir in divinis ſcriptis eruditiſsimus, & in ſecularium literarum peritia nulli ſuo tempore ſecundus, Carmine excellens & Proſa.* But he got himſelf the greateſt credit by oppoſing the *Canons* of the ſecond *Niteene Council*, [b] wherein the *ſuperſtitious Adoration* of *Images* was enjoyned. Theſe *Canons*, ſome ſeven years ſince, were ſent by *Charles* the *Great* to King *Offa*, to be received of the *Engliſh*; who notwithſtanding generally diſtaſted and rejected them, the aforeſaid *Alcuinus* writing a learned Epiſtle againſt the ſame. He was fetcht by *Charles* his *Scholar*, calling him his *Delicious Maſter*; where he firſt founded the *Vniverſity* of *Paris*, and died *Abbot* of *St. Martins* in *Tours*.

a Tritemius *Abbas lib. de Script. Eccleſiaſticis fol. 62.*

b R. Hoved. *Annal. part. 1. p. 405.*

Egbert the firſt fixed Monarch of England.

41. The other was *Egbert*, who in this very year made himſelf ſole *Monarch* of *England*. True it is, in the *Saxon Heptarchy* there was generally one who out-powered all the reſt. But ſuch *Monarchy* was *deſultory* and *moveable*, ſometimes the *Weſt-Saxon*, ſometimes the *Mercian*, ſometimes the *Northumberland* King ruled over the reſt. But henceforward *Egbert* fixed the ſupreme *Soveraignty* in himſelf and his *Poſterity*: for though afterwards there continued ſome other *Petty Kings*, as *Kenulph* King of *Mercia*, &c. yet they ſhined but dimly (as the *Moon* when the *Sun* is riſen) and in the next Age were utterly extinguiſhed. So that hereafter we ſhall *double our Files*, and for the better regulating of time, next the *Columne* of the *year of our Lord*, adde another of the Reign of our *Engliſh Kings*. 800 Egberti primi Monarchæ Angliæ I

THE

Anno Regis Egberti | *Anno Dom.*

THE NINTH CENTURY.

To Mr. *William* and Mr. *Robert Chriſtmas*, Merchants of *London*.

YOu are both Brethren *by* Birth, *and by your joynt* Bounty *on my Endeavours. It is therefore pitty to part you. May no other* Difference *be in your* Hearts, *then what* Herauldry *allowes in your* Armes, *onely to* diſtinguish *the Age of the* Elder *from the* Younger; *that ſo the Memory of your* happy Father *may ſurvive in you his* hopefull Children.

1 801 1. THen *Kenulph*, King of *Mercia*, ſent a Letter to *Leo* the third, *Pope*, by *Æthelard* the Arch-biſhop, to this effect: That whereas the *Metropolitan Seat* by Authority *Apoſtolick* was primitively fixed at *Canterbury*, where the bleſſed Body of *Auguſtine* was buried; and whereas lately King *Offa*, out of Oppoſition to Arch-biſhop *Lambert*, had removed the ſame *Seat* to *Lichfield*, and procured from Pope *Adrian* the ſame Tranſlation to be confirmed: *Kenulph*[a] requeſted his *Holineſſe* ſo farre to concurre with the generall Deſire of the *Engliſh Nation*, as to revoke the Act of his Predeceſſour, and reſtore the Arch-biſhoprick to it's proper place. And knowing that Sutes in the Court of *Rome* ſpeed no whit the leſſe, when accompanied with *Gifts*, he ſent his *Holineſſe* 120. [b] *Mancuſes* for a Preſent. The Gift was kindly accepted, the Arch-biſhop courteouſly entertained, the Requeſt bountifully granted; and thus the *Arch-biſhops See diſlocated*, or *out of joynt*, for a time, was by the hands of his *Holineſſe ſet* right again.

The Arch-biſhoprick reſtored to *Canterbury* at the inſtance of King *Kenulph*.

a Malmesb. *de Geſtis Reg. lib.* 1. *c.* 4.

b Mancuſæ *quaſi manucuſæ, a coyn about the valuation whereof is much variety.*

3 803 2. *Æthelard* returning home, called a *Synod* at *Clives-Ho*, (in *Kent*, not farre from *Rocheſter*) where by Power from the *Pope*, he riveted the Arch-biſhoprick into the City of *Canterbury*, the *Synod* denouncing heavy Penalties to any that hereafter ſhould endeavour to divide them: ſo that it is believed, that the Arch-biſhops *See* may as eaſily be wholly diſſolved, as hence removed. The Subſcriptions in this Council were the moſt formall and ſolemn of any ſo ancient. The Reader will not be offended with their hard [c] Names here following, ſeeing his Eye may run them over in peruſing them, though his Tongue never touch them in pronouncing them.

The firſt moſt formall ſubſcription in a Synod.

c *The originall is extant in the Records of* Canterbury, *copied out by Sr.* Henry Spelman *in his Councils, pag.* 325.

Dioceſe

Diocese	Bishops	Abbots	Presbyters	Deacons	Anno Dom.	Mem. Reges Britan.
Canterbury	Æthelard, Arch.	Æthilheah Feologeld	Wulfheard Vhernoth Beornmod	Vulfrad, Arch.	803	3
Lichfield	Aldulf	Higberth	Lulla Monn Wigfreth Eadhere Cuthberth	ooooooooo		
Leicester	Werenberth	Ealmund, Pr. Beonna, Pr. Forthrod, Pr. Wigmund, Pr.	Eadberth	ooooooooo		
Sydnacester	Eadulf	Eadred, Pr. Dæghelm, Pr.	Plegberth Eadulf Hereberth	ooooooooo		
Worcester	Dænebreth	Higberth Thiwefereth Pega Freothomund, Pr.	Coenferth	ooooooooo		
Hereford	Vulfheard	Cuthred	Srygol Dygoga Monn.	Heanbehald		
Shireburn	Vvigberth	Muda Eadberth Beorthmund	ooooooo	ooooooooo		
Winchester	Almund	Cuthberth Mark Cumba Lulla	Northeard Vngthe	ooooooooo		
Helmham	Ealheard	ooooooooo	Folcberth Frithoberth Eadberth Vulflab	Hunfride		
Dunwich	Fidfrith	Vulfheard Lulla	Ceolhelm Cynulfe Tydberth	Eadberth		
London	Osmond	Heahstan Plegberth	Vvigheard Tidhun Frithorad Ethelhelme	ooooooooo		
Rochester	Vvarmund	ooooooooo	Lullingo Tuda Beagnoth Heathoberth Vvigheard	ooooooooo		
Selsey	Vveothun	Ceolmund	Dudd Eadberth Beorcol Heahfride[a] Cynebald	ooooooooo		

[a] Doubtfull whether priests or deacons.

Arch-Bishop	1	Presbyters	19	82 in all.
Bishops	12	Archdeacon	1	
Abbots	26	Deacons	9	

Anno Regis Egberti 3 — Anno Dom. 803

3. Now, to make a ſhort, but neceſſary Digreſſion, in this Synod we may obſerve, That *Biſhops* appeared perſonally, and the reſt of the *Clergy* were repreſented, *Monks* in their *Abbots*, and the *Seculars* in the *Prieſts* and *Deacons* of their *Dioceſe* reſpectively. Such *Abbots* as in this *Catalogue* have the addition of *Pr.* were alſo *Prieſts*, and ſo preſent in a double Capacity; though perchance they made onely uſe of their *Abbotſhip*. No *Deans* appear here, as a Dignity of farre later Inſtitution. The *Biſhops*, in the order of their Subſcriptions, ſeem to obſerve Seniority of their Conſecrations, and not Dignity of their Biſhopricks; ſeeing *London* lags one of the laſt, to which our Church-[a] *Heraulds* did afterwards aſſign the higheſt place, next the *Arch-biſhops*: onely *Lichfield* may ſeem to have had the Precedency, *by the Courteſie of the Synod*, that the loſt Dignity thereof might be buried in Honour, being ſo lately the *Seat* of an *Arch-biſhop*. Laſtly, this was but a Provinciall Council for *Canterbury* alone, *York* with his two *Suffragans* (*Lindisfern* and *Hexham*) not mentioned in the meeting. Thus, as the *Anatomie* of a little Child, repreſenting all Parts thereof, is accounted a greater Rarity, then the *Sceleton* of a man of full Stature: ſo I conceive it more acceptable to the ſtudious in Antiquity, to behold the Form of theſe Synods, with the diſtinct Members thereof, in the Infancy of the *Saxon* Church, then to ſee a compleat Council in after-Ages, when grown to full Perfection.

Some obſervables on the method and manner of their meeting.

a Harpsfield *Hiſt. Ang. pag.* 743.

16 — 816

4. Paſſe we by ſome *Petty Synods* celebrated in the *Reign* and *Countrey* of King *Kenulph* of *Mercia*. Eminent was the *Council* at *Celichyth* under *Wolfred* (who ſucceeded *Æthelard*) *Arch-biſhop* of *Canterbury*. Wherein, amongſt other things ſlight or ſuperſtitious, was decreed,

The Acts of the Council at *Celichyth*.

1. That the *Catholick Faith* ſhould be kept, and *ancient Canons* obſerved.
2. That [b] new *Churches* ſhould be *conſecrated* with *Holy-water* by their *Biſhops*, and the *Saint* ſomewhere painted therein to whom the ſame is *dedicated*.
3. That all in *Chriſtian Charity* mutually love one another.
4. That *Abbots* and *Abbeſſes* be blameleſſe perſons, choſen by the *Biſhop* with the conſent of the *Convent*.
5. That no *Scotch-man baptize*, or adminiſter the *Euchariſt* in *England*; it being uncertain, whether, or by whom they are ordained. [We may diſcover herein ſome remaining *Dreggs* of the long-laſting Difference about the *Celebration* of *Eaſter*, which made the ſuſpicious *Engliſh* ſtill to harbour a cauſeleſſe prejudice againſt the *Scotch Prieſthood*.]
6. That the *judiciall Sentences* of *Biſhops* in former *Synods* remain ratified; as alſo all their *Acts* ſolemnly ſigned with the *Croſſe*.
7. That no *Abbey-lands* be leaſed out longer then, *in dies, & ſpatium unius hominis*, that is (as I take it) *for the ſingle life of one man*; except in ſome caſe of Extremity; *to help againſt Famine, Invaſion of Foes, or for obtaining of Freedome*.
8. That things *dedicated* to God remain ſo for ever.
9. That the *Acts* of all *Synods* be fairly written out, with the *Date* thereof, and name of the *Arch-biſhop Preſident*, and *Biſhops* preſent thereat.
10. That *Biſhops* at their death give the full *Tithe* of their Goods to the *Poor*, and *ſet free* every *Engliſh-man* which in their life-time was a *Slave* unto them.
11. That *Biſhops* invade not the *Dioceſe*, *Prieſts* the *Pariſh*, neither the *Office* of another; ſave onely when deſired to *baptize*, or *viſit the Sick*. The *Refuſers* whereof in any place are to be ſuſpended their *Miniſtery*, till reconciled to the *Biſhop*.
12. That they pour not water upon the Heads of *Infants*, but immerge them in the *Font*, in imitation of *Chriſt*, who (ſay they) was *thrice* [c] ſo waſhed in *Iordan*.

b *See Sr.* Hen. Spelman *in his Councills, pag.* 328.

c *See Sr.* Hen. Spelman, *pag.* 331.

But where is this in *Scripture*? The manifestation indeed of the *Trinity* plainly *appears* in the [a] *Text*; *Father* in the *Voice*, *Son* personally present, *Holy Spirit* in the *Dove*; but as for *thrice* washing him, *altum silentium*. However, see how our *modern Sectaries* meet *Popery* in shunning it, requiring the person to be plunged; though *Criticks* have cleared it, that *Baptize* doth import as well *Dipping*, as *Drenching* in water.

[a] *Matth.* 3. 16, 17.

5. And now we take our farewell of King *Kenulph*, who, for all his great Bustling in *Church-matters* for the first twenty yeares in this *Century*, was (as *genus subalternum* amongst the *Logitians*) a *King* over his *Subjects*, yet but a *Subject* to King *Egbert*, who now at *Wincheſter* was solemnly crowned *Monarch* of the *Southern* and greater Moiety of this *Island*, enjoyning all the people therein to term it *Engelond*, (since *England*) that so the petty Names of seven former distinct *Kingdomes* might be honourably buried in that general Appellation.

Egbert proclaimed Monarch of England.

6 Some will wonder, seeing this *Nation* was compounded of *Saxons*, *Iuites*, and *Angles*, why it should not rather be denominated of the first, as in Number greatest, and highest in Reputation. Such consider not that a *Grand Continent* in *Germany* was already named *Saxony*; and it was not handsome for this Land to wear a Name at *second hand* belonging to another. Besides, *England* is a name of Credit, importing in *Dutch* the same with the *Land of* [b] *Angels*. And now the *Name* stamped with the *Kings Command* soon became *currant*, and extinguished all the rest. For *Kent*, *Essex*, *Sussex*, *Northumberland* (though remaining in common Discourse) shrunk from former *Kingdomes* into modern *Counties*; *VVestsex*, *Mercia*, and *East-Angles* were in effect finally forgotten. It will not be amisse to wish that seeing so great a *Tract of Ground* meets in one Name, the People thereof may agree in *Christian Vnity* and *Affections*.

Seven Kingdomes swallowed up in *Engeland*.

[b] verstegan of decayed intelligence.

7. King *Egbert* was now in the Exaltation of his Greatnesse. But never will humane Happinesse hold out full Measure to mans Desire. Freed from *homebred Hostility*, he was ready to repose himself in the *Bed* of *Ease* and *Honour*; when the *Danes* not onely *jogged his Elbows*, but *pinched his Sides*, to the disturbance of his future Quiet. They beat the *English* in a *Navall Fight* at *Carmouth* in *Dorsetshire*, which proved fatall to our *Nation*. For an *Island* is never an *Island indeed*, untill mastered at Sea, cut off from Commerce with the *Continent*. Henceforward these *Pagans* settled themselves in some part of the Land, though claiming it by no other *Title*, then their own *Pride* and *Covetousnesse*, and keeping it in no other *Tenure*, then that of *Violence* and *Cruelty*.

Danes disturb King *Egberi*.

8. *Athelwolphus* his Son succeeded King *Egbert* in the *Throne*: a *Prince* not lesse commended for his *Valour*, then *Devotion*, and generally fortunate in his Undertakings; though much molested all his life-time by the *Danes*. But nothing makes him so remarkable to Posterity, as the granting of this *Charter*, or rather the solemn passing of this *Act* ensuing.

Athelwolphus his universal grant of Tithes to the Church.

[c] *Regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum nostrarum, nec non & vastantium crudelissimas depraedationes hostium barbarorum, Paganarumque gentium multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum usque ad internecionem, cernimus tempora incumbere periculosa;*

Quamobrem ego Ethelwolphus *Rex Occidentalium* Saxonum, *cum consilio Episcoporum ac Principum meorum, consilium salubre, atque uniforme remedium affirmavi: Vt aliquam portionem terrarum hareditariam antea possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive famulis & famulabus Dei, Deo servientibus, sive laicis, semper decimam mansionem ubi minimum sit, tamen partem decimam in libertatem perpetuam perdonari dijudicavi, ut sit tuta ac munita ab omnibus secularibus servitutibus, nec non regalibus tributis majoribus & minoribus, sive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus* Witereden: *Sitque libera omnium rerum pro remissione animarum nostrarum ad serviendum Deo soli sine Expeditione, & pontis instructione, & arcis munitione, ut eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum servitutem in aliqua parte levigamus.* Placuit

[c] Ex Ingulph. & Malmesb. Gest. Reg. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Anno Dom.	Anno Regis Egberti
816	16
820	20
831	31
837	Ethelwolphi 1

Ethelwolphi 1 — Anno Dom. 837

Placuit etiam Episcopis Alhstano Schireburnensis *Ecclesiæ*, & Swithuno Wintonienſis *Ecclesiæ, cum ſuis Abbatibus, & ſervis Dei, conſilium inire, ut omnes fratres, & ſorores noſtræ, ad unamquamque Eccleſiam omni hebdomada die Mercurii, hoc eſt,* Weddenſday, *cantent quinquaginta pſalmos, & unuſquiſque Presbyter duas Miſſas, unam pro rege* Ethelwolpho, *& aliam pro ducibus ejus huic dono conſentientibus, pro mercede & refrigerio delictorum ſuorum: & pro Rege vivente dicant,* Oremus. Deus qui juſtificas; *pro ducibus etiam viventibus,* Prætende Domine: *poſtquam autem defuncti fuerint, pro Rege defuncto ſingulariter, & pro principibus defunctis communiter. Et hoc ſit tam firmiter conſtitutum omnibus Chriſtianitatis diebus, ſicut libertas illa conſtituta eſt, quamdiu fides creſcit in gente* Anglorum.

11 — 848 alias 855 — 18

This *Athelwolphus* was deſigned by his Father to be Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, bred in a Monaſtery, after taken out, and abſolved of his Vows by the Pope: and having had Church-education in his Youth, retained to his Old-age the indeleble Character of his affections thereunto. In expreſſion whereof, in a ſolemn Council kept at *Wincheſter*, he ſubjected the whole Kingdome of *England* to the Payment of Tithes, as by the foregoing Inſtrument doth appear. He was the firſt *born* Monarch of *England*. Indeed, before his time there were Monarchs of the *Saxon Heptarchie*; but not ſucceſſive and fixed in a Family, but fluctuating from one Kingdome to another. *Egbert*, father to this *Athelwolph*, was the firſt that atchieved this *Monarchie*, and left it to this his Son, not *Monarcha factus*, but *natus*, and ſo in unqueſtionable Power to make the foreſaid Act *obligatory* over all the Land.

Former Acts for Tithes infirme.

9. Indeed, before his time many Acts for Tithes are produced, which when preſſed will prove of no great Validity. Such are the Imperiall Edicts in Civil Law, never poſſeſſed of full power in *England*; as alſo the Canons of ſome *Councils* & *Popes*, never admitted into plenary Obedience by conſent of *Prince* and *People*. Adde to theſe, firſt, ſuch Laws as were made by King *Ina*, and *Offa*, *Monarchs* indeed of *England in their turns*, as I may ſay, but not deriving the ſame to the Iſſue of their Bodies: So that their Acts as perſonall may by ſome froward Spirits be cavilled at, as determining with their own Lives. Joyn to theſe (if produceable) any *Provinciall Conſtitutions* of an *Engliſh Arch-biſhop* (perchance *Egbertus* of *York*:) thoſe *might obey* them, who *would obey*, being otherwiſe not ſubject to any civil Penalty. But now this Act of *Athelwolphus* appears entire in all the Proportions of a Law, made in his *great Counſel*, equivalent to after-*Parliaments*; not only *cum conſilio Epiſcoporum*, with the Advice of his Biſhops, (which eaſily may be preſumed willingly to concurre in ſuch a matter of Church-advancement) but alſo *Principum meorum*, of my Princes (ſaith he:) the Conſent of Inferiour perſons not being required in that Age.

Objections againſt this Act anſwered

10. However, nothing can be ſo ſtrong but it may meet with Cavills, though not to deſtroy, to diſturb the Validity thereof; as this Act hath: and we will ſeverally examine the Defects charged upon it.

1. *Obj.* Some object that *Athelwolphus* was but King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, as appears by his Stile, *Rex occidentalium Saxonum*, and not *univerſall Monarch* of *England*, whoſe Act onely is obligatory to his own Subjects. Let thoſe of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Hants*, *Wilts*, and *Berks* pay Tithes by vertue of this Command; other Parts of the Land are freed from the ſame, becauſe *nihil dat quod non habet*, none can derive that to others which they enjoy not themſelves; being King but of a Part, he could not lay this Law upon all the Land.

Anſ. He is tearmed *eminently*, not *excluſively*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*: being fondeſt of that Title, as his Fathers firſt *Inheritance*, before he acquired the *Monarchy* of the whole Land. There were indeed at this time two other *Royalets*, as onely *Kings by his leave*, (*viz.*) *Beorred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edmond* King of *Eaſt-Angles*, who, as it plainly appears by [a] *Ingulphus*, were preſent at his Council, and conſented to the Acts thereof.

[a] *Exemplified in Sr.* Henry Spelman's *Councils, pag.* 348.

Anno Dom. 855 | Anno Regni Ethelwolphi 18

2. *Obj.* The Consideration was superstitious, to say so many Masses for the Souls of this King and his Captains when deceased.

Anſ. A double Consideration is mentioned in this Grant. The first, generall; so pious in it's self, no Exception can be taken thereat, *viz.* to *divert the imminent Judgements of God from the Land, hourly fearing the Invasion of fierce forraign* Pagans: so the better to secure the *Nine parts* thereof to himself and his Subjects, by *setting apart, resigning*, and *surrendring* a *Tenth* to God (the supreme Land-lord of all) in such as attended his daily Service. The second Consideration is more *restrictive* and *particular*, and resents indeed of the Ignorance of that Age; but yet is proportionable to the best Devotion those dayes produced: and easily may an accidentall Abuse be purged, by the pious Use intended, and designed generally to Gods Glory.

3. *Obj.* The King onely granted *Tithes* of his own *Crown-land, non in Dominio, sed in Dominico suo*, not in all his *Dominions*, but onely in his *Demesnes*.

Anſ. There needed no such solemn Consent of the Council of the Land, for the passing away of his Private Bounty. And that the Grant extended to the Kingdome in Generall, appears by [a] other Authours on the same. Adelwolphus *decimonono anno regni sui, qui totam terram suam ad opus Ecclesiarum decimavit propter Amorem Dei*, &c. More plainly another Authour: *In eodem anno decimavit* Athulf. *rex de omni possessione sua in partem Domini, & in universo regimine sui Principatus sic constituit.*

[a] Hen. Hunting. *Hist. l.* 5. *pag.* 348.

Store no sore

11. Here we insist not on the many Arguments out of Old and New Testament, to prove Tithes to be *Jure Divino*, which in due time may be produced, when all Tempests of Tumultuous Spirits are allayed, and when (what the Town-Clerk of *Ephesus* promised to the Citizens thereof) the Question may be determined [b] ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, in a *lawfull* and *ordinary Assembly*, without fear of Force, and suspicion of Violence. For two Strings to a Bow do not amisse; being no Hinderance to the Archer for the better hitting of the Mark, who may wind up one, and use that for the present which he sees most for his own Convenience. Mean time most true it is, that men are not so conscientious to obey the *Laws of God*, as fearfull to resist the *Edicts of Men*: and therefore (though farre be it from the Clergy to quit their Title to Tithes by *Divine Right*) they conceive it the surest way sometimes to make use of *Humane Injunctions*, as having the most potent Influence on mens Affections; especially in this Age, when the *love of many* (both to *God* and *Goodnesse*) beginneth to wax cold.

[b] *Acts* 19. 39.

A pleasant passage.

12. A Reverend Doctour in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Bishop of *Sarisbury*, was troubled at his small living at *Hoggmton*, with a peremptory *Anabaptist*, who plainly told him, *It goes against my Conscience to pay you Tithes, except you can shew me a place of Scripture whereby they are due unto you.* The Doctour returned, *Why should it not go as much against my Conscience, that you should enjoy your Nine parts, for which you can shew no place of Scripture?* To whom the other rejoyned, *But I have for my Land, Deeds and Evidences from my Fathers, who purchased, and were peaceably possessed thereof by the Laws of the Land. The same is my Title*, saith the Doctour; *Tithes being confirmed unto me by many Statutes of the Land time out of mind.* Thus he *drave that Nail*, not which was of the *strongest Metall* or *sharpest Point*, but which would *go best* for the present. It was *Argumentum ad hominem*, fittest for the person he was to meddle with; who afterwards peaceably payed his Tithes unto him. Had the *Doctour* ingaged in Scripture-Argument, though never so pregnant & pertinent, it had been endlesse to dispute with him, who made Clamour the end of his Dispute, whose Obstinacy and Ignorance made him uncapable of solid Reason; and therefore the *worse* the Argument, the *better* for his Apprehension.

13. Most

Anno Regni Ethelwolphi 18 — Anno Dom. 855

13. Most solid and ingenious was the Answer of a most eminent Serjeant at Law of this Age, to the impertinent Clamours of such against the payment of Tithes, because (as they say) due onely by *Humane Right*. *My Cloak is my Cloak by the Law of Man: But he is a Thief by the Law of God that taketh it away from me.*

A solid Answer of a learned Serjeant.

14. True it is that this Law did not presently find an universall Obedience in all the Land. And the Wonder is not great, if at the first making thereof it met with many Recusants; since corroborated by eight hundred yeares *Prescription*, and many *Confirmations*, it findes Obstacles and Oppositions at this day: for in succeeding Ages severall Kings confirmed the same, thongh Papall Exemptions of severall Orders, and *modus Decimandi* according to custome, have almost since *tithed* the *Tithes* in some places.

This law not presently and perfectly obeyed.

19 — 856

15. King *Athelwolphus* the next year took his (call it Progresse or) Pilgrimage to *Rome*. Where the report of his Piety prevented his Arrivall, & provided both Welcome and Wonder for his Entertainment. Here he confirmed unto the Pope his Predecessours Grant of *Peter-pence*, and as a Surplusage, bestowed upon him the yearly Revenue of three hundred Marks, thus to be expended.

King *Athelwolph*'s journey to *Rome*, and bounty to the Pope. a William Malmesbury, *ut prius*.

1. To maintain Candles for S^t. *Peter*, one hundred
2. To maintain Candles for S^t. *Paul*, one hundred } *Marks*.
3. For a free Largesse to the *Pope*, one hundred

16. If any be curious to know how these 300 Marks were in after-Ages divided and collected, let them peruse the following Account: if the Particulars be truely cast up, and (attested to me out of Sir *Tho. Cotton*'s Librarie, and, as they say, out of the *Vatican* it self) be authenticall.

How this Summe was divided, and collected out of severall Dioceses.

	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Canterbury	8	8	0	*Ely*	5	0	0	*Exceter*	9	5	0
London	26	10	0	*Lincoln*	42	0	0	*Worcester*	10	5	0
Rochester	5	12	0	*Chichester*	8	0	0	*Hereford*	6	0	0
Norwich	21	10	0	*Winchester*	17	6	8	*Bathe & Wells*	12	5	0
Sarisbury	17	0	0	*Covent. & Lichfield*	41	5	0	*York*	11	10	0

These Summes were demanded by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth in the 46. of *Edward* the third, (on that Token, that their payment was much opposed by *John* of *Gaunt*.) I dare not discede from my Copy a tittle, coming, as they say, from the Register at *Rome*: nor will I demand a Reason, why *Durham* and *Carliste* are here omitted; much lesse examine the Equity of their Proportions, as applied to their respective Dioceses; but *implicitly* believe all done very justly. The reason why the *Welsh* Bishopricks were exempted is, because at the grant hereof by King *Athelwolph*, *Wales* was not then under his Dominion. This 300 Marks was but a *distinct payment* by it self, and not the whole Body of *Peter-pence* (amounting to a greater Summe,) whereof, God willing, hereafter.

Ethelredi 1 — 867

17. After the Death of King *Athelwolphus*, and his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert* succeeding him, this Land was in a sad Condition, though nothing so bad as under the Reign of *Ethelred* his third Son, and Successour: for then indeed most miserable was the state of the *English*, harassed by the *Danes*, who, like the running-Gout, shifted from joynt to joynt, from place to place; often repelled from the severall Shires, never expelled out of *England*. The *Saxon* Folly hurt them more, then the *Danish* Fury; refusing effectually to unite, to make a joynt-Resistance against a generall Enemy. For some sixty yeares since, the *West-Saxons* had subdued the other six Kings of this Nation; yet so, that they still continued Kings, but Homagers to the *West-Saxon* Monarchy. The shortning of their Sceptres stuck in their Stomacks, especially of the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* Kings, the most puissant of all the rest. Whereupon, beholding *Ethelred*, the *West-Saxon* King (the Staffe and Stay of the whole Nation) embroiled with the Invasion of the *Danes*, they not only lazily looked on, but secretly smiled at this Sight, as the only way to Conquer the Conquerour.

The *Saxons* wilfully accessory to their own ruine by the *Danes*.

Yea,

Anno Dom. 867 — Anno Regni Ethelredi 1

Yea, such their Envy, that rather then one (once their equal) should be above them in Felicity, they all would be equall with him in Misery. They would more contentedly be *Slaves* to a Forrain Foe, to whom they all stood unrelated, then *Homagers* to him, who had (as they thought) usurped Dominion over them. Never considering, that the *Danes* were Pagans; (Self-interest is deaf to the Checks of Conscience;) and Revenge (which is wilde at the best) was so mad in them, that they would procure it with the Hazzard, if not Losse, of their God, his Church, and true Religion. Thus the *Height* of the *Saxon* Pride and Envy, caused the *Breadth* of the *Danish* Power and Cruelty. Indeed the foresaid *Saxon* Kings, perceiving their Errour, endeavoured at last to help the *West-Saxon* (or rather to help themselves in him) against the *Danes*. But alas, it was too late. For, the *Danish* Garisons lay so indented in the Heart of the Land, that the *Saxon* Troups were blasted, before they could grow into Regiments; and their Strength (dispersed in the gathering) was routed, before regulated into an Army.

Fight betwixt Christians and *Danes*.

18. This year the *Danes* made an Invasion into *Lincolnshire*, where they met with stout Resistance: and let us take a *List* of the chief *Officers* on both sides. 870 — 4

Christian Saxons.	*Danish Pagans.*
[a] Count *Algar*, Generall, with the Youth of *Holland*.	King *Gordroum*.
Harding de Rehale with *Stanford* men, all very young and valiant.	King *Baseg*.
Tolie a Monk, with a Band of two hundred *Crowlanders*.	King *Osketill*.
Morcar Lord of *Burn*, with those of his numerous Family.	King *Halfeden*.
Osgot, [b] Sheriff of *Lincolnshire*, with five hundred under him.	King *Hammond*.
Wibert, living at *Wiberton*, nigh *Boston* in *Holland*.	Count *Frena*.
Leofrick, living at *Leverton*, anciently *Lefrinkton*.	Count *Vnguar*.
Places named from their Owners.	Count *Hubba*.
	Count *Sidroke the* Elder.
	Count *Sidroke the* Younger.

[a] Ingulphi Hist. p. 865.

[b] *Vicedominus.*

The *Christians* had the better the first day, wherein the *Danes* lost three of their *Kings*, buried in a place thence called *Trekingham*: so had they the second, till at night, breaking their Ranks to pursue the *Danes* in their dissembled Flight, they were utterly overthrown.

Crowland Monks massacred.

19. *Theodore* Abbot of *Crowland*, hearing of the *Danes* Approach, shipped away most of his *Monks*, with the choicest *Relicks* and Treasures of his *Convent*, and cast his most precious Vessels into a *Well* in the *Cloister*. The rest remaining were at their *Morning-prayers*, when the *Danes* entring, slew

Theodore the Abbot on the High Altar,
Asher the Prior in the Vestiary,
Lathwin the Sub-Prior in the Refectory,
Pauline in the Quire,
Herbert in the Quire,
Wolride the Torch-Bearer in the same place,
Grimketule and *Agamund*, each of them an hundred yeares old, in the Cloisters.

[c] Ingulphus, pag. 866.

These, saith my [c] *Authour*, were first *examinati*, tortured to betray their Treasure, and then *exanimati*, put to death for their Refusall. The same *Writer* seems to wonder, that being killed in one place, their Bodies were afterwards found in another. Surely the *Corpse* removed not themselves, but no doubt the *Danes* dragged them from place to place when dead. There was one *Child-Monk* therein, but ten yeares old, (*Turgar* by name) of most lovely Looks and Person. Count *Sidroke* the younger pittying his tender yeares (all *Devills* are not cruell alike) cast a *Danish* [d] Coat upon him, and so saved him, who onely survived, to make the sad Relation of the *Massacre*.

[d] In Latin *Collobium.*

Peterborough Monks kil-

20. Hence the *Danes* marched to *Medeshamsted* (since called *Peterborough*:) where

Anno Regis Ethelredi 4 — Anno Dom. 870

where finding the *Abbey-gates* locked against them, they resolved to force their Entrance; in effecting whereof, *Tulba*, Brother to Count *Hubba*, was dangerously wounded, almost to Death, with a Stone cast at him. *Hubba* enraged hereat, like another *Doeg*, killed *Abbot Hedda*, and all the *Monks*, being fourscore and four, with his own hand. *Count Sidroke* gave an *Item* to young Monk *Turgar* (who hitherto attended him) in no wise to meet Count *Hubba*, for fear that his *Danish Livery* should not be found of proof against his Fury. Then was the *Abbey* set on Fire, which burned fifteen dayes together, wherein an excellent *Library* was consumed. Having pillaged the *Abbey*, and broke open the *Tombes* and *Coffins* of many *Saints* there interred, these *Pagans* marched forwards into *Cambridgeshire*, and passing the *River Nine*, two of their *Wagons* fell into the Water, wherein the Cattell which drew them were drowned, much of their rich Plunder lost, and more impaired.

led. Monastery burned.

21. Some dayes after, the *Monks* of *Medeshamsted* were buried altogether in a great Grave, and their *Abbot* in the middest of them, a *Crosse* being erected over the same; where one may have four yards square of *Martyrs Dust*, which no place else in *England* doth afford. *Godric*, Successour to *Theodore*, *Abbot* of *Crowland*, used annually to repair hither, and to say *Masses* two dayes together for the *Souls* of such as were entombed. One would think that by *Popish Principles* these were rather to be *prayed to*, then *prayed for*; many maintaining that *Martyrs* go the nearest way to Heaven, *sine ambage Purgatorii*: so that surely *Godric* did it not to better their Condition, but to expresse his own Affection, out of the Redundancy of his *Devotion*; which others will call the Superfluity of his *Superstition*.

A heap of Martyrs.

22. The *Danes* spared no Age, Sex, Condition of people; such was the Cruelty of this Pagan unpartial Sword. With a violent Inundation they broke into the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*; wasted *Cambridge*, and the Countrey thereabouts; burnt (the then City of) *Thetford*; forced *Edmond*, King of that Countrey, into his Castle of *Framlingham*; who perceiving himself unable to resist their Power, came forth, and at the Village of *Hoxon* in *Suffolk* tendered his Person unto them, hoping thereby to save the Effusion of his Subjects Blouds. Where, after many Indignities offered unto him, they bound him to a Tree; and because he would not renounce his Christianity, shot him with Arrow after Arrow; their Cruelty taking Deliberation, that he might the better digest one Pain, before another succeeded, so distinctly to protract his Torture (though Confusion be better then Method in matters of Cruelty) till not Mercie, but want of a Mark made them desist; according to the [a] Poets Expression,

The cruel Martyrdome of King *Edmond*.

Iam loca Vulneribus desunt, nec dum furiosis
Tela, sed hyberna grandine plura volant.

Room wants for Wounds, but Arrows do not fail
From Foes, which thicker fly then winter Hail.

[a] Camden's *Britan. in the description of* Suffolk.

After-Ages, desiring to make amends to his Memory, so over-acted their part in *shrining*, *painting*, and *adoring* his Relicks, at *Bury* S^t. *Edmonds*; that, if those in Heaven be sensible of the Transactions on Earth, this good Kings Body did not feel more Pain from the Fury of the Pagan-*Danes*, then his Soul is filled with holy Indignation, at the Superstition of the Christian-*saxons*.

23. However, the *West-Saxon* King *Ethelbert* behaved himself bravely, fighting, with various Successe, nine [b] Battels against the *Danes*: though *ninety nine* had not been sufficient against so numerous an Enemy. But we leave these things to the Historians of the State, to relate. We read of an [c] *Heap of Stones*, made between *Iacob* and *Laban*, with a mutuall Contract, that neither *should passe* the same for Harm. Thus would I have Ecclesiasticall and civil Historians indent about the Bounds, and Limits of their Subjects, that neither injuriously incroach on the Right of the other. And, if I chance to make an

King *Ethelbert* his prayer-victory.

[b] William Malmesbury *De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib.* 2. *pag.* 42.

[c] Gen. 31. 52.

Ex-

Excurſion into the matters of the Common-wealth, it is not out of *Curioſity*, or *Buſybodineſſe*, to be medling in other mens Lines: but onely in an amicable way, to give a kind Viſit, and to clear the mutuall Dependence of the Church on the Common-wealth. Yet let me ſay, that this War againſt the *Danes* was of Church-concernment; for it was as much *pro aris*, as *pro focis*, as much for Religion, as civil Intereſt. But one War muſt not be forgotten. Importunate Meſſengers brought the Tidings, that the *Engliſh* were dangerouſly ingaged with the *Danes*, at *Eſſendune* (haply *Eſſenden* now, in *Surrey*) and likely to be worſted. King *Ethelbert* was at his Devotions, which he would not omit, nor abbreviate for all their Clamour. No Suit would he hear on Earth, till firſt he had finiſhed his Requeſts to Heaven. Then, having performed the part of pious *Moſes* in the [a] Mount, he began to act valiant *Joſhua* in the Valley. The *Danes* are vanquiſhed, leaving Poſterity to learn, that time ſpent in Prayer, is laid out to the beſt Advantage.

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[a] Exod. 17. 11

24. But alas, this *Daniſh* Invaſion was a *mortal Wound*, *Dedecus Saxonicæ fortitudinis*; the Cure whereof was rather to be deſired, then hoped for. Eaſe for the preſent, was all Art could perform. King *Ethelbert* ſaw, that of theſe Pagans the more he ſlew, the more they grew, which went to his valiant Heart. Grief is an heavy Burthen; and generally, the ſtrongeſt Shoulders are able to bear the leaſt proportion thereof. The good King therefore withered away in the Flower of his Age, willingly preferred to encounter rather Death, then the *Danes*; for he knew how to make a joyfull End with the one, but endleſs was his Conteſt with the other: according to the Obſervation of the *Engliſh* [b] Hiſtorian, that the *Saxon*-Kings in this Age, *magis optabant honeſtum Exitum, quam acerbum Imperium.*

King *Ethelbert* heart-broken with grief.

871 — 5

[b] Malmesburienſis *in prim.*

25. In this ſad condition God ſent *England* a Deliverer, namely, King *Alfred*, or *Alured*, born in *England*, bred in *Rome*, where, by a *Prolepſis*, he was anointed King by Pope *Leo* (though then but a private Prince, and his three elder Brothers alive) *in auſpicium futuri regni*, in hope that hereafter he ſhould come to the Crown. Nor did this *Vnction* make *Alfred* ante-date his Kingdome, who quietly waited till his foreſaid Brothers ſucceſſively reigned, and died before him, and then took his Turn in the Kingdome of the *Weſt-ſaxons*. The worſt was, his Condition was like a Bride-groom, who, though lawfully wedded, yet might not bed his Bride, till firſt he had conquered his Rival; and muſt redeem *England*, before he could reign over it. The *Danes* had *London*, many of the in-land, moe of the maritime Towns, and *Alfred* onely three effectuall Shires, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, and *Wilts*; yet by Gods Bleſſing on his Valour, he got to be Monarch of all *England*. Yea, conſider him as a King in his Court, as a Generall in his Camp, as a Chriſtian in his Cloſet, as a Patron in the Church, as a Founder in his Colledge, as a Father in his Family; his Actions will every way appear no leſſe excellent in themſelves, then exemplary to others.

King *Alfred*'s exemplary Character.

872 — Alfredi ſeu Aluredi 1

26. His moſt daring Deſign was, when lying hid about *Athelney* in *Somerſet-ſhire*, and diſguiſed under the habit of a Fidler (being an excellent Muſician) he adventured into the *Daniſh* Camp. Had not his ſpirit been undaunted, the ſight of his armed Foes had been enough to have put his Inſtrument out of Tune. Here going unſuſpected through their Army, he diſcovered their Condition, and ſome of their Intentions. Some would ſay, that the *Danes* deſerved to be beaten indeed, if they would communicate their Counſels to a Fidler. But let ſuch know, *Alfred* made this generall Diſcovery of them, that they were remiſſe in their Diſcipline, lay idle and careleſſe: and Security diſarmes the beſt-appointed Army. *Themiſtocles* ſaid of himſelf, *that he could not fiddle, but he knew how to make a little City great*. But our *Alfred* could fiddle, and make a little City great too; yea, enlarge a petty and contracted Kingdome, into a vaſt and abſolute Monarchy.

Alfred, as a fidler, diſcovereth the *Danish* deſignes.

876 — 5

27. But, as the Poets feign of *Anteus*, the Son of the Earth, who fighting with

The *Danish* ſhips left water-bound

Ex-

Anno Regis Alfredi seu Aluredi 5 — *Anno Dom.* 876

with *Hercules*, and often worsted by him, recovered his Strength again every time he touched the Earth, revived with an addition of new Spirits: so the *Danes*, which may seem the sons of *Neptune*, though often beaten by the *English* in land-Battels, no sooner recovered their Ships at Sea, but presently recruiting themselves, they returned from *Denmark*, more numerous and formidable then before. But at last (to follow the Poeticall Fancy) as *Hercules*, to prevent *Antæus* his farther reviving, hoised him aloft, and held him strangled in his Armes, till he was stark dead, and utterly expired: so, to secure the *Danes* from returning to the Sea, who out of the *Thames* had with their Fleet sailed up the River *Ley*, betwixt *Hartfordshire* and *Essex*, *Alfred* with Pioneers divided the grand Stream of *Ley* into severall Rivulets; so that their Ships lay Water-bound, leaving their Mariners to shift for themselves over land, most of which fell into the hands of their *English* Enemies: so that this proved a mortal Defeat to the *Danish* Insolence.

28. *Alfred* having thus reduced *England* to some tolerable terms of Quiet, made most of the *Danes* his Subjects by Conquest, & the rest his Friends by Composition, encountred a fiercer Foe, namely, Ignorance and Barbarisme, which had generally invaded the whole Nation. Insomuch that he writeth, that South of *Thames* he found not any that could read *English*. Indeed in these dayes all men turned Students; but what did they study? onely to live secretly, and safely from the Fury of the *Danes*. And now, that the next Age might be wiser then this, *Alfred* intended the founding of an University at *Oxford*. — The general ignorance in *England*.

29. Indeed, there were anciently standing on the Banks of *Isis* (which in due time commenceth *Thamisis*) two Towns; one *Crekelade*, or *Greeklade*, in *Wiltshire*; the other *Lechlade*, or *Latinlade*, in *Glocestershire*. In the former of these many yeares since (things *time out of mind* must not be condemned as *time out of truth*) the *Greek* Tongue, as in the later the *Latine* Tongue, are said to be publickly professed by Philosophers. But where was *Hebrew-lade*, the *Hebrew* Tongue being more necessarie then both the former, for the understanding of the Old Testament? Alas, in this Age it was banished, not onely out of *England*, but out of Christendome. As in the ordinary method of Nature, the more aged usually die first: so no wonder if *Hebrew* (generally presumed the oldest Language in the world) expired first in this Age of Ignorance, utterly abolished out of the Western Countries. Yea, it is well the other two learned Tongues were preserved in these places; *Crekelade* and *Lechlade* being then Cities of eminent Note, shrunk now to mean Towns, and content with plain *English*, where *Latine* and *Greek* were formerly professed. — Ancient Schools at *Crekelade* and *Lechlade*.

11 — 882 — 30. But now the Muses swam down the Stream of the River *Isis*, to be twenty miles nearer to the rising Sun, and were by King *Alfred* removed from *Crekelade* and *Lechlade*, to *Oxford*, where he founded an University. Yet some say, *Alfred* did find, and not found Letters therein, seeing there was a sprinkling of Students therein before: though Learning was very low, and little therein, till this considerable Accession, when *Alfred* founded therein three Colledges, one for Grammarians, a second for Philosophers, a third for Divines. Take a List of their primitive Professours. — The University first founded by *Alfred* at *Oxford*.

In Divinity { S^t. *Grimbal* / S^t. *Neoth* } In Grammar { *Asserius*, a Monk }

In Logick { *John* of S^t. *Davids* } In Mathematicks { *Ioannes Monachus.* }

It is credibly reported, that what is now called *Vniversity-Colledge*, was then one of King *Alfred*'s Foundations, as the Verses written in their Hall, under his Armes, do attest.

Nobilis Alfredi *sum hæc Insignia, cujus*
Primum construcla est hæc pietate domus.

And from this time Learning flourished here in great Plenty and Abundance, though

Anno Dom. 882

Anno Regni Alfredi seu Aluredi 11

though oft-times abated, the Universities feeling the Impressions of the Common-wealth.

Kings-Hall founded by King *Alfred*. a *Rex Platonicus pag.* 211.

31. At the same time wherein King *Alfred* built *Vniversity Colledge* in *Oxford*, he also founded another House called *Kings-great-Hall* (intimating a lesser hard by) now included within the compasse [a] of *Braxen-nose Colledge*. And hence it is that at this very day it payeth some chief Rent to *Vniversity Colledge*, as the ancient Owner thereof. Here he placed *Iohannes Scotus* (highly endeared in this Kings Affections) Reader therein. On the clearing of whose Extraction and Opinions a long Story doth depend.

The Birth-place of *Io. Scotus.*

b Iac. War. *de Script. Hib. pag.* 43.
c Mercat. *Atlas pag.* 47.
d Eccles. *Hist. Scot. lib.* 1. *num.* 64. & *lib.* 9. *n.* 104.

32. This *Scotus* is called *Iohannes Scotus Erigena*, (with addition sometimes of *Sophista*:) so that all may amount to a kind of *Definition* of him as to his *Individuall Person*. Conceive we *Scotus* for his *Genus*, which because *homonymous* in [b] that Age (as signifying both *Scotland* and *Ireland*) *Erigena* is added for his *Difference*, that is, born (as some will have it) in *Ireland*, called [c] *Erin* in their own Countrey Language. But *Dempster*, a *Scotch* [d] Writer, who will leave nothing that can be gotten above ground (yea, will *dive* and *digge* into the *Water* and *Land* of others) to the credit of his Countrey, claimeth *Scotus* as born in *Scotland*, spelling him *Airigena*, from *Aire*, a small place therein. But besides unanswerable Arguments to the contrary, *gena* is a termination seldome added to so restrictive a word, but (as *Francigena*, *Angligena*) denoteth generally the Nation, not petty place of a mans Extraction. As for *Dempster*, his Credit runneth low with me, ever since he made Pope *Innocentius* the first a *Scotch*-man, because calling himself *Albanus*, (and *Scotland*, forsooth, is *Albania*) it being notoriously known that the said *Innocent* was born at *Long Alba* nigh *Rome*. Yea *Bellarmine* himself said, reading the three books of *Dempster*, wherein he hooketh in so many for his Countrymen, that he thought that if he should add a fourth, he would make JESUS CHRIST himself to be a *Scotch*-man.

Wales it's right to *Scotus* his birth.
e Bale *de Script. Brit. cent. secund. pag.* 124.

33. All this while *Wales* stands modestly silent, with intention to put in her Claim the last to *Scotus* his Nativity, whom many Writers make born at [e] *Saint Davids*. Whilest some will have the Epithet of *Erigena* affixed unto him *quasi* ἠρι γενόμενος, *early-born*, because of the timely rising of his Parts (as a *Morning-starre*) in those dark dayes: which I can better *applaud* for an *ingenious Allusion*, then *approve* for a true and serious *Assertion*. But be *Scotus* born where he please, most sure it is, by King *Alfred* he was made a Professour of Learning in *Oxford*.

Scotus (saith *Cajus*) studied at *Cambridge*.
f Cajus *de Ant. Cant. lib.* 1. *p.* 157.
g Trithemius *& ejus sequaces.*
h *Sr. Isa. Wake in Rex Platonico, pag.* 212.
i Baleus *Cent. secund. ad finem.*
Miserably murdered by his Scholars.

34. I confesse [f] *Cajus* maketh this *John Scotus* Scholar to *Bede* (as many [g] good Authours also do) and brought up at *Cambridge*: to which the Sons of our *Aunt* are loth to consent, that one who was *taught* in *Cambridge*, should *teach* in *Oxford*; and their [h] *eloquent Oratour* falls very foul, save that it is some ease to be railed on in good *Latine*) on him for the same. Now because we *Cambridge*-men are loth to take a *Limbe* of *John Scotus* (or any other Learned man) more then what will come of it self, with the Consent of Chronologie; and because I find [i] *Bale* dislikes the same, chiefly on the account of his improbable Vivacity of an hundred and seventy years; I can be content to resign my particular Title unto him, provided it be without Prejudice to others of our *Vniversity*, who hereafter may challenge him with better Arguments.

35. I much wonder that this *Scotus* should be so degraded in his Old-age from *Oxford* to *Malmesbury*; from a *Professour* in an *Vniversity*, to a *Schoolmaster* in a Countrey-town; where pouring Learning into his Ladds (rather in proportion to the *Plenty* of the *Fountain*, then to the *Receipt* of the *Vessels*) he was severe to such Scholars as were dull in their Apprehensions. This so irritated their Anger against him, that by an *universall Conspiracy* they dispatched him in the *School* with their Pen-knives. I find not what Punishment was inflicted upon them: *Whipping* being too *little*, if *sturdy* Youths; and *Hanging* too *much*, if but *little* Boyes. Onely I observe one *Cassianus*, a Schoolmaster in

Primi-

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Primitive times, sent the same way on the same Occasion; his Death being elegantly described by [a] *Prudentius*.

36. All the Amends which is made to the Memory of *Scotus* is, that he was made a Martyr after his Death, and his *Anniversary* is remembred in the *Kalendar* on the fourth of the Ides of *November*, in the *Roman Martyrologie*, set forth at *Antwerp* 1586. by the command of *Gregory* the thirteenth. But since *Baronius* hath *unmartyred* him; and that on good reason, saith [b] *Henry Fitz-Simon*, attesting that an *Apologie* is provided, confirmed with approbation of many *Popes*, *Cardinalls*, and many learned Doctours, justifying *Baronius* therein, which we, as yet, have not beheld. Indeed *Scotus* detested some Superstitions of the times, especially about the *Presence* in the *Lords Supper*; and I have [c] read that his Book *de Eucharistia* was condemned in the *Vercellian Synod*, for some Passages therein, by Pope *Leo*. This makes it suspicious, that some *Hands* of *more age* and *Heads* of *more Malice*, then School-boyes, might guide the Pen-knives which murdered *Scotus*, because of his known Opposition against some Practises and Opinions of that ignorant Age.

37. It is much that this *Scotus*, though carrying in his Name a Comment on himself, that all should not suffice so distinctly to expound him to some Apprehensions, but that still they confound him with others of his Name; sometimes with *Iohannes Scotus* [d] *Mailrossius*, sometimes with *Iohn Dunce Scotus*; though indeed there be Difference enough of Time, Place, and other distinguishing Characters, betwixt them. Our present *Scotus* being most probably an *Irishman*, a great *Linguist* in the *learned Tongues*, a *vast Traveller* into the *Eastern parts*, a *Monk* by *profession*, killed and buried at *Malmesbury*. The other *Scotus* born in *Northumberland*, *skilled* onely (and that but meanly) in *Latine*, never travelling farther then *France*, and the hither part of *Germany*, a *Franciscan* by his Order, *dying* of an *Apoplexy*, and buried at *Colen*; of whom (God willing) largely hereafter.

38. To return to King *Alfred*. As for the Maintenance of the Scholars, it issued forth annually from *Alfred*'s Exchequer, who made a fourefold [e] division of his Wealth; understand it of the Surplusage thereof, more then what his Court and Camp expended: One part to the Poor, of all kinds, that came and craved of him; a second to the Monasteries of his own Erection; a third to the School, understand *Oxford*, which he himself had founded; the fourth, and last, to the neighbouring Monasteries round about. However, we may easily believe that after his Death, the Students of *Oxford* were often at a losse of Livelihood. For, seeing the Coffers of the greatest Kings (especially in the time of War) are subject to a Drought of Coin, there must needs be a Dearth in those Colledges, which are watered thence for their Maintenance. Scholars *may* in time of Peace, but Souldiers *must* be paid in time of War. Wherefore, the most certain Subsistence for Scholars (so far forth as inconstant things, as all Sublunary, can be made constant) is, what ariseth from solid Lands, wherewith they are endowed. For, though even such Revenues are subject to Casualties, yet some Water will ever be running, though the Tide thereof may *ebb*, or *flow*, according to the fall, or rise of Commodities.

14 — 885

39. But it is hard so to compose two Swarms of Bees in one Hive, but that they will fall out, and fight. The Colledge of Logick, it seems, from the Foundation thereof, studied Divisions, as well as Distinctions; there happening a dangerous Difference betwixt the *Aborigines* and the *Advenæ*, the old Stock of Students, and the new Store brought in by S^t. *Grimball*: the former, standing on their Seniority, expected more Respect unto themselves, deriving their Priviledges from their learned Auncestors, time out of mind; which the *Grimballists* would not consent unto. Both sides appealed to *Alfred*, as their Patron. He coming to *Oxford*, carried himself with much moderation, as accounting that Agreement most durable, into which the parties were perswaded, not commanded. *Grimball*, expecting King *Alfred*'s zealous ingaging on his side, according

a Prudentius *in his book peristephanon.* Unmartyred by *Baronius.*

b *Ita 2. edit. Cand. 55. Hib.*

c Ioh. Parisiensis *Hist. in anno* 877.

Scotus confounded with other of his namesakes.

d Iohn Bale *ut prius.*

The Scholars maintenance out of the Kings Exchequer.

e *Asserius Menevensis in Alfredo.*

Dissention betwixt the Students at *Oxford.*

ding to the conceived merits of his Cause, was not a little offended, that the King did not appear more resolute in his behalf. Insomuch that he forsook *Oxford*, wherein he had formerly built the Church of S^t. *Peter* from the very Foundation, with Stone most curiously wrought and polished, and translated both himself, and his intended Tombe thence to *VVinchester*. Anno Dom. 885. Anno Regni Alfredi seu Aluredi 14.

The Armes of *Oxford*, a Brian Twine in Apolog. Antiq. Oxon.

40. An [a] Antiquary tells us, that the ancient Armes were assigned to *Oxford* about this time, namely, in a Field Azure, a Bible with seven Seales appendant thereunto, opened (at the beginning of S^t. *Johns* Gospel, *In the beginning was the Word*, &c.) betwixt three Crowns Or: which three Crowns (saith he) signifie the three Senses of the Scripture: in the which, I confesse, I do not understand him. For, either we must admit but one Sense of the Scripture, as principally intended therein (which is the generall Opinion of the Protestants:) or, if with the Papists, we will allow moe Senses then one, we must conclude [b] four, namely, the literall, allegoricall, morall, and anagogicall. What if the *three Crowns* import the *three Professions* which *Alfred* here founded, and all necessary to the understanding of the *Book* betwixt them? *Grammar*, to understand the *Letter*; *Philosophy*, the *Reason*; and *Divinity*, the *Mystery* of the Scripture.

b Aquinas Summes, qu. 1. Art. 10.

41. One of the first Scholars of Note, whom I find bred in *Oxford*, was one *Dunwolphus*, once a Swineheard in *Athelney*, when *Alfred* lurked therein, being the Kings Host, who entertained him, or rather his Master, whom the King served. *Alfred* perceiving in him pregnancy of Parts (though stifled with the Narrownesse, and cripled with the Lowneſse of his Vocation) sent him to [c] *Oxford*, where he became, after some yeares study, Doctour in Divinity, and was by the King, in Gratitude, preferred to be Bishop of [d] *VVinchester*. But the Monks of *VVinchester* are so proud and sullen, they disdain to accept this man for their Bishop, affirming, that their See stood void at this time; more willing to confesse a Vacancy, then admit a Swineheard into their Episcopall Chaire. Whereas surely *Alfred*, so great a Scholar, and good a man, would not have advanced him *per saltum*, from a Swineheard to a Bishop, had he not been qualified by intermediate Degrees of Education. For mine own part, I see no reason why *VVinchester* should be ashamed of him; and for ought I know, *Dunwolph* might be as good a Bishop as *Dunstan*, of whom the Monks of *VVinchester* so boast, both without cause, and measure. 887. 16

One (once a swineheard, made Bishop of *Winchester*.

c Godwin in his Bishops of Winchester, pag. 263.

d Malmesb. lib. 2. de Gest. Pontificum.

e See Mr. Isaak Loves Chronology in Catal. of Bishops.

42. *Councils* (except *Councils of VVarre*) were very rare in this Age. The [e] first I find a solemn one, celebrated by King *Alfred*; the place not expressed, but the Canons therein fairly transmitted to Posterity. The Preface of these Canons is very remarkable, consisting of three parts.

The preface to the Canons made by King *Alfred*.

f Sr. Henry Spelman's Counc. p. 354.

1. The ten Commandments translated into *Saxon*, as being the *Basis* and Foundation of all Humane Laws.
2. Severall pieces of Chapters in *Exodus*, being the Breviate of the Judiciall Law of the *Jews*; which though in the Latitude thereof calculated only for the *Jewish* Common-wealth, yet the Morall Equity therein obligeth all Christians.
3. The fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, containing the Council of *Jerusalem*, as being a Divine Precedent, or Warrant for Christians to convene together, and conclude Orders for regulating mens Conversations.

It is remarkable, that in the aforesaid ten Commandments, as exemplified in this Council of *Alfred*, the second Commandment is wholly expunged; Image-worship beginning then to grow common in the world, and the Clergy, who gained thereby (hating the second Commandement, on the same ac-

Anno Regni Alfredi seu Aluredi 16 | Anno Dom. 887 | account as *Ahab* did [a] *Micaiah*, because it ever *propheſied evill* unto them) daſhed it out of the Decalogue. The worſt is, when this was wanting, the *Decalogue* was but an *Ennealogue*; and therefore to preſerve the number of ten, the Papiſts generally cleave the laſt Commandment into two: but in *Alfred*'s Preface, this is made the tenth and laſt Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not worſhip Gods of Gold and Silver*. Which, as it comes in out of it's proper place, (and why ſhould not Gods Order be obſerved, as well as his Number, in the Commandments?) ſo is it defectively rendered, nothing ſo full againſt graven-Images, as God propounded it. The Canons made in this Council fall under a three-fold Conſideration. Some relate onely to the Common-wealth, and by us may properly be forborn. Others concern onely Monks and Friers, (a ſixth Finger, and no neceſſary Member of the Church:) and, as *Abbo moritur cum perſona*; ſo with the Extirpation of thoſe Convents, thoſe Canons may ſeem to expire. | a 1 King. 22. 8

18 | 889 | 43. *Plegmund* an Eremite in the Iſle of *Cheſter* (now called *Plegmundſham*) Tutour to King *Alfred*, was by him preferred to be Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, then a miſerable place, as hardly recovered from the late Sacking of the *Danes*. By the Kings command, he called the Clergy of *England* together, and made a Collection of Almes, to be ſent to *Rome* and *Ieruſalem*: and *Athelm*, Arch-biſhop of *York*, was imployed in the Journey, going perſonally to the aforeſaid Places, to ſee the *Contribution* there faithfully delivered, and equally diſtributed. | A generall Contribution to *Rome* and *Ieruſalem*.

900 | 44. About the end of this Century died worthy King *Alfred*, remarkable to Poſterity on many Accounts, whereof this not the leaſt, That he turned *Davids* Pſalms into *Engliſh*; ſo that a *Royall Text* met with a *Royall Tranſlatour*. He left his Crown to *Edward* his Sonne (commonly called the Elder) farre inferiour to his Father in *Skill* in, but not ſo much in his *Love* to good Literature. Indeed he had an excellent Tutour, *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, Arch-biſhop of *St. Davids*, (the faithfull Writer of his Fathers Actions) ſuppoſed by ſome Biſhop of *Sherburn*, which is denied by [b] others, (though one of the ſame name was ſome yeares before) as inconſiſtent with Chronologie. | Death of King *Alfred*.

b Iames Uſher *de Brit. Eccleſ. primord. in Indice Chronolog. p.* 1177.

45. As for the principall Clergy-men extant at this time, we take ſpeciall notice of two: the one, *Berthulf*, Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, made one of the *Guardians* of the Realm againſt the Incurſion of the *Danes*; the other, *Halard*, Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*, advanced alſo into the ſame Employment. But alaſs, what weak *Guardians* were theſe to defend the Land, which could not ſecure their own *Sees*! And in what Capacity (ſave in *Prayers* and *Teares*) were they able to make any Reſiſtance? for now the *Danes* not onely aſſailed the Skirts and Out-ſides of the Land, but alſo made Inrodes many miles into the Continent thereof. Inſomuch that *VVincheſter* lay void ſix, and *Sherburn* ſeven yeares; ſuch the Pagan Fury, that none durſt offer to undertake thoſe Places. | Weak Guardians God wote.

46. True it is, the *Engliſh* oftentimes in Battell got the Advantage of them; when the *Pagan Danes* being conquered had but one way to ſhift for themſelves, namely, to counterfeit themſelves Chriſtians, and embrace Baptiſme: but no ſooner had they got Power again into their hands, but that they turning Apoſtates were ten times more cruell then ever before. Thus ſucceſſively was the Land affected with *Sickneſſe*, *Recovery*, and *Relapſes*; the peoples Condition being ſo much the more diſconſolate, becauſe promiſing a Continuance of Happineſſe to themſelves upon their Victories, they were on their Overthrows remanded to the ſame, if not a worſe Condition. | The wofull eſtate of the *Engliſh*.

47. It is ſtrange to obſerve the *Alternations of Succeſſe* between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*, how exactly they *took their Turns*; God uſing them to *hold up one another*, whileſt he juſtly *beat both*. Mean time commendable the Temper | The commendable temper of King *Alfred* and King *Edward*.

Temper of late King *Alfred*, and present King *Edward*, it being true of each of them. Anno Dom. 900 Anno Regni

Si modo Victus erat, ad craſtina bella parabat;
Si modo Victor erat, ad craſtina bella timebat.

If that it happ't that *Conquered* was he,
Next day to fight he quickly did prepare;
But if he chanc't the *Conqueror* to be,
Next day to fight he wiſely did beware.

But theſe things we leave to the Hiſtorians of the State to proſecute, and confine our ſelves onely to matters of Eccleſiaſticall cognizance.

THE

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

Iacobo Langham, Armigero, amplissimi Senatoris Londinensis Primogenito.

DEcimam *hanc* Centuriam *tibi dedicandam curavi, quòd Numerus Denarius semper aliquid augustum sonet. Sic in Papicolarum Globulis, quibus preculas suas numerant, decimus* (*ut* Decurio) *aliis magnitudine præstat.*

At dices; Centuria hæc inter Ecclesiasticos *audit* infelix, *cùm suâ tantùm Obscuritate sit illustris. Quid* Tibi igitur, *Felicissimo Viro, cui lætum Ingenium, lauta Hæreditas, cum* infelici Seculo?

Verbo expediam. Volui Nomen Tuum *Historiæ meæ hic prætendi, ut instar* Phosphori, *Lectores in hac* tenebrosa Ætate *oberrantes, splendoris sui Radiis dirigat.*

Percurras, quæso, insequentes paginas; nihil Scientiæ, *aliquid* Voluptatis *tibi allaturas. Quo cum nemo sit in ipsis Elegantiarum apicibus Latinior, probe scio,* Te *perquam suaviter risurum, cum* Diploma Edvardinum, *nimia Barbarie scatens, perlegeris.*

Edvardi Senioris 3 | 904 | 1. AT this time there was a great Dearth of *Bishops* in the *Land*, which lasted for seven yeares (as long as the *Famine* in *Ægypt*) during which time, there was no *Bishop* in all the *West* parts of *England*. Pope *Formosus* was foully offended hereat, and thereupon, *cum magna Iracundia & Devotione, with much Passion and Piety*, by his *Curse* and *Excommunication*, interdicted King, Kingdome, and all the Subjects therein. We cannot but gaze at the Novelty of this act, (as we conceive, a leading Case in this kind) whilest the skilfull in the *Canon Law* can give an account of the Equity of the *Popes* Proceedings, why *all* should suffer for *some*, the *guiltlesse* with the *guilty*, and have the *Word* and *Sacraments* taken from them, for the want of Bishops in other places: otherwise, the Punishment seemeth unjust in the rigid justice thereof, and (if not heavier) larger then the Offence, and beareth no Proportion with common Equity, Christian Charity, and Gods Proceedings, who saith, *the soul that sinneth, shall dye.*

England interdicted by the Pope for want of Bishops.

a *Archiv. Cant. in Regist. Priorat. Eccles. Cant. fol.* 3. b.

2. Notwithstanding, this *excommunicating* of K. *Edward* by the *Pope* is highly urged:

The Character of those

Kings on whom the Pope most improved himself.

urged by [a] *Parsons*, to prove the *Popes* Power in *England* over Princes, according to his constant Solœcisme clean through the tenure of his Book, to reason *à Facto ad Ius*, arguing from the *Popes* barely doing it, that he may justly do it. We deny not but that in this Age, active and ambitious *Popes* mightily improved their Power upon five sorts of Princes. First, on such as were *lazy*, and *voluptuous*; who, on condition they might enjoy their Sports and Delights for the present, cared not for their Posterity. Secondly, on such as were openly *vicious*, and so obnoxious to Censure; who would part with any thing, out of the apprehension of their Guiltinesse. Thirdly, on such as were *tender*, and *easie-natured*; who gave, not so much out of Bounty to give, as out of Bashfulnesse to deny the *Popes* Importunity. Fourthly, on those of a *timorous* spirit; who were affrighted with their own Fancies of the *Popes* Terriblenesse, and being captivated unto him by their own Fear, they ransomed themselves at what Price he pleased. Lastly, on *pious* Princes; whose blind Zeal, and misled Devotion, thought nothing too precious for him: in which form we rank this *Edward* the Elder, then King of *England*. And it is worth our observing, that in point of Power and Profit, what the *Popes* once get, they ever hold, being as good at keeping, as catching; so that what one got by Encroching, his *Successour* prescribed that Encrochment for a *Title*, which whether it will hold good in matter of Right, it is not for an *Historian* to dispute.

[a] *In his answer to the Lord Cooks Report, pag. 136. cap. 6.*

The Pope pleased, and *England* absolved again.

3. But to return to our Story. We are glad to see *Malmesbury* so merry, who calleth this Passage of the Popes interdicting *England*, *Iocundum memoratu, pleasant to be reported*, because it ended so well. For *Pleigmund* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* posted to *Rome*, bringing with him *honorifica munera*, (such Ushers will make one way through the thickest *Croud to the Popes Presence*) informing his *Holinesse* that *Edward*, King of *England*, in a late-summoned *Synod*, had founded some new, and supplied all old vacant *Bishopricks*. Pacified herewith the *Pope* turned his *Curse* into a *Blessing*, and ratified their Elections. The worst is, a learned [b] *Pen* tells me, that in this Story there is an *inextricable* Errour in point of Chronology, which will not suffer Pope *Formosus* and this King *Edward* the Elder to meet together. And *Baronius* makes the Mistake worse, by endeavouring to mend it. I have so much Warinesse, as not to enter into that *Labyrinth*, out of which I cannot return; but leave the Doubt to the *Popes Datarie* to clear, proper to him, as versed in such matters. The same [c] Pen informs me, that the sole way to reconcile the Difference is, to read Pope *Leo* the fifth instead of Pope *Formosus*: which for Quietnesse I am content to do, the rather, because such a *Roaring Curse* best beseems the mouth of a *Lion*.

[b] *Sir* Henry Spelman *in Conciliis, pag. 389.*

[c] *Idem ibidem*

Vacant Bishopricks supplied, and new erected.

4. Hear now the names of the seven Bishops which *Pleigmund* consecrated in one day: a great dayes-work, and a good one, if all were fit for the Function. *Wildstan* Bishop of *Winchester*, (a Learned and Holy man) *Werstan* of *Shireburn*, *Kinulfe* of *Dorchester*, *Beornege* of *Selsey*, *Athelme* of *Wells*, *Eadulfe* of *Crediton* in *Devon*, and *Athelstan* in *Cornwall* of S^t. *Petrocks*. These three last *Western Bishopricks*, were in this Council newly erected. But S^t. *Petrocks* had never long any settled Seat, being much in motion, translated from *Bodman* in *Cornwall* (upon the wasting of it by the *Danes*) to S^t. *Germans* in the same County, and afterward united to *Crediton* in *Devonshire*. This *Bishopriek* was founded principally for the reduction of the rebellious *Cornish* to the *Romish Rites*; who as they used the Language, so they imitated the Lives and Doctrine of the ancient *Britans*, neither hitherto, nor long after submitting themselves to the *See Apostolick*.

King *Edward* in a new Synod confirms his fathers constitutions

5. A Synod was called at *Intingford*, where *Edward* the Elder, and *Guthurn* King of the *Danes*, in that part of *England* which formerly belonged to the *East-Angles*, onely confirmed the same [d] ecclesiasticall Constitutions, which *Alured*, *Edwards* Father, with the said *Guthurn*, had made before. Here the curious *Palats* of our Age will complain of *Crambe*, that two Kings, with their *Clergy*, should meet together onely *actum agere, to do what was done to their hands*. But whilest some count all Councils idle, which do not add or alter others

[d] *Lambert in his Saxon Laws, and Sir* Henry Spelman *in his Councils, pag. 390.*

Anno Dom. 904 — Anno Reg. Edwardi Sen. 3

906 — 5

Anno Regis Edvardi Sen. 5 | Anno Dom. 906

others will commend their Diſcretion, who can diſcern what is well ordered already, approve their Policie, in enjoyning ſuch things unto others, and principally praiſe their Piety, for practiſing them in themſelves. And whoſoever looks abroad into the world, with a judicious Eye, will ſoon ſee, that there is not ſo much need of New Laws, (the Multitude whereof rather cumbers mens Memories, then quickens their Practiſe) as an abſolute neceſſity to enforce Old Laws, with a new and vigorous Execution of them.

14 915

6. And now King *Edward*, remembring the pious Example of his Father *Alfred* in founding of *Oxford*, began to repair and reſtore the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. For the *Danes* (who made all the Sea-coaſts of *England* their Haunt, and kept the Kingdome of the *East-Angles* for their Home) had baniſhed all Learning from that place; *Apollo*'s Harp being ſilenced by *Mars* his Drum: till this Kings Bounty brought Learning back again thither, as by his following Charter may appear.

Cambridge Univerſity repaired by King *Edward*.

'*In*[a] *nomine D. Ieſu Chriſti. Ego* Edwardus, *Dei gratia, Rex* Anglorum, '*divino compulſus amore, præcepto* Joannis, *Apoſtolicæ Sedis Epiſcopi*, ac 'Pleigmundi Cantuar. *Archiepiſc. conſilio, omnium Sacerdotum & Prin-* 'cipum meæ Dominationis, *univerſa & ſingula Privilegia, Doctoribus &* 'Scholaribus Cantabrigiæ, *nec non ſervientibus eorundem, (uti ab olim vi-* 'guit indeſinenter Mater Philoſophia, *& reperitur in præſenti Fons Cleri-* 'moniæ,) *a me data, ſeu ab Anteceſſoribus meis quomodo libet conceſſa, ſta-* 'bili jure grata & rata decerno durare, *quamdiu vertigo Poli circa Terras* 'atq; Æquora Æthera Syderum juſto moderamine volvet. *Datum in* 'Grantecestria, *anno ab Incarnatione D.* 915. *venerabili Fratri* Frith-'ſtano, *Civitatis Scholarium* Cantabrig. *Cancellario, & Doctori per* 'ſuum, &c.

a *Charta extat in MS. codice qui* Cantabrigiæ *eſt in* Aula Clarenſi, *ejuſdem meminit* Tho. Rudburn, *nec non* Ioh. Roſſus.

The Credit of this Charter is queſtioned by ſome, becauſe of the barbarous Stile thereof: as if an Univerſity were disgraced with honourable Priviledges granted unto it in baſe *Latine*. But know, that Age was ſo poor in Learning, it could not go to the Coſt of good *Language*. Who can look to find a fair *Face* in the hoteſt parts of *Æthiopia*? Thoſe Times were ignorant: and as it is obſerved of the Country-people born at the Village of[b] *Carlton* in *Leiceſterſhire*, that they have all (proceeding from ſome ſecret cauſe in their Soil or Water) a ſtrange uncouth *VVharling* in their Speech; ſo it was proper to the perſons writing in this Age, to have a harſh, unpleaſant, grating Stile, (and ſo much the ſowrer to Criticall Eares, the more it is ſweetned with an affected *Rhythm*,) though a Blemiſh, yet a Badge of their genuine Deeds, which were paſſed in thoſe times.

b Camden's *Brit. in* Leiceſterſhire, *pag.* 517.

7. Hear alſo what *Iohn Rouſe*, an excellent *Antiquary*, furniſhed by King *Edward* the fourth with Privacy and Penſion, to collect the Monuments of this *Land*, alleageth to this purpoſe. Who being bred in *Oxford*, and having written a Book in confutation of thoſe which deduce the Foundation of this *Vniverſity* from *Cantaber*, may be preſumed will allow *Cambridge* no more then what in right is due unto her. He ſpeaking of[c] King *Edward* the Elder, out of an ancient Table and Chronicle of *Hyde* Abbey by *VVincheſter*, which himſelf by the favour of the *Abbot* peruſed, reporteth of the Reſtauration of decayed *Cambridge* at this time, in manner as followeth.

The Teſtimony of *Iohn Rouſe* concerning K. *Edward*'s repairing of *Cambridge*.

c *Baleus Cent.* 8. *numero* 53.

Ioh. Roſſus in lib. de Regibus.

Propterea ad Clerimoniam augmentandam, ſicut Pater ſuus Oxoniam, *ſic ipſe ab antiquo cum cæteris Studiis generalibus ſuſpenſam, deſolatam, & deſtructam* Cantabrigiam, *iterum ad primam Gloriam erexit*:

Therefore for the augmentation of Clerklike Learning, as his Father had done to *Oxford*, ſo he again raiſed up *Cambridge* to her firſt Glory, which for a long time, with other generall Schools, had been ſuſpended, deſolate, and deſtroyed:

nec non ibi Aulas Studientium, & Doctorum Magistrorumque Cathedras & Sedilia, ut dilectissimus Cleri nutritor, amator, & defensor, suis sumtibus erigi & fabricari præcepit. Ab Oxonia *namque Vniversitate, quã Pater suus nobilis Rex erexerat, Magistros Artiũ quas* liberales *vocamus, pariter in sacra Theologia Doctores, advocavit, ibiq; ad legendũ formaliter, & docendũ invitavit.*

as also, like a most loving Nourisher of the Clergie, he commanded that Halls for Students, Chairs and Seats of Doctors and Masters, should there be erected, & built on his own proper Charges: for he called from *Oxford* Universitie, which his noble Father the King had erected, Masters of those Arts which we call *liberall*, together with Doctors in holy Divinity, and invited them there formally to read and teach.

Anno Dom. 915 — Anno Regni Edvardi Sen. 14

Cambridge represented in a three-fold estate.

8. Have we here *Cambridge* presented in a three-fold Condition. First, what she had been long before King *Edward*'s time; fairly flourishing with Learning. Secondly, in what case he found her; desolate, and decayed. Then the *Cup* of *Cambridge* was at the *bottom*, her *Breasts dry*, and her *Sun* in an *Eclipse*. She was, saith *Rosse*, *suspended*, not by the power of any *Popes Keyes* (as the word may import,) but by the force of *Pagan Swords*, who here interrupted the exercise of Acts and publick Lectures; as in *Spain*, *Germany*, and other *Forrein* Parts, places appointed for *Learning* had shared in the like Calamity. Thirdly, in what condition *Edward* left her; under whom, as under *the Father of the Act*, *Cambridge* it self did then *Commence* and take a new *Degree*. Happy this *Edward*, who like a wealthy *Landlord* had two *Nurseries* of *choice Fruit*; so that if the one, by any sad accident, chanced to faile, he could supply it from the other, without being beholding to his Neighbours. This was the Love betwixt the two *Sisters*; what either had, neither could want, and *Oxford*, which lent now, borrowed another time, as in due place shall appear. If the same *Authour*[a] elsewhere calleth this King *Edward* Founder of *Cambridge*, it is by an easie and obvious Errour, because a totall *Repairer* doth amount to a partiall *Founder*. Nor doth *Cambridge* regret thereat; seeing Gratefull Expressions, which had rather transgresse in the Excesse, then the Defect, may in Courtesy call their *Mender*, their *Maker*.

a *In his Catalogue of the Earles of* Warwick.

The principall Laws enacted in the Council at *Greatlea*.

9. *Athelstan* his Son succeeded King *Edward*, being much devoted to St. *Iohn* of *Beverley*; on whose Church he bestowed a *Freed-Stool*, with large Priviledges belonging thereunto, Many Councils were kept in this Kings Reign, at *Excester*, *Feversham*, *Thunderfield*, and *London* (all of them of uncertain Date.) But one held at *Greatlea* is of greatest account for the Lawes therein enacted; the principall here insuing.

924 Athelstani 1

928 5

1. *That the Kings Officers should truely pay Tithes, out of his Demesnes, as well of his quick Cattel, as dead Commodities.*
2. *That* Cyricsceat (that is, First-fruits of Seeds) *be duely payed to God in his Church.*
3. *That the Kings Officers maintain one Poore-body in the Kings Villages; and in case none be found therein, fetch him from other places.*

[*Christ* saith, The *poor* you have alwayes with you. The *Church in generall* is well *stockt* with them, though some particular Parish may want such as are in Want. If any would know the Bill of Fare allowed these poore people; It was monthly a Measure of Meale, *una Perna*, a Gammon of Bacon, A *Ramm worth a Groat*, four Cheeses, & 30. Pence on *Easter*-Wednesday to buy them Cloaths.]

4. *That Moneyers wilfully corrupting the Coyn, and found guilty, have their Hands cut off, and nailed to the Mint-house.*

[Every Burrough was allowed one Mint therein: but besides these,

Hastings	one	*Exeter*[b]	two	*Canterbury*	seven
Cirencester	one	*Hampton*	two	(*viz*) For the King	four
Shastsbury	two	*Lewes*	two	For the Arch-bishop	two
Wareham	two	*Rochester*	three	For the Abbot	one
		Winchester	six	*London*	eight

b *So in the Saxon Manuscript, though in libro Iornalensi by mistake* Oxonia *is put for* Exonia.

[Most

Anno Regis Athelstani 5 | Anno Dom. 928

Most of these places were anciently in the *West-Saxon* Kingdome: to whom the *English* Monarchs were most favourable, in doubling their Priviledge of Coynage, but single in other places of greater Capacity.]

5. *That such who were tryed by* Ordall, *should ceremoniously be prepared thereunto with the solemn manner of managing that Tryall.*

6. *That no Buying or Selling be on the Lords-Day.*

[This took not full effect for many yeares after; for *Henry* [a] the first granted to *Battel* Abbey a Market to be kept on that Day; lately (at the motion of *Anthony* Marquess *Montacute*) by Act of Parliam. removed to another Day.]

a Camden's *Brit. in* Sussex.

7. *That one convicted of Perjurie, shall be trusted no more on his Oath, nor be buried in Holy earth, except restored by the Bishop on his Penance.*

8. *That Witches, confessing themselves to have killed any, be put to death.*

[Such as were suspected, and denied the Fact, might be tried by *Ordall*: which was done either by Fire, whereof hereafter; or by Water. Of the later, *Mergator una ulna & dimidia in fune*: which I thus understand; Let the Party be tied to a Rope, and drencht an Ell and half above his own Height. And this is the first footstep we find of *Swimming of Witches*; for which no *Law*, save *Custome*, at this day; and that whether *just* in it self, and *satisfactory* (as a means proportionable for the discovery of the Truth) is not my work to determine. Whosoever desires to have more exact Information of this Council, may repair to Sir *Henry* [b] *Spelman*, where he may receive plentifull Satisfaction.

b *In his Councils, pag.* 396. *& sequentibus.*

10. Onely I must not omit one Passage in this Council, acquainting us with the Herauldry of that Age, and the Distances and Degrees of Persons, collected from their *VVeers* or *VVeer-Gilds*, that is Taxes, and Valuations; it being truly to be said in that Age,

Dignities and degrees amongst the *Saxons*.

Quantum quisque sua Nummorum servat in Arca,
Tantum habet et Fidei ———

Every ones Testimony in Law-cases in Courts was credited according to his Wealth.

1. *Ceorles* (whence our Northern word *Carles*, and common word *Churles*) being Countrey Clowns, whose *VVeer-gild* was 200. shillings, or 10. pounds; the same with *Villanes*, who held land in *Villanage* of others. These, if by Blessing on their Industry they rose so high as to have five *Hides* of Land of their own, with a place in the Kings Court, and some other Priviledges, now hardly to be understood, were advanced to be *Thanes*.

2. The *VVeer-gild*, or Value of a *Thane*, was six times as much as a Churle, or a Villane, namely twelve times a hundred shillings, therefore termed a *twelve-hind-man*: whose Oath in Law was equivalent to six Oaths of Churles, or Villanes; as a Shilling passing in Payment countervaileth six two-pences. Note, that if a *Masseer*, or Merchant, pass the great Sea thrice (understand the Mediterranian, not the Narrow Seas betwixt us and *France*) and not in the Notion of a Servant, but on his own account; he then was dignified with the reputation of a *Thane*. These *Thanes* were of two sorts: *Meset Thanes*, Priests qualified to say Masse; and *VVorould-Thanes*, that is, secular, or temporall *Thanes*.

3. Of the first, if a Scholar made such proficiency in his Studies, that he took holy Orders, he was reverently respected, and (though not valued as a *VVorould-Thane* in Rates and Taxes) Amends were to be made for any Wrongs done unto him, equall to a *Thane*; and in case he should be kill'd, the Penalty thereof was the higher, the more Orders the person had taken. Observe by the way (so far as we can understand the *Saxon* Laws) that *Man-slaughter* was not then punished with Death, but might be redeemed by the proportionable Payment of a Summe of Mony, according to the Quality of the Person slain; part thereof payable to the King, part to his Kindred, part to the Countrey thereabouts.

But the further prosecution hereof, (where the Footsteps are almost out-worn

with Time) we leave to more expert Antiquaries; who will tell you, that *Alderman* in that Age was equall to our modern *Earle*, who with Bishops were of the same Valuation: also that *Comes* in that Age, sounded as much as *Duke* in ours, Arch-bishops going along with them in all considerable Equipage.

Anno Dom. 928 | Ann. Reg. Adel. stan 3

Dunstan his first coming into favour at the Court.

11. Now began S^t. *Dunstan* to appear in Court, born at *Glassenbury*, of Noble Parentage (as almost what Saint in this Age was not honourably extracted?) Nephew both to *Elphegus* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Athelm* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, yea Kinsman remote to King *Athelstane* himself: and being thus highly related, he could not misse of Preferment. His Eminencies were Painting and Graving (two Qualities disposing him to be very usefull for Saint-worshipping, either for Pictures or Images) an excellent Musician (Preaching in those dayes could not be heard for Singing in Churches) & an admirable Worker in Brass and Iron. These Accomplishments commended him at Court to be acceptable to Company; and for some time he continued with the King in great Reputation. 933 | 10

Banished thence on suspicion of Magick.

12. But it is given to that Bowle which lyes next to the Mark, to have most take aime to remove it. Eminency occasions Envy, which made *Dunstan*'s Enemies endeavour to depresse him. He is accused to the King for a Magician, and upon that account banished the Court. It was brought as Evidence against him, that he made his Harp not onely to have Motion, but make musick of it self, which no *White Art* could perform. 935 | 12

S^t. Dunstan's *Harp fast by the Wall*
Vpon a Pin did hang-a:
The Harp it self, with Ly and all,
Vntoucht by hand did twang-a.

For our part, let *Dunstan*'s Harp hang there still, on a double Suspicion twisted together; first, whether this Story thereof were true or false: secondly, if true, whether done by Magick or Miracle. Sure I am, as good a Harper, and a better Saint then *Dunstan* was, hath no such Miracle reported of him, even *David* himself: who with his Harp praised God, pleased men, [a] frighted Devils; yet took pains with his own right [b] Hand to play, not lazily commanding Musick by Miracle to be made on his Instrument.

a 1 *Sam.* 16. 23
b *Psal.* 137. 5.

He retires unto his Cell-prison at *Glassenbury*

13. Banish'd from Court, *Dunstan* returns to *Glassenbury*, and there falls a puffing and blowing in his Forge. Here he made himself a Cell (or rather a *Little-ease*) being but four foot long, two and a half broad (enough to cripple his joynts with the Cramp, who could not lye along therein) whilest the height thereof was according to the stature of a man. Wisely and vertuously he would not confine himself upwards, that the Scantness of the earthly Dimensions in his Cell (Breadth and Length) might be enlarged in the Height thereof, and liberty left for the ascending of his Meditations. But it matters not how little the Prison be, if a man, with *Dunstan*, be his own Gaoler, to go in and out at pleasure. Leave we him at the Furnace in Smithery-work (excelling *Alexander the Copper-smith* therein) whilest we find such Monks as wrote his Life, at another Forge, whence they coined many impudent Miracles, pretended done by *Dunstan*, and this among the rest. 937 | 14

Takes a devil by the nose.

14. *Dunstan* was in his Vocation making some iron Trinkets, when a *Proteus*-Devil appeared unto him, changing into Shapes, but fixing himself at last into the form of a Fair Woman. Strange, that *Satan* (so subtil in making his Temptations most taking) should preferre this form; belike shrewdly guessing at *Dunstan*'s Temper, that a Fair Woman might work upon him, and *Vulcan* might love a *Venus*. *Dunstan* perceiving it, pluckt his Tongs glowing hot out of the Fire, and with them kept him (or her shall I say?) there a long time by the Nose roaring and bellowing, till at last he brake loose, by what accident it is not told unto us. 938 | 15

This false miracle canvased.

15. I have better imployment then to spend precious time in confuting such Follies;

Anno Regni Athelstani | Anno Dom.

Follies; but give me leave to admire at these new Armes against Satan.* *Take the shield of Faith* (saith the Apostle) *wherewith ye may quench all the fiery Darts of the Wicked.* *Dunstan* found a new way by himself, with fiery Tongs to do the deed. But let us a little examine this Miracle. The Devil himself we know is a Spirit, and so impatible of materiall Fire. Now if it were a reall Body he assumed, the Snake could slip off his Skin at pleasure, and not be tied to it, much lesse tormented with it. Besides, did *Dunstan* willingly or unwillingly let the Devil go? If willingly; Mercy to so malicious an Enemy (incapable of being amended) was Cruelty to himself: if unwillingly; was it *Dunstan*'s *Fire* or his *Faith* that fail'd him, that he could hold out against him no longer? But away with all Suspicions and Queries: none need to doubt of the truth thereof, finding it in a *Sign* painted in *Fleet-street* near *Temple-barre*.

* Eph. 6. 16.

15 | 938

16. During *Dunstan*'s abode in his Cell, he had to his great Comfort and Contentment the company of a good Lady, *Aelfgine* by name, living fast by. No Preacher but *Dunstan* would please her, being so ravisht with his Society, that she would needs build a little Cell for her self hard by him. In processe of time this Lady died, and by her last Will left *Christ* to be the Heir, and *Dunstan* the Executor of her Estate. Enabled with the accession thereof, joyned to his paternall Possessions, which were very great, and now fallen into his hands, *Dunstan* erected the *Abbey* of *Glassenbury*, and became himself first Abbot thereof; ~~a Title till his time unknown in England~~: he built also and endowed many other Monasteries, filling them with *Benedictine* Monks, who began now to swarm in *England*, more then Magots in a hot *May*, so incredible was their Increase.

Aelfgine *Dunstan*'s bountifull friend.

16 | 939

17. After the death of King *Athelstane*, *Dunstan* was recalled to Court in the reign of King *Edmund*, *Athelstan*'s Brother, and flourished for a time in great Favour. But who would build on the brittle Bottome of Princes Love? Soon after he falls into the Kings Disfavour; the old Crime, of being a Magician (and a Wanton with Women to boot) being laid to his charge. Surely *Dunstan* by looking on his own Furnace, might learn thence, there was *no Smoak but some Fire*: either he was dishoneſt, or undiscreet, which gave the Groundwork to their generall Suspicion. Hereupon he is re-banisht the Court, and returned to his desired Cell at *Glassenbury*, but within three dayes was solemnly brought back again to Court, if the ensuing Story may be believed.

Recalled to Court, and re-banished thence.

Edmundi 1 | 940

18. King *Edmund* was in an eager pursuit of a Buck, on the top of a steep Rock, whence no Descent but Destruction. Down falls the Deer, and Dogs after him, and are dashed to pieces. The King follows in full speed on an unruly Horse, whom he could not rein, & is on the Brink of the Brink of the Precipice: yet his Prayers prove swifter then his Horse, he but ran, whilst they did fly to Heaven. He is sensible of his Sin in banishing *Dunstan*, confesseth it with Sorrow, vowes Amendment, promiseth to restore & preferre him. Instantly the Horse stops in his full Career, and his Rider is wonderfully preserved.

King *Edmund* his miraculous deliverance.

19. Thus farre *a strong Faith* may believe of the Story: but it must be a *wild one* which gives credit to the remainder. [a] *Cervus & Canes reviviscunt*, saith the impudent Monk, *The Deer & Dogs revive again*. I remember not in Scripture that God ever revived a brute Beast; partly, because such mean subjects are beneath the Majesty of a Miracle; and partly, because (as the Apostle saith) brute Beasts [b] *are made to be taken & destroyed*. Well then might the Monk have knockt off when he had done well, in saving the Man and Horse, and might have left the Dogs & Deer to have remained dead on the place; the Deer especially, were it but to make Venison Pasties, to feast the Courtiers at the solemnizing of their Lord and Masters so miraculous Deliverance.

Fy for shame lying Monk.

a Ros. Hister. Mat. West. Iob. Capg. Osbern.

b 2 Pet. 2. 12.

6 Edredi 1 | 946

20. *Dunstan* returning to Court was in higher Favour then ever before. Nor was his Interest any whit abated by the untimely Death of King *Edmund* (slain by one *Leoff* a Thief) seeing his Brother *Edred*, succeeding to the Crown, continued and increased his Kindness to him. Under him *Dunstan* was the *Dee-all* at Court,

King *Edred* a high Patron of *Dunstan*.

Court, being the Kings Treasurer, Chancellour, Counsellour, Confessour, all things. Bishopricks were bountifully profered him, pick and chuse where he please; but none were honoured with his Acceptance. Whether because he accounted himself too high for the place, and would not stoop to the Employment; or because he esteemed the place too high for him, unable conscientiously to discharge it in the midst of so many Avocations. Mean time Monasteries were every where erected (King *Edred* devoutly resigning all his Treasure to *Dunstan*'s Disposall) Secular Priests being thrust out of their Convents, and Monks substituted in their rooms.

Anno Dom. 946 — Anno Regis Edredi 1

But King *Edwine* his professt enemy.

21. But after *Edred*'s Death, the Case was altered with *Dunstan* falling into Disgrace with King *Edwin* his Successour. This King on his Coronation-day was said to be incestuously imbracing both Mother & Daughter, when *Dunstan* boldly coming into his Bed-chamber, after bitter Reproofs, stoutly fetcht him thence, and brought him forth into the company of his Noblemen. An heroick act, if true, done with a *John Baptist* spirit: and no wonder if *Herod* and *Herodias*, I mean this incestuous King and his Concubines, were highly offended with *Dunstan* for the same. 954 — 9 Edwini 1

Who, though wronged by the Monks, was a worthy Prince. a *Hist. lib. 5. pag. 357.*

22. But good men, and grave Authours give no belief herein, conceiving King *Edwin* (how bad soever characterred by the Monks his malicious Enemies) to have been a worthy Prince. In witnesse whereof they produce the words of a *Henry Huntington*, a learned man, but no Monk, thus describing him;

Edwin *non illaudabiliter regni insulam tenuit.*

Edwin was not undeserving of praise in managing the Sceptre of this Land.

Et rursus:

Edwin *rex, anno regni sui quinto, cum in principio regnum ejus decentissime floreret, prospera & latabunda exordia mors immatura perrupit.*

And again:

King *Edwin* in the fifth year of his Reign, when his Kingdome began at first most decently to flourish, had his prosperous and pleasant Beginnings broken off with untimely Death.

This Testimony considered, makes many men think better of King *Edwin*, and worse of *Dunstan*, as guilty of some uncivil Intrusion into the Kings Chamber, for which he justly incurred his royall Displeasure.

He banisheth *Dunstan*, and dieth heart-broken with grief.

23. Hereupon *Dunstan* is banished by King *Edwin*, not as before from *England* to *England*, from the Court to his Cell at *Glassenbury*; but is utterly expelled the Kingdome, and flieth into *Flanders*. Where his Friends say that his Fame prepared his Welcome, & the Governour of *Gaunt* most solemnly entertained him. Mean time, all the Monks in *England* of *Dunstan*'s Plantation were rooted up, and Secular Priests set in their places. But soon after happened many Commotions in *England*, especially in *Mercia* and *Northumberland*. The Monks which write the Story of these Rebellions, conceive it unfit to impart to Posterity the Cause thereof; which makes wise men to suspect, that *Dunstan* (who could blow Coals elsewhere as well as in his Furnace) though at distance, *vertually* (or rather *viciously* present,) had a Finger, yea, a Hand therein. Heart-broken with these Rebellions, King *Edwin* died in the Flower of his Age. 956 — 3; 958 — 5 Edgari 1

Dunstan recalled by King *Edgar*, and takes a double Bishoprick.

24. *Edgar* succeeds him, and recalls *Dunstan* home, receiving him with all possible Affection. Yea now *Dunstan*'s Stomack was come down, and he could digest a Bishoprick, which his Abstemiousness formerly refused. And *one Bishoprick drew down another*, *Worcester* and *London*, not successively, but both a-breast went down his Conscience. Yea, never Age afforded more Pluralist Bishops. In this Kings reign *Letine* held b *Lincoln* and *Leicester*; *Oswald* (a great Monk-monger, of whom hereafter) held *York* and *Worcester*; & *Aldulph*, his Successour in both Churches, did the like, pardoned, yea praised for the same: though *Woolstan* (because no favourer of Monks) is reproved for the like Plurality. Thus two men though doing the same thing, do not the same thing. *Bigamy of Bishopricks goes by Favour*; and it is condemnable in one, what 959 — 2

b *Vid. Antiq. Britan. p. 83.*

is

Anno Regni Edgari 2 | Anno Dom. 959

is commendable in another. *Odo Severus*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, being ceremoniously to consecrate *Dunstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, used all the Formalities fashionable at the Consecration of an [a] Arch-bishop: And being reproved for the same, he answered for himself, That he foresaw that *Dunstan*, instantly after his death, would be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. And therefore (a compendious way to spare Paines) he onely by a provident Prolepsis ante-dated his Consecration. Surely, whosoever had seen the decrepit age of *Odo*, the affection of King *Edgar* to *Dunstan*, the affection of *Dunstan* to Dignity, needed no extraordinary prophetical Spirit to presage that (on the supposition of *Dunstan*'s surviving him) he should succeed him in the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*.

a *Antiq. Britan. ibidem.*

25. Yea King *Edgar* was so wholly *Dunstanized*, that he gave over his Soul, Body, and Estate to be ordered by him and two more (then the *Triumvirate* who ruled *England*) namely *Ethelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*. This *Oswald* was the man who procured by the Kings Authority the Ejection of all Secular Priests out of *Worcester*, and the placing of Monks in their Room: which *Act* was called *Oswald*'s *Law* in that Age. They might, if it pleased them, have stiled it *Edgar*'s *Law*; the Legislative Power being then more in the King, then in the Bishop. This *Oswald*'s *Law* afterwards enlarged it self over all *England*, Secular Priests being thrown out, and Monks every where fixed in their rooms; till King *Henry* the *eighth* his *Law* outed *Oswald*'s *Law*, and ejected those Drones out of their Habitations.

Oswald's Law to eject secular Priests.

26. King *Edgar* violated the Chastity of a Nun at *Wilton*. *Dunstan* getting notice thereof, refused at the Kings Request to give him his Hand, because he had defiled a *Daughter of God*, as he termed her. *Edgar* hereby made sensible of his Sin, with Sorrow confessed it; and *Dunstan* (now Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) enjoyned him seven years Penance for the same. Monks endeavour to inforce a mock-Parallel betwixt *David* and *Edgar*, *Nathan* and *Dunstan*, herein. Sure I am, on *David*'s profession of his Repentance, *Nathan* presently pronounced Pardon; [b] *the Lord also hath put away thy Sin, thou shalt not die*; consigning him to be punished by God the Principall (using an Undutifull Son, Treacherous Servants, and Rebellious Subjects to be the Instruments thereof;) but imposing no voluntary Penance, that *David* should by *Will-worship* undertake on himself. All that I will adde, is this; If *Dunstan* did *septennary Penance*, to expiate every *mortall Sin* (to use their own Termes) he committed, he must have been a *Methusalah*, extremely aged, before the day of his Death.

Dunstan's disciplining of King *Edgar*.

b 2 *Sam.* 12. 13

12 969

27. More commendable was *Dunstan*'s Carriage towards an *English* Count, who lived incestuously with his own Kinswoman. *Dunstan* admonished him once, twice, thrice; nothing prevailed: whereupon he proceeded to Excommunicate him. The Count slighted his Excommunication, conceiving his Head too high for Church-Censures to reach it. King *Edgar* (falsly informed) desires *Dunstan* to absolve him, and is denied. Yea the Pope sends to him to the same Purpose, and *Dunstan* persists in his [c] Refusall. At last the Count, conquered with *Dunstan*'s Constancy, and the sense of his own Sin, came into a Nationall Council at *Canterbury*, where *Dunstan* sate President (active therein to substitute Monks in the places of Secular Priests) on his bare Feet, with a Bundle of Rods, tendering himself to *Dunstan*'s Chastisement. This wrought on *Dunstan*'s mild Nature, scarce refraining from Teares; who presently absolved him.

And carriage towards an incestuous Count.

c Osbern. in vita Dunstani

28. Three things herein are remarkable. First, that Bribes in the Court of *Rome* may purchase a Malefactor to be innocent. Secondly, that the Pope himself is not so infallible, but that his *Key may misse the Lock*, and he be mistaken in matter of Absolution. Thirdly, that men ought not so with blind Obedience to obey his pretended Holinesse, but that if (with *Dunstan* here) they see just Cause to the contrary, it is no Mortall Sin to disobey his Commands.

Observations thereon.

29. The Apprentiship of *Edgar*'s Penance long since expired, he flourished in all Monarchicall Lustre: sole Founder of many, Co-founder of more, Bene-

Edgar's Canons why by us here related.

Anno Dom. 969 — Anno Regni Edgari 12

Benefactor to moſt Abbeys in *England*. And as he gave *new Caſes* to moſt Monaſteries (repairing their outward Buildings) ſo he gave *new Linings* to all, ſubſtituting Monks in ſtead of the Secular Prieſts, whom he expelled. Many Eccleſiaſticall Canons were by him ordained, which at large are preſented in S^r. *Henry Spelman*, and which I have neither Liſt nor Leiſure to recount in this my Hiſtory. Our Women have a Proverb, *It is a ſad Burden to carry a dead mans Child*: and ſurely an Hiſtorian hath no heart to take much Pains (which herein are Pains indeed) to exemplify dead Canons, (dead and buried long ſince, as moſt relating to Monkery) this Age, wherein we live, being little fond of Antiquity, to know thoſe things which were antiquated ſo many yeares ſince.

Edgar a moſt triumphant King.

30. Now though the Devotion of King *Edgar* may be condemned to be byaſſed to Superſtition, yet becauſe the Sincerity of his Heart ſought to advance Gods Honour, according to the Light in thoſe dark dayes, he appears one of the moſt puiſſant Princes that ever *England* enjoyed, both in Church and Common-wealth. I have read in a moſt fair and authentick guilded [a] Manuſcript, wherein he ſtileth himſelf *Gods Vicar* in *England*, for the ordering Eccleſiaſticall matters: a Title which at this day the Pope will hardly vouchſafe to any Chriſtian Princes. His Reign was bleſt with Peace and Proſperity, both by Land and Sea; inſomuch that in a royall Frolick, eight petty Kings rowed him over the river *Dee* near to *Cheſter*; namely five Princes of *Wales* (whereof *Hoel-Dha* was the principall) *Kened* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, and *Mac-huſe* a great Sea-Robber, who may paſſe for the Prince of *Pirats*.

[a] *Extant in the precious Library of* S^r. Tho. Cotton.

A Nationall Council in *Wales*.

31. This *Hoel-Dha*, contemporary with King *Edgar*, was he that held a Nationall Councill for all *Wales* (at a place called *Ty-guin*, or the *White-houſe* (becauſe built of white Hurdles, to make it more beautifull) regulated after this manner. Out of every *Hundred* in *Wales* he choſe ſix Lay-men, with whom he joyned all the eminent Eccleſiaſticall Perſons (accounted an hundred & fourty) in his Dominions. Out of thoſe he choſe eleven Lay-men and one Clergy-man, (but ſuch a one as who alone by himſelf might paſſe vertually for eleven) *Blangoridus* by name, to enact what Laws they pleaſed, which after the impreſſion of *Royall Aſſent* upon them, ſhould be obſerved by that Nation. One might ſuſpect this Council, thus over-powered with Laicks therein, which *pinch on the Prieſts ſide*; whereas we find the Canons therein wholly made in favour of the Clergy: enacting this among the reſt, *That the preſence of a Prieſt and a Iudge conſtitute a legall Court*, as the two Perſons onely in the *Quorum* thereof. 970 13

The merry Lawes made therein, [b] S^r. Henry Spelman in his Councils, pag. 411.

32. But methinks the Lawes therein enacted (which a learned [b] Antiquary preſents us at large) fall far ſhort of the Gravity of a Councill: except any will excuſe it from the Age thereof; what we count light and triviall, might be eſteemed ſerious and ſolid in thoſe dayes. Beſides, the Laws diſcover in them a conceited affectation of the *Number of Three*. In three Caſes a Wife may legally leave her Husband: firſt, if he hath a Leproſy; ſecondly, if he hath a ſtinking Breath; thirdly, & if he be unable to give her due Benevolence. In three caſes it was lawfull for a man to kiſſe his Neighbours Wife: firſt, at a Banquet; ſecondly, at the *Welch* Play called *Guare-raffau*; and thirdly, when he comes from a far Journey, by way of Saluration. If a Man and his Wife were to part aſunder, they were to divide their Goods betwixt them ſo, that ſhe was to have the Sheep; he the Hogs: ſhe the Milk and milk-Veſſels, with all the Diſhes ſave one; he all the Beer and Barrels, with the Axe, Saw, *&c.*

Confirmed by the Pope.

33. But how ſilly ſoever theſe Canons ſeem to our modern Criticks, they were then conceived of ſuch Weight and Worth, that King *Hoel-Dha* with his Arch-biſhop of S^t. *Davids*, the Biſhops of *Bangor*, *Landaffe* & S^t. *Aſaph*, are ſaid to have taken a Iourney to *Rome*, and procured the Popes Confirmation to them. Nor find I ought elſe of this Synod, ſave that the Cloſe thereof preſents us with a liſt of ſeven Epiſcopall Seats then in *Wales*: 1. S^t. *Davids*, 2. *Iſmael*, 3. *Degenian*, 4. *Vſſyll*, 5. *Teylaw*, 6. *Teuledauc*, 7. *Kenew* [c]. I am not Welchman enough to point at theſe places, and to ſhew you where they be at this day, which 971 14

[c] *Quere whether* Bangor, Landaff, *and* St. Aſaph *be not compriſed under theſe.*

Anno Regis Edgari 14 — Anno Dom. 971

which we leave to ſome skilfull Antiquary of their own Nation. Onely we find that whereas the Churches were burdened with ſome Payments out of them, two of the Biſhops Seats (*Viſyl* and *Kenew*) were freed from the ſame. And this ſatisfactory Reaſon is rendred of their Exemption, *quia terris carent*, becauſe they had no Lands belonging unto them.

17 Regis Edvardi Martyris 1 — 974

34. King *Edgar* was peaceably gathered to his Fathers, leaving his Crown to *Edward* his Son, and his Son (becauſe under age) to the Tuition of *Dunſtan*. In this Kings Reign three Councils were ſucceſſively called, to determine the Differences between Monks and Secular Prieſts. The firſt was at *Wincheſter*; where the Prieſts being outed of their Convents, earneſtly preſſed for Reſtitution, and ſought by Arguments to clear their Innocence, and prove their Title to their ancient Poſſeſſions. The Council ſeemed ſomewhat inclinable to favour unto them; when preſently a Voice, as coming from a Crucifix behind *Dunſtan*, is reported to be heard, ſaying,

A Council at *Wincheſter* with a miraculous voice in it.

Abſit hoc ut fiat, abſit hoc ut fiat; Iudicaſtis bene, mutaretis non bene. — God forbid it ſhould be done, God forbid it ſhould be done; Ye have judged it well, and ſhould change it ill.

Whether theſe words were ſpoken in *Latine* or *Engliſh*, Authours leave us unreſolved. Monks equall this (for the truth thereof) to the [a] *ſtill ſmall Voice* to *Elijah*, whileſt others ſuſpect ſome Forgery; the rather, becauſe it is reported to come *as from a Crucifix*: they feare ſome ſecret Falſehood in the *Fountain*, becauſe viſible Superſtition was the *Ciſtern* thereof. However, *this Voice* proved for the preſent the *caſting Voice* to the Secular Prieſts, who thereby were overborn in their Cauſe, and ſo was the Council diſſolved.

[a] 1 *Kings* 19. 12.

4 — 977

35. Yet ſtill the Secular Prieſts did ſtruggle, refuſing to be finally concluded with this tranſient aiery Oracle. [b] *To the Law, and to the Teſtimony: if they ſpeak not according to this word*, &c. They had no warrant to relie on ſuch a *vocal Deciſion*, from which they appealed to the Scripture it ſelf. A ſecond Council is called at *Kirtlington* (now *Katlage* in *Cambridge-ſhire*, the Baronry of the right Honourable the Lord *North*) but nothing to purpoſe effected therein. *Dunſtan* (ſay the Monks) ſtill anſwered his Name, that is, *Dun*, a *rocky Mountain*, and *Stain*, a *Stone* (but, whether a *precious Stone*, or a *Rock of Offence*, let others decide) perſiſting unmoveable in his Reſolution; nor was any thing performed in this Council, but that by the Authority thereof, people were ſent on Pilgrimage to S[t]. *Mary* at *Abbington*.

Secular Prieſts ſtrive ſtill.
[b] *Iſa.* 8. 20.

36. The ſame year a third Council was called, at *Caln* in *Wiltſhire*. Hither repaired Prieſts, and Monks, with their full Forces, to trie the laſt Concluſion in the Controverſie betwixt them. The former, next the Equity of the Cauſe, relied moſt on the Ability of their Champion, one *Beornelm*, a *Scottiſh* Biſhop; who with no leſſe Eloquence then Strength, with Scripture and Reaſon defended their Cauſe. When behold, on a ſudden, the Beams brake in the Room where they were aſſembled, and moſt of the Secular Prieſts were ſlain, and buried under the Ruines thereof. All were affrighted, many maimed; onely the place whereon *Dunſtan* ſate, either (as ſome ſay) remained firm, or fell in ſuch ſort, that the Timber (the Sword to kill others) proved the Shield to preſerve him from Danger.

A portentous Council at *Caln*.

37. Some behold this Story as a notable Untruth: others ſuſpect the Devil therein, not for a Lyer, but a Murtherer, and this Maſſacre procured by Compact with him: a third ſort conceived that *Dunſtan*, who had ſo much of a Smith, had here ſomething of a Carpenter in him, and ſome Deviſe uſed by him about pinning and propping of the Room. It renders it the more ſuſpicious, becauſe he diſſwaded King *Edward* from being preſent there, pretending his want of Age; though he was preſent in the laſt Council, and ſurely he was never the younger for living ſome Moneths ſince the ſame Aſſembly. If truely performed, *Dunſtan* appears happier herein then *Samſon* himſelf, who could

Several cenſures on this ſad accident.

Anno Dom. 977 | Anno Regn. Edvardi Martyris 4

not so sever his Foes, but both must die together. Sure I am, no ingenuous Papist now-a-dayes, will make any uncharitable Inference from such an accident: especially since the Fall of *Black Friers* 1623. enough to make all good men turn the Censuring of others into an humble Silence, and pious Adoring of Divine Providence.

Seculars outed, and Monks advanced.

38. But the Monks made great Advantage of this Accident, conceiving that Heaven had confirmed their Cause (as lately by *VVord* at *VVinchester*, so) now by *VVork* in this Council at *Calne*. Hereupon Secular Priests are every where outed, and Monks substituted in their Room. Indeed these later in civil respect, were beheld as more beneficiall to their Convents; because Secular Priests did marry, and at their deaths did *condere Testamenta, make their VVills*, and bequeathed their Goods to their Wives and Children; whilest Monks, having no Issue (which they durst own) made their Monastery Heir of all they had. It was also objected against the Priests, that, by their Loosnesse, and Lazinesse, left at large in their Lives, they had caused the generall declination of Piety at this time: whilest it was presumed of the Monks, that, by the strict Rules of Observance, to which they were tied, they would repair the Ruines of Religion in all places.

Priests hardly dealt with.

39. It appears not, what Provision was made for these Priests when ejected; and they seem to have had hard Measure, to be dispossessed of their civil Right. Except any will say, it was no Injury to them, to loose their places so soon, but a great Favour, that they enjoyed them so long, living hitherto on the free Bounty of their Founders, and now at the full Dispose of the Church and State. Little can be said in excuse of the Priests, and lesse in commendation of the Monks; who though they swept clean at the first, as new Besomes, yet afterwards left more Dust behind them of their own bringing in, then their Predecessours had done. Thus the *Hive* of the Church was no whit bettered, by putting out *Drones*, and placing *Wasps* in their room. Yea, whereas formerly Corruptions came into the Church at the *Wicket*, now the *broad-Gates* were opened for their Entrance; Monkery making the way for Ignorance and Superstition, to overspread the whole World.

The prodigious prodigality in building, and endowing of Abbeys.

40. Another Humour of the former Age (to make one Digression for all) still continued, and encreased, venting it self in the fair Foundations, and stately Structures of so many Monasteries. So that one beholding their Greatnesse (being Corrivals with some Towns in receipt, and extent) would admire that they could be so neat; and considering their Neatnesse, must wonder they could be so great; and lastly, accounting their Number, will make all three the object of his Amazement. Especially, seeing many of these were founded in the *Saxon* Heptarchy, when seven Kings put together did spell but one in effect. So that it may seem a Miracle, what invisible *Indies* those petty Princes were Masters of, building such Structures which impoverish Posterity to repair them. For although some of these Monasteries were the fruit of many Ages, long in ripening, at several times, by sundry persons, all whose Parcels and Additions met at last in some tolerable Uniformity; yet most of them were begun and finished, absolute, and entire, by one Founder alone. And although we allow, that in those dayes Artificers were procured, and Materials purchased at easie Rates; yet there being then scarceness of Coin (as a little Money would then buy much Ware; so much Ware must first in exchange be given to provide that little Money) all things being audited proportionably, the Wonder still remains as great as before. But here we see with what eagerness those Designes are undertaken and pursued, which proceed from blind Zeal: every Finger being more then an Hand to build, when they thought Merit was annexed to their Performances. Oh, with what might and main did they mount their Walls, both day and night; erroniously conceiving, that their Souls were advantaged to Heaven, when taking the Rise from the top *of a Steeple* of their own erection.

41. But

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41. But it will not be amiſſe, to mind our forgetfull Age, that, ſeeing Devotion (now better informed) long ſithence hath deſiſted to expreſſe it ſelf in ſuch pompous Buildings, ſhe muſt find ſome other means, and manner, to evidence and declare her Sincerity. Except any will ſay, that there is leſſe Heat required, where more Light is granted; and that our Practice of Piety ſhould be diminiſhed, becauſe our Knowledge thereof is increaſed. God, no doubt, doth juſtly expect that Religion ſhould teſtifie her Thankfulneſſe to him, by ſome eminent way, and Works: and where the Fountain of Piety is full, it will find it ſelf a Vent to flow in, though not through the former Chanels of Superſtition. — Caution to our Age.

6 — 979

42. King *Edward* went to give his Mother-in-law at *Corfe-Caſtle* a reſpectfull Viſit, when by her Contrivance he was barbarouſly murthered, ſo to pave the way for her Son *Ethelred* his Succeſſion to the Crown. But King *Edward*, by loſing his Life, got the title of a Martyr, ſo conſtantly called in our Chronicles. Take the term in a large acception, otherwiſe reſtrictively it ſignifies ſuch an one, as ſuffers for the Teſtimony of the Truth. But, ſeeing this *Edward* was cruelly murthered, and is ſaid after death to work Miracles; let him, by the *Courteſie of the Church*, paſſe for a Martyr, not knowing any Act or Order to the contrary, to deny ſuch a Title unto him. — King *Edward* murthered, *alias*, martyred.

Ethelredi, cognom. the Unready. 1

43. *Ethelred*, *Edward*'s half-Brother, ſucceeded him in the Throne. One with whom *Dunſtan* had a Quarrel from his Cradle, becauſe, when an Infant, he left more Water in the Font then he found there, at his Baptizing. Happy *Dunſtan* himſelf, if guilty of no greater Fault, which could be no Sin (nor properly a Slovenneſſe) in an *Infant*, if *he did as an Infant*! Yet from ſuch *his addition*, *Dunſtan* prognoſticated an Inundation of *Danes* would enſue in this Iſland: which accordingly came to paſſe. But *Ethelred* is more to be condemned, for the Bloud he ſhed when a man; it being vehemently ſuſpected, that he was acceſſary with his Mother to the murthering of his Brother *Edward*. — King *Ethelred* prognoſticated unſucceſsfull.

8 — 987

44. But *Dunſtan* ſurvived not to ſee his Prediction take effect, for he was happily prevented by Death, and buried on the South-ſide of the High Altar in the Church of *Canterbury*: where his Tombe was famous for ſome time, till *Thomas Becket* eclipſed the ſame; ſeeing Saints, like new Beſomes, ſweep clean at the firſt, and afterwards are *clean ſwept out*, by newer Saints which ſucceed them. Yea, *Dunſtan*'s Grave grew ſo obſcure at *Canterbury*, that the Monks of *Glaſſenbury* taking heart thereat (and advantaged by *John Capgrave*'s report, that *Anno* 1012. *Dunſtan*'s Corpſe were tranſlated thither) pretended his Buriall, and built him a Shrine in their Convent. Men and Mony met at *Glaſſenbury* on this Miſtake; and their Convent got more by this eight foot length of Ground (the ſuppoſed Tombe of *Dunſtan*) then eight hundred Acres of the beſt Land they poſſeſſed elſewhere. Whereupon *William Wareham*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, to trie the truth, and to prevent farther Fraud herein, cauſed a ſolemn ſearch to be made in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, after *Dunſtan*'s Corpſe, in the place Tradition reported him to be interred. — *Dunſtan*'s corpſe wrongfully claimed by the Convent of *Glaſſenbury*.

45. Four of the Friars, fitteſt for the work (to wit, of ſtronger Bodies then Braines) undertook to make this Scrutinie *Anno* 1508. the 22. of *April*. Great Caution was uſed, that all ſhould be done *ſemotis Laicis*, *no Lay-men being preſent*; whether becauſe their Eies were too profane to behold ſo holy an Object, or too prying to diſcover the Default, if the Search ſucceeded not. In the Night they ſo plyed their Work, that ere Morning they diſcovered *Dunſtan*'s Coffin, and reſted the day following from more Digging, as well they might, having taken ſo much Pains, and gained ſo much Profit by their endeavours. — A night Hue-and-Cry made after his corpſe.

46. Next Night they on afreſh; and, with main Force, plucked up the ponderous Coffin upon the Pavement. A Coffin built (as one may ſay) three Stories high: the outermoſt of Wood (but almoſt made Iron with the multitude of Nailes therein;) within that another of plain Lead; within that a third — Diſcovered, with the manner of the interment thereof.

of wrought Lead, wherein the bones of *Dunstan*[a] lay in his Pontificall Vests, with this Inscription in a Plate, *Hic requiescit Sanctus* Dunstanus *Archiepiscopus*. Some lumps of Flesh were found, which were said to smell very sweet (the Reliques perchance of some Spices which embalmed him) and all done in the presence of many worthy Witnesses: amongst whom, *Cuthbert Tunstal* was one, then the Arch-bishops Chancellour, afterward Bishop of *Durham*. Hereupon the Arch-bishop sent his Mandate to the Abbot and Convent of *Glassenbury*, henceforward to desist from any jactitation of *Dunstan*'s Corpse, and abusing people with such Pretences. A Fault most frequent in that Convent, challenging almost the Monopolie of all *English* Saints, witnesse that impudent Lie of the rhythming Monk, writing thus of *Glassenbury*;

Hic Tumulus sanctus, hic Scala Poli celebratur;
Vix luit Inferni Pœnas hic qui tumulatur.

But, who is rather to be believed? S^t. *Peter*, that saith, [b] *The righteous shall scarcely be saved*; or this Monk, affirming that, *Whoso is buried at Glassenbury, shall scarcely be damned*?

47. After the death of *Dunstan*, their Patrone, the Monks (not much befriended by King *Ethelred*) were cast out of the Convent of *Canterbury*, or rather cast out themselves by their Misdemeanours. [c] *Man in honour hath no understanding*, &c. They wax'd so wanton with possessing the places of Secular Priests, that a Monk [d] himself of *Canterbury* confesseth, *Monachi propter eorum Insolentiam sedibus pulsi, & Clerici introducti. Monks for their Insolencie were driven out of their Seats, and Secular Clerks brought into their room.* Thus was it often, *In Dock, out Nettle*, as they could strengthen their Parties. For *Siricius*, the next Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, endeavoured the re-expulsion of the Priests; which by *Alfricus* his Successour was effected. 988 9

48. But soon after, the *Danes* revenged the Quarrel of the Secular Priests; and by *a firm Ejection* outed the Monks, before they were well warm in their Nests. Their Fury fell more on *Convents*, then *Castles*: whether, because the former were in that Age more numerous (Castles afterwards were encreased by *William* the Conquerour;) or because their Prey and Plunder was presumed the richest, and easist to be gotten; or because the *Danes*, then generally Pagans, principally spited places of Religion. A Relapse is far more dangerous then a simple Disease, as here it proved in the *Danes*. *England* for these last sixty years had been cured of, and cleared from their Cruelty, which now returned more terrible then ever before. 989 10

49. These *Danes* were also advantaged by the Unactivenesse of King *Ethelred*, therefore surnamed the *Vnready* in our Chronicles. The Clock of his Consultations and Executions was alwayes set some Hours too late, vainly striving with much Industry to redresse, what a little Providence might seasonably have prevented. Now, when this *Vnready* King met with the *Danes* his *overready* Enemies, no wonder, if lamentable was the Event thereof. The best thing I find recorded of this King *Ethelred*, is, that in his dayes began the tryal of Causes by a Jury of *twelve men* to be chosen out of the *Vicenage*, of like quality, as near as may be suited, to the persons concerned therein. Hereby men have most fair play for their Lives: and let it be the desires of all honest hearts, that whilest we pluck off the *Badges* of all *Norman Slavery*, we part not with the *Livery* of our old *Saxon Liberty*. 990 11

50. In this sad condition King *Ethelred* hearkened to the perswasions of *Siricius*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and with ten thousand Pounds purchased a present Peace with the *Danes*. Indeed it was conformable to the calling of a Church-man to procure Peace, having not onely [e] Scripture precepts therein, *Seek peace and pursue it*; but also Precedents for the same, when gracious [f] *Hezekiah* with a Present pacified *Sennacherib* to desist from invading him. However, this Arch-bishop generally suffered in his Reputation, condemned 991 12

of

a *Archiva Eccles. Cant. exemplified by my good friend Mr.* Will. Sumner *in his Descript. of* Cant. *in Appendice Script.* 12.

b 1 Pet. 4.18

Priests and Monks alternately cast out.

c Psal. 49.20.

d Wil. Thorn cited by *Ant. Brit. pag.* 90.

The *Danes* re-invade *England*.

The unreadinesse of King *Ethelred* advantageth the *Danes*.

A dear peace bought of the *Danes*.

e Psal. 34. 14.

f 2 Kings 18. 14.

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of all, for counselling of what was, First, *dishonourable*; that an entire Nation, being at home in their own Land, should purchase a Peace from Forrainers, fewer in Number, and fetching their Recruits, and warlike Provisions from a Far Country: let them be paid in due Coin; not *Silver*, but *Steel*. Secondly, *unprofitable*: If once the *Danes* got but the Trick, to make the *English* bleed Money to buy Peace, they would never leave them, till they had sucked out their Heart-bloud, and exhausted the whole Treasure of the Land.

51. Indeed one may safely affirm, that the multitude of Monasteries invited the Invasion, and facilitated the Conquest of the *Danes* over *England*; and that in a double respect: First, because not onely the *Fruit* of the Kings Exchequer (I mean ready Money) was spent by this King his Predecessours on founding of Monasteries; but also the *Root* thereof, his *Demeasne lands*, pluckt up, & parted with, to endow the same: whereby the Sinews of War were wanting, to make effectuall Opposition against Forrein Enemies. Secondly, because *England* had at this time more Flesh, or Fat, then Bones (wherein the Strength of a Body consists) moe Monks, then Military men. For instance, *Holy-Island* near *Northumberland* is sufficiently known, for the Position thereof, an advantageous Landing-place, especially in relation to *Denmark*. This

Multitudes of Monasteries caused the Danish invasion.

15 — 994 — place was presently forsaken of the fearfull Monks, frighted with the *Danes* their Approach; and *Aldhunus*, the Bishop thereof, removed his Cathedral and Convent to *Durham*, an Inland place of more Safety. Now, had there been a Castle in the place of this Monastery, to secure the same with *Fighters* instead of *Feeders*, *men of Armes* instead of *men of Bellies* therein, probably they might have stopped the *Danish* Invasion at the first Inlet thereof. *England* then as much wanting martiall men, as[a] since it hath surfeited with too many of them.

a *Viz. in the wars between* York *and* Lancaster.

16 — 995 — 52. The *Danes*, having received and spent their Money, invaded *England* afresh, according to all wise mens expectation. It is as easie for armed Might to pick a Quarrel, as it is hard for naked Innocence to make Resistance. The Deluge of their Cruelty over-ran the Realm; whose Sword made no more difference betwixt the Ages, Sexes, and Conditions of people, then the Fire (which they cast on Houses) made distinction in the Timber thereof, whether it was Elme, Oake, or Ash; the Fierceneſſe of the one killing, the Fury of the other consuming all it met with. Indeed in some small Skirmishes the *English* got the better, but all to no purpose. There is a place in *Hartfordshire* called *Danes-end*, where the Inhabitants by Tradition report (uncertain of the exact Date thereof) that a fatal blow in a Battel was given to the *Danes* thereabouts. But alas! this *Danes-end* was but *Danes-beginning*; they quickly recovered themselves as many, and mighty in the Field, and it seemed an *endlesse end*, to endeavour their utter Extirpation. Thus this Century sets with little Mirth, and the next is likely to arise with more Mourning.

The cruelty of the returning *Danes*.

Anno Dom. | Anno Regis Ethelredi

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

BALDWINO HAMEY, *Medicinæ Doctori literatissimo, Mecœnati suo dignissimo.*

CONqueruntur *nostrates* novissimo hoc *Decennio*, novam rerum faciem indui; nec *mutata* solum, sed & *inversa* esse omnia. Hujus indicia plurima proferunt, *tristia* sane ac *dolenda*; *Dominos* nimirum *Servis* postpositos, dum alii è *Servis Domini* repente prodierint.

At, ad *Metamorphosin* hanc probandam, argumentum suppetit mihi ipsi *lætum* & memoratu *jucundum*. Solent enim *ægroti*, si quando *Medicum* adeant, manus afferre *plenas*, referre *vacuas*. At ipse è contra *Te* sæpe accessi & *æger* & *inops*; decessi *integer* & *bene nummatus*. Quoties enim opus hoc nostrum radicitus exaruisset, si non imbre munificentiæ tuæ fuisset irrigatum?

Murther of the *Danes* in a Church.



THis *Century began* (as *Children* generally are *born*) with *crying*; partly for a *Massacre* made by the *English* on the *Danes*, but chiefly for the *Cruelty* committed by the *Danes* on the *English*. Concerning the former, certain *Danes* fled into a *Church* at *Oxford*, hoping the Sanctity thereof (according to the *devout Principles* of that *Age*) would secure them: and probably such Pitty might have inclined them to *Christianity*. Whereas by command from K. *Ethelred*, they 1002 25

were

Anno Regis Ethelredi 34 — Anno Dom. 1011

were [a] all burned in the place; whose Bloud remained not long unrevenged. The *Danish Fury* fell (if not *first*) *fiercest* on the *City* of *Canterbury*, with *Fire* and *Sword*, destroying *eight thousand* people therein: and such *Authours* who *quadruple* that number, surely take in not onely the *Vicenage*, but all *Kent* to make up their account. *Ealphegus* the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, commonly called *Alphage*, was then slain, and since *Sainted*; a *Church* nigh *Creeple-gate* in *London* being consecrated to his Memory.

a Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Canterbury sacked: Alphage killed by the Danes.

35 — 1012

2. [b] A *Monk* of *Canterbury* reports, that the *Abbey* of S^t. *Augustine* was saved on this occasion; A *Danish Souldier* stealing the *Pall* from the *Tombe* of S^t. *Augustine*, it stuck so close under his *Arme-pits*, that it could not be parted from his Skin, untill he had publickly made confession of his Fault: *Vltio Raptorem rapuit*, saith the *Authour*. And hereupon the *Danes* of *Invaders*, turned *Defenders* of that *Monastery*. But [c] others conceive, if it found extraordinary favour, their *Money* (not this *Miracle*) procured it. Sure I am, when *Achan* stole the *Babylonish Garment*, he was left at large to discovery by [d] *Lot*, and no *Miracle* detected him. Next year a *nameless* Bishop of *London* was *sacrificed* to their *Fury*, used worse then the *Task-Masters* of *Israel*, (on whose Back the *number* of *Bricks* wanting, were [e] onely scored in *Blows*) being killed out-right, for want of present pay of the [f] *Tribute* promised unto them.

Believe what you list.
b Thorn in his description of Canterb.
c See Will. Somner in his Antiqu. of Canterb. pag. 56.
d Iosh. 7. 18
More cruelty
e Exod. 5. 14.
f Hen. Hunt. Reg. Hoved.

3. *Cambridge* and *Oxford* both of them deeply tasted of this bitter Cup at the same time. True it is, some two years since, when the rest of the *East-Angles* cowardly fled away, *homines Comitatus* Cantabrigiæ [g] *viriliter obstiterunt*, *unde* Anglis *regnantibus laus* Cantabrigiensis *Provinciæ splendide florebat*. Hence it is that I have read (though unable at the instant to produce my *Authour*) that *Cambridgeshire-men* claim an *ancient* (now *antiquated*) *Priviledge*, to lead the *Van* in all Battels. But Valour at last little befriended them, the *Danes* burning *Cambridge* to Ashes, and harassing the *Country* round about.

The valour of Cambridge-shire-men.
g Chronicon Io. Bromton pag. 887.

Edmu. cognom. Ironside 1 — 1016

4. Here let *State-Historians* inform the *Reader* of intestine Warres betwixt *Edmund Ironside* (so called for his hardy enduring all Troubles) King of *England*, *Defendour*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, *Invader* of this Land; till at last, (after a *personall Duel* fought) the *Land* was equally divided betwixt them. A division wherewith *both* seemed, *neither* were well pleased; seeing the least *whole head* cannot be fitted with the biggest *half Crown*; *all* or *none* was their desire. *Canutus* at last with his *Silver Hand*, was *too hard* for the other his *Iron Side*; who by his *promised Bribes* prevailed with one *Edrick* to kill this his *Corrivall*; which being performed he was *fairely advanced* with a [h] *Halter*. It would spoil the *Trade* of all *Traytours*, if such *Coyn* onely were *current* in paying their Rewards.

Two English Kings at once.
Edm. Ironside treacherously slain.
h Others say he was beheaded.

Canuti 1 — 1017

5. *Canutus* or *Knot* the *Dane* (from whom a *Bird* in *Lincolnshire* is so called, wherewith his *Palate* [i] was much pleased) bathed himself in *English Bloud*, whom at this distance of time, we may safely term a *Tyrant*, so many *Murthers* and *Massacres* were by him committed. For his *Religion*, as yet he was a *Mungrel* betwixt a *Pagan* and a *Christian*; though at last, the later prevailed, especially after his *Pilgrimage* to *Rome*.

Canutus his cruelty,
i Draitons Poly-olbion, pag. 112.

14 — 1031

In his passage thither, he went through *France*; where understanding that the people paid deep *Taxes*, he disburst so much of his own money in their *behalf*, that he brought their [k] *Taxes* to be abated to one half: An Act of *Pitty* in a *Prince* without *Precedent* done to Forrainers. It is vain for the *English* to wish the *like Curtesy* from the King of *France*; partly because *England* lies not in their way to *Rome*, partly because they are fuller of *Complements* then *Curtesie*.

Converted into charity.
k Rodulph. de Diceto, column. 468.

16 — 1033

6. Coming to *Rome*, *Canutus* turned *Convert*, changing his *condition* with the *climate*, shewing there many expressions of Devotion. Much he gave to the *Pope*, and something he gained from him; namely, an Immunity for *Archbishops*, from their excessive Charges about their *Pall*, and some other Favours he obtained for his Subjects. After his return into his *own Country*, he laid out all the remainder of his dayes in Acts of Charitie, in *founding*, or *enriching*

l Iohannes Bromton, in leg. Canuti column. 912.
He goeth to Rome.

Returneth improved in devotion.

enriching of *religious Houses*, and two especially, *Saint Bennets* in the Holm in *Norfolk*, and *Hyde Abbey* near *Wincheſter*.

The paramount *Croſſe* of *England* for richneſs. a Camdens *Britan. in* Hantſhire.

7. To this latter he gave a *Croſſe* ſo coſtly for the Metall, and curious for the Making, that *one yeares* [a] *Revenues* of his *Crown* was expended on the ſame. But the *Croſſe* of this *Croſſe* was, that about the *Reign* of King *Henry* the *ſixth*, it was [b] burnt down with the whole *Monaſtery*, in a Fire which was very ſuſpicious to have been kindled by intentionall Malice. This *Canutus* towards the latter end of his *Reign*, never wore a *Crown*; reſigning up the ſame to the *Image* of *our Saviour*: he was alſo famous for a particular act of *Humility* done by him on this occaſion.

b *Idem ibidem* King *Canutus* his Humility.

Commands the Sea.

8. A *Paraſite* (and ſooner will an *hot May* want *Flies*, then a Kings *court* ſuch *Flatterers*) ſought to puffe up King *Canutus*, with an opinion of his Puiſſance; as if, becauſe *England* and *Norway*, therefore *Æolus* and *Neptune* muſt obey him. In confuting of whoſe falſehood; *Canutus* commanded his *Chair of State* to be ſet on the *Sea-ſhore*, nigh *South-Hampton*, and ſettled himſelf thereon. Then he [c] imperiouſly commanded the Waves (as a Fence which walled that *Land*, belonging unto him) to obſerve their due Diſtance, not preſuming to approach him. The ſurly Waves were ſo far from obeying, they heard him not; who liſtned onely to the *Proclamation* of a *higher Monarch*, [d] *Hither ſhalt thou come, and no further*; and made bold to give the Kings Feet ſo courſe a *Kiſſe*, as wetted him up to the Knees.

c Hen. Huntingtron in *vita* Canuti. But in vain.

d *Iob* 38.11.

His Sermon thereon.

9. On this accident King *Canutus* made an excellent *Sermon*: Firſt, adoring the infinite Power of God, ſole Commander of the Winds and Waves: Secondly, confeſſing the frailty of all Fleſh, unable to ſtop the leaſt Drop of the *Sea*: Thirdly, confuting the *Profaneneſſe* of *Flatterers*, fixing an infinite Power in a finite Creature. As for the *Laws* made by King *Canutus*, we have purpoſely omitted them: not ſo much becauſe many, large, and ordinarily extant; but chiefly becauſe, moſt, of Civil Concernment.

His Laws why omitted.

Harold Harefoot, ſucceeded him.

10. *Two* of his Sons ſucceeded him, more known by their handſome *Sur-names*, then any other Deſert. Firſt his *baſe Son*, (taking advantage of his Brothers abſence) called from his *Swiftneſſe*, *Harold Harefoot* belike; another [e] *Aſahel* in Nimbleneſſe, but *Hares-heart* had better befitted his *Nature*, ſo cowardly his diſpoſition. Then his *legitimate Sonne*, called *Hardy Canute*, more truely *bloudy Canute*, *eminent* for his *Cruelty*. With him expired the *Daniſh Royall Line* in *England*, leaving no Iſſue behind him, and opening an Opportunity for the baniſhed *Sonne* of King *Ethelred* to recover the *Crown*, whoſe enſuing *Reign* is richly worth our deſcription. Mean time it is worth our obſerving, in how few yeares the *Daniſh Greatneſſe* ſhrank to nothing; and from *formidable*, became *inconſiderable*, yea *contemptible*. Indeed *Canutus* was one of *extraordinary Worth*, and the Wheel once *moved* will for a time *turn* of it ſelf. Had *Harold* his *Son* (by what way it skilled not) been one of a *tolerable diſpoſition*, he might have *traded* in *Reputation*, on the *Stock* of his *Fathers Memory*. But being ſo very mean, (*conſiderable* onely in *Cruelty*) his Fathers *Worth* did him the Diſadvantage, to render his *Vnworthyneſſe* the more *conſpicuous*. Beſides, when *Hardy Canute* his Brother ſucceeded him, and though *better born*, ſhewed himſelf no *better bred* in his inhumane Carriage; it cauſed not onely a *Nauſeation* in the people of *England* of *Daniſh* Kings, but alſo an *appetite*, yea a *longing* after their true and due *Soveraign*.

e 2 Sam. 2. 18 Then Hardy Canutus.

Anno Dom.	Anno Canuti
1035	18
	Harold Harefoot.
1036	1
	Hardy Canuti
1040	1

Anno Regni Edvardi Confessoris 1 — Anno Dom. 1042

11. *Edward* the *Confessour*, youngest Son of King *Ethelred*, (his elder *Brethren* being slain, and their Children fled away) came to be King of *England*. I understand not the *Ceremony* which I read was used to this *Edward*, whilest as yet (saith a *Monkish*[a] *Authour*, properly enough in his own Language) he was *contained in the weak Cloisters of his Mothers VVomb*; at which time the *Peers* of the Land sware *Allegiance* unto him or her (the Sex as yet being unknown) before he was born. Indeed I find that *Varanes* his Child was crowned King whilest yet in his *Mothers* Body,[b] *applicata ad Vterum Corona*. But what Solemnity soever was done to this *Hans-en-Kelder*, it did not afterwards embolden him to the Anticipation of the Crown, attending till it descended upon him.

Edward the Confessour becomes King of *England*.

a *Father* Hierome Porter *in the flowers of the lives of the Saints*, pag. 2.

b Agathias *lib.* 4.

12. A worthy King, no less pious to God, then just to Man: For, whereas formerly there were manifold Laws in the Land, made, some by the *Britans*, others by the *Danes*, others by the *English*, swelling to an unmeasurable Number, to the great Mischief of his Subjects; he caused some few of the best to be selected, and the rest, as captious and unnecessary, to be rejected. Hence, say some, they were called the *Common Laws*, as calculated for the *common Good*, and no private persons Advantage.

The original of our Common Laws.

13. It is admirable, how the *Danes* in this *Kings* Reign were vanished away. They who formerly could scarce be numbred in *England*, they were so many, could now scarce be numbred they were so few, and those living quietly with their *English* Neighbours. As for *forrein* invading *Danes* in this Kings Reign, as I cannot see them, so I will not seek them, glad of their Room and Riddance. Indeed once I meet with an Assay of them in a *Navy* bound to infest *England*: but their King being casually *drowned* as he entred his own *Fleet*, put an end to their Hopes, and our Feares for that Designe.

No hostile *Danes* appear in *England*.

4 1046 14. *Emma*, King *Edward*'s Mother, being suspected too familiar with *Alwin* Bishop of *VVincheſter*, under the colour of Devotion, put herself to be tryed by *Ordall*; whereof this the manner. Nine *Plow-shares* glowing hot were laid on the Ground, one foot distant from another; the party *suspected* was to be brought blind-folded, and bare-footed to passe over them: if he chanced to step in the Intervalls, or on the hot Iron unhurt, he was pronounced *Innocent*, otherwise condemned for an *Offender*. An unjust Law, wherein the Tryers had no Precept, the Tryed no Promise. Must Innocence be ruin'd as often as Malice would wrong it, if Miracle would not rescue it? This was not a way to try man, but tempt God: As just a Trying by Fire, as that of our modern Witches by Water. This Tryall Queen *Emma* admirably underwent, not sensible of the *Plow-shares* till past them, saying to such as led her, *Oh, when shall I come to the place of my Purgation?*

The manner of Ordall by fire.

15. By what Power this was performed, I will not dispute, finding amongst the[c] Heathens a City *Feronia*, twenty miles from *Rome*, under mount *Soracte*; where the Inhabitants, possessed with a spirit of a Deity therein worshipped, usually walked upon burning Coales, without any Harm. Onely I wonder, that Bishop *Alwin* (equally suspected, and equally innocent with *Emma*) should not profer himself to the like Triall. But, perchance, the prudent Prelate remembred, that such barbarous Customes, though kept up amongst the Common People, were forbidden by the ancient Canons, as also by the Letter of Pope *Stephen* the fifth, which about the year eight hundred eighty and seven he wrote to *Humbert*, Bishop of *Mentz*: And now *Emma*, who went willingly on this sad Errand, did the Businesse for them both, and cleared their Credits. The Church of *Wincheſter* got well hereby, *viz.* nine Mannours, which Queen *Emma* bestowed thereon, in Commemoration of her Deliverance.

Queen *Emma* her miraculous purgation.

c Strab. *Geog. lib.* 5. & Plin. *lib.* 7. *cap.* 2.

16. King *Edward* the *Confessour* was married to the devout Lady *Edith*; his Wife in Minde, but not in Body; in Consent, not Act; being onely (as my Authour saith) an *Abishag* to the King. Strange! that two Persons, if loving each other in the prime of their yeares, should light on so happy a Temper, as mutually to warm, not to heat one another; which the Wise-men in our Age will

A Wife no Wife.

Anno Dom. 1046 — Anno Regis Edvardi Confessoris 14

will account difficult, and the Wanton impossible. Such will say, if this was true, that King *Edward* pass'd as great a Triall, as Queen *Emma* his Mother; and that his *Ordall* was as hard, as hers was painfull.

Yet, was there not a cause? a Gen. 1. 28.

17. Was it not pity, but the World should have moe of the Breed of them, who were so godly a Couple? Let Baseneſſe be barren, and Cruelty childleſſe; Pious persons deserve a double Portion in that Charter of Fruitfulneſſe, a *Multiply and encreaſe*. Yea, the *Engliſh* Crown now wanting an Heir, and, for Default thereof, likely to fall to Forreiners, might (I will not say have tempted, but) have moved King *Edward* to the Knowledge of his Wife. But whileſt Papists crie up this his incredible Continency: others easily unwonder the same, by imputing it partly to his Impotence, afflicted with an Infirmitie; partly to the Distaste of his Wife, whom he married onely for Coveniencie; and to the Distrust of her Chastity, on suspition whereof, he confined her to the Monasterie of *Whore-well* (as I take it) in *Hamſhire*.

The good daughter of a bad father.

18. But grant Queen *Edith* a chast Woman, as she is generally believed; Daughter she was to a wicked Father, Earle *Godwin* by name, whence the Proverb,

Sicut ſpina roſam, genuit Godwinus Editham.
From prickly stock as springs a Rose;
So *Edith* from Earle *Godwin* grows.

little ill being written of the Daughter, and no good of the Father. Indeed King *Edward* was *Father-in-law-ridden*, who feared Earle *Godwin* rather then trusted him, as who with a long train of his Power could sweep many Dependents after him. This *Godwin* (like those Sands near *Kent* which bear his name) never spared what he could spoile, but swallowed all which came within his compass to devoure. Two Instances whereof, because both belonging to Church-matters, we will relate.

Godwin's device to get *Berkley* Nunnerie.

19. He cast a covetous Eye on the fair Nunnery of *Berkley* in *Gloceſterſhire*, and thus contrived it for himself. He left there an handsome young man, really, or seemingly, sick, for their Charity to recover; who quickly grows well, and wanton. He is toying, tempting, taking; such Fire and Flax quickly make a Flame. The Sisters loose their Chastity, and, without taking Wife in the way, are ready to make Mothers. The young man (if sick) returns to Earle *Godwin* in Health, leaving the healthfull Nuns sick behind him. The fame hereof fills the Country, flies to Court, is complained of by Earle *Godwin* to the King; Officers are sent to enquire, they return it to be true, the Nuns are turned out, their House and Lands forfeited, both bestowed on Earle *Godwin*; *ſurpriſed VVeakneſſe* being put out, and *deſigning VVickedneſſe* placed in the room thereof. Surely King *Edward* knew nothing of *Godwin's* Deceit herein; otherwise it was unjust, that the Whores should be punished, and the principall Pander rewarded.

Another tick to gain the mannour of *Boſeham*.

20. At another time he had a mind to the rich Mannour of *Boſeham* in *Suſſex*, and complemented it out of *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in this manner. Coming to the Arch-bishop, he saith, *Da mihi Baſium*, that is, *Give me a Buſs*, or a *Kiſſe*, an usuall Favour from such a Prelate. The Arch-bishop returns, *Do tibi Baſium*, kissing him therewith. An *holy* Kiss (perchance) as given, but a *crafty* one as taken: for *Godwin* presently posts to *Boſeham*, and takes possession thereof. And though here was neither real Intention in him who passed it away, nor valuable Consideration to him, but a mere Circumvention; yet such was *Godwin's* Power, and the Arch-bishops poorneſſe of spirit, that he quietly enjoyed it. Nor have I ought else to observe either of *Berkley* or *Boſeham*, but that both these rich and ancient Mannours, Earle *Godwin* his brace of Cheats, and distant an hundred miles each from other, are now both met in the Right Honourable *George Berkley* (as Heir apparent thereof) the paramount *Mecænas* of my Studies: whose Ancestors as they were long since justly possessed of them; so I doubt not but their Posterity will long comfortably enjoy them.

21. The

Anno Regis Edvardi Confessoris 4 — Anno Dom. 1046

21. The Monks that wrote this King *Edward*'s life, had too heavy a hand in over-spicing it with Miracles, which hath made the Relation too hot for the Mouth of any moderate Belief. A poor Cripple chanced to come to him, one who might have stockt a whole Hospitall with his own Maladies. It was questionable, whether the Difficulty of his Crawling caused more Pain, or the Deformity thereof more Shame unto him. The sight of him made all tender Beholders *Cripples by Sympathie*, commiserating his sad Condition. But it seems, this weak Wretch had a strong Fancy, and bold Face, who durst desire the King himself to carry him on his Back into the Church, on assurance (as he said) that thereby he should be recovered. The good King grants his Desire, and this Royal Porter beares him into the Church, where so strange an Alteration is said to happen; *Qui venit quadrupes, decessit bipes, He that came on all four, departed straight, and upright.*

A miracle reported done by King *Edward*.

19 — 1061

22. The Church into which the King carried the Cripple, was St. *Peter*'s in *Westminister*, built by him on this Occasion. King *Edward* had made a Vow to visit the Reliques of St. *Peter* in *Rome*; and, because his Subjects could not safely spare him out of his own Country, the Pope dispensed with him for the Performance thereof. Now, although he went not to St. *Peter*, St. *Peter* came to him, and in severall Apparitions advised him to build him a Church in the place now called *Westminster*, then *Thornie*, because desolate, and overgrown with Thorns and Briars. Nor is it any news, that populous Cities at this present, were anciently Woods and Bushie plots. What else was *Ierusalem* it self in the dayes of *Abraham*, but a *Thornie*, when in the middest thereof on Mount *Moriah*, *a Ram was caught by the* [a] *Horns in a Thicket*? This Church many yeares before had been dedicated to, and (as the Monks say) consecrated by St. *Peter*, till destroyed by the *Danes*, King *Edward* raised it from the Ruines, endowing it with large Priviledges, and rich Possessions.

Westminster Church rebuilt by him.

a *Gen.* 22. 13.

23. Next to St. *Peter*, our *Edward*'s Darling, he is said to be most in Favour with St. *John* the Apostle, who is reported to have appeared unto him in the shape of a Begging Pilgrim; the King, not having at the present Money to supply his Wants, pluckt off his Ring from his Finger, and bestowed it upon him. This very Ring, some yeares after, St. *John* sent him back again by two Pilgrims out of *Palestine*; but withall telling him, that he should die within six moneths after: a Message more welcome then the Ring to such a mortified man. If any doubt of the truth thereof, it is but riding to *Havering* in *Essex*, so called (as [b] they say) from this Ring, where (no doubt) the Inhabitants will give any sufficient Satisfaction therein.

A Ring said to be sent from St. *John* to King *Edward*.

b Camden's *Britan.* in Essex.

24. Amongst the many Visions in this Kings Reign, one I will not omit, because seeming to have somewhat more then mere Monk therein. One being inquisitive, what should become of *England* after King *Edward*'s Death, received this Answer, *The King dome of* England *belongeth to God himself, who will provide it a King at his pleasure.* Indeed *England* is Gods on severall Titles. First, as a Country; *the Earth is his, and the Fulnesse thereof*: Secondly, as an Island, which are Gods *Demesnes*, which he keeps in his *own hand* of his daily Providence: Thirdly, as a Kingdome on which he hath bestowed miraculous Deliverances. Seeing then *England* is his own, we know who said, [c] *Is it not lawfull to doe what I will with mine own*? May he dispose of his own to his own Glory, and the good of his own Servants.

A Vision worth observing.

c *Mat.* 20. 15

25. Amongst the many resplendent Vertues in King *Edward*, Contempt of Wealth was not the least, whereof some bring in this for an Instance. The King lay on a Pallet surrounded with Curtains; by him stood a Chest of Silver, which *Hugolin*, his Treasurer (called away on some sudden Occasion) had left open. In comes a thievish Courtier, takes away as much Money as he could carry, and disposeth thereof. Then cometh he the second time for a new Burden, little suspecting that the unseen King saw him all the while, and having laden himself, departed. Some adde, he returned the third time. *Be content* (quoth

King *Edward*'s contempt of wealth.

(quoth the King) *with what you have, leſt, if* Hugolin *come in and catch you, he take it all from you.* Soon after the Treaſurer returning, and fretting for loſs of the Money, *Let him have it quietly* (ſaid the King) *he needeth it more then we do.* Words which ſpake him a better man then King, as acceſſary to his own Robbing; who, if pleaſed to have made this pilfering Fellow to have taſted of the Whip for his pains, had marred a pretty jeaſt, but made a better Earneſt therein.

Anno Dom. 1061. Anno Regis Edwardi Confeſſoris 19.

King *Edward*'s Wardrobe put into the Regalia.

26. Poſterity conceived ſo great an opinion of King *Edward*'s Piety, that his Cloaths were depoſited amongſt the *Regalia*, and ſolemnly worn by our *Engliſh* Kings on their Coronation; never counting themſelves ſo fine, as when inveſted with his Robes; the Sanctity of *Edward* the firſt Wearer excuſing, yea adorning the modern Antiqueneſſe of his Apparell. Amongſt theſe is the *Rod* or *Sceptre*, with a *Dove* on the Top thereof, (the Emblem of Peace) becauſe in his Reign *England* enjoyed *Halcyon* dayes, free from *Daniſh* Invaſions: as alſo his *Crown*, *Chair*, *Staffe*, *Tunick*, *cloſe Pall*, [a] *Tuiſni hoſen*, *Sandalls*, *Spurres*, *Gloves*, &c. Expect not from me a Comment on theſe ſeverall Cloaths, or reaſon for the wearing of them. In generall, it was to mind our Kings, when habited with his Cloaths, to be cloathed with the habit of his vertuous Endowments; as when putting on the Gloves of this Confeſſour, their Hands ought to be like his, in moderate taking of Taxes from their Subjects. Indeed, Impoſitions once raiſed are ſeldome remitted, pretended Neceſſities being alwayes found out for their Continuance. But our *Edward* releaſed to his Subjects the grievous burden of *Dane-gelt*, payed to his Predeceſſours, conceiving it fit, now the *Danes* were departed, that the Gelt or Tax ſhould go after them. But now *Edward*'s *Staffe* is broken, *Chair* overturned, *Cloaths* rent, and *Crown* melted, our preſent Age eſteeming them the Reliques of Superſtition.

a *Sir Mills his Catalogue of honour, p. 59.*

No *Confeſſour* in the ſtrictneſs of the word.

27. And yet all things being caſt up, I confeſſe I underſtand not how the name Confeſſour is proper to King *Edward*, in the ſtrict acceptance thereof. For a Confeſſour is one actually perſecuted for the teſtimony of the Truth, and prepared to loſe his Life for the ſame. He is a Martyr in *Bullion*, wanting onely the *Stamp* of a Violent Death to be impreſſed upon him. Now a great part of our *Edward*'s Life, was led by him in Peace and Plenty; nothing bounding his Abundance but his own Moderation, & for twenty years together having no viſible Foe to offend him. And although in his youth he lived in *Normandy*, in a middle Condition, betwixt an Exile and a Traveller, flying thither for fear of the *Danes*; yet ſuch his Sufferings were of Civil Concernment, not directly relating to Conſcience, though at diſtance reducible thereunto. But ſeeing in the Titles of great Perſons, it is better to give too much then too little; a *Confeſſour* we found him, and a *Confeſſour* we leave him.

Stigand the vicious Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*

28. Our Eyes have been ſo intent in beholding the Vertues of this King, we have been little at Leaſure to take notice of the Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury*, during his Reign. Know then that about ten yeares ſince, *Robert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſucceeded *Eadſin* therein, fearing ſome hard meaſure from Earle *Godwin* (notwithſtanding he had been contentedly *kiſſed* out of his *Mannour* of *Boſcham*) conveyed himſelf away beyond the Seas, to his *Monaſtery* in *Normandy*, whence he came firſt into *England*. After whoſe Departure, *Stigand* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* intruded himſelf into that *See*, eminent onely for Vice, and ſordid Covetouſneſſe.

King *Edward*'s Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions.

29. As for the *Eccleſiaſticall* Laws made by this King in his Reign, it will be enough to affix their Principall *Titles*.

1. That every *Clerk* and *Scholar* ſhould quietly enjoy their Goods and Poſſeſſions.
2. What ſolemn Feſtivalls people may come and goe of, without any Law-Sutes to diſturb them.
3. That in all Courts where the Biſhops Proctour doth appear, his Caſe is firſt to be heard and determined.

4. That

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4. That Guilty folk flying to the Church should there have Protection, not to be reprehended by any, but by the Bishop and his Ministers.

5. That Tithes be paid to the Church, of Sheep, Pigs, Bees, and the like.

6. How the *Ordall* was to be ordered for the Triall of Guilty persons by Fire and Water.

7. That *Peter-pence*, or *Romescot*, be faithfully payed to the Pope.

But I loose time, and referre the Reader to read these Constitutions at large, being three and twenty in number, in the worthy [a] Work of that no lesse Learned then Religious Knight Sir *Henry Spelman*.

a *In his Councils, pag.* 619.

24 — 1066 Jan. 4. — 30. And now the full time was come, wherein good King *Edward* exchanged this life for a better. Who, as he was famous for many personall Miracles, so he is reported to have entailed (by Heavens Consort) an hereditary Vertue on his Successours the Kings of *England*, (onely with this Condition, [b] that they continue constant in Christianity) to cure the *Kings Evil*. This Disease, known to the *Greeks* by the name of χοιράς, termed by *Latines Struma*, and *Scrophula*, hath it's Cause from Phlegm, it's chief and common outward Residence, in or near the Neck & Throat, where it expresseth it self in Knobs and Kernells, pregnant oftentimes with corrupted Bloud, & other putrified matter, which on the breaking of those Bunches, floweth forth, equally offensive to Sight, Smell and Touch. And yet this noisome Disease is happily healed by the Hands of the Kings of *England* stroaking the Soar: & if any doubt of the Truth thereof, they may be remitted to their own Eyes for farther Confirmation. But there is a sort of men, who to avoid the Censure of over-easie Credulity, and purchase the Repute of prudent Austerity, justly incurre the Censure of affected Frowardnesse. It being neither Manners nor Discretion in them, in matters notoriously known, to give daily Experience the Lye, by the Backwardnesse of their Belief.

How the Kings of *England* come to cure the Kings Evil.

b Primosius *de Vulgar. Error. cap. ultimo.*

31. But whence this Cure proceeds, is much controverted amongst the Learned. Some recount it in the Number of those ἀπροσδιόριστα, whose Reason cannot be demonstrated. For as in vicious Common-wealths Bastards are frequent, who being reputed *Filii Populi*, have no particular Father: so mans Ignorance increaseth the number of *Occult Qualities*, (which I might call Chances in Nature,) where the Effect is beheld, but cannot be certainly referred to any immediate and proper Cause thereof. Others impute it to the power [c] of Fancie, and an exalted Imagination. For when the poor Patient (who perchance seldome heard of, and never saw a King before) shall behold his Royall Hand dabling in a Puddle of Puttefaction, & with a charitable Confidence rubbing, smoothing, chafing those loathsome Kernells, (which I may call Clouds of Corruption, dissolved oft-times into a feculent Shower;) I say, when the Sick-man shall see an Hand so humble of an Arme so high, such Condescention in a King, to stroak that Soar, at which meaner Persons would stop their Nostrills, shut their Eyes, or turn their Faces; this raiseth, erecteth, enthroneth the Patients Fancie, summoning his spirits to assist Nature with their utmost Might, to encounter the Disease with greater Advantage. And who will look into the Legend of the Miracles of Imagination, shall find many strange, and almost incredible, things thereby really effected.

Severall opinions of the Causes thereof.

c Ferrerius, *lib. 2. method. cap. 11. de Homeric. Curat.*

32. Other Learned men, and particularly [d] *Gaspar Peucerus*, though acquitting this Cure from Diabolicall Conjuration, yet tax it as guilty of Superstition. With him all such do side, as quarrell at the Ceremonies and Circumstances used at the Healing of this Maladie. Either displeased at the Collect read, (consisting of the first nine verses of the Gospell of S[t]. *John*) as wholly improper, and nothing relating to the Occasion; or unresolved of the Efficacy of the Gold pendent about the Patients Neck, (whether partly compleating, or a bare Complement of the Cure;) or secretly unsatisfied, what manner and measure of Belief is required (according to the Modell whereof Health is observed to come sooner or later;) or openly offended with the [e] *Sign of the Crosse*, which was

Otherscount it Superstition.

d *Lib. de Incantamentis.*

e Gu. Tucker *in Charismate, cap. 7. pag. 96.*

was used to be made by the Royall Hands on the Place infected. All which Exceptions fall to the ground, when it shall be avowed, that notwithstanding the Omission of such Ceremonies (as requisite rather to the Solemnity, then Substance of the Cure) the bare Hands of our Kings (without the Gloves, as I may term it, of the aforesaid Circumstances) have effected the healing of this Disease.

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Many make the Cure miraculous.

33. Hereupon some make it a cleat Miracle, and immediately own Gods Finger in the Kings Hand. That when the Art of the Physitian is posed, the Industry of the Chirurgion tired out, the Experience of both at a Losse, when all humane Means cry craven; then that Wound made by the Hand of God, is cured by the hand of his Vice-gerent. Hath Heaven indued Vegetables (the worst and weakest of living Creatures) with cordiall Qualities? yea, hath it bestowed pretious Properties on dull and inanimate Waters, Stones and Mineralls, insomuch that such are condemned for Silly or Sullen, for Stupid or Stubborn, as doubt thereof? And shall we be so narrow-hearted, as not to conceive it possible, that Christian men, the noblest of corporeall Creatures; Kings, the most eminent of all Christian men; Kings of *Britain*, the First-Fruits of all Christian Kings, should receive that peculiar Priviledge, and sanative Power, whereof daily Instances are presented unto us? See here the vast Difference betwixt Papists and Protestants. How do the former court those Miracles, which fly from them; and often, in default of Reall ones, are glad and greedy to hug and embrace empty Shadows of things falsly reported to be done, or fondly reputed to be Miracles? Whereas many Protestants, on the contrary, (as in the matter in hand) are scrupulous in accepting Miracles truely tendered unto them. But although our Religion, firmly founded on, and safely fenced with the Scriptures, needs no Miracles to confirm or countenance the truth thereof: yet when they are by the hand of Heaven cast into our Scales (not to make our Doctrine Weight, but) as *superpondium*, or an Over-plus freely bestowed; sure they may safely without Sin be received; not to say, can scarce be refused, without (at least) some suspicion of Neglect & Ingratitude to the Goodnesse of God.

The ingenuous confession of a Catholick.

34. Nor will it be amisse here to relate a Passage which happened about the middest of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, after Pope *Pius* did let fly his Excommunication against her. There was a stiffe *Roman* Catholick (as they delight to term themselves) otherwise a man well accomplished, and of an ingenuous Disposition, who being cast into Prison, (I conceive for his Religion,) was there visited in an high degree, with the *Kings Evil*. And having with great Pain and Expence, but no Successe, long used the advice of Physitians, at last he humbly addressed himself unto the Queens Majestie, by whom, with Gods help, he was compleatly cured. And being demanded, *What news?* [a] *I perceive*, said he, *now at last by plain experience, that the Excommunication denounced by the Pope against her Majestie is in very deed of none effect, seeing God hath blessed her with so great and miraculous a Vertue.*

a Gu. Tucker in Charismate cap. 6. pag. 92.

Queen Elizabeth why displeased with the people in Glocestershire

35. This mention of Queen *Elizabeth* (there is a magnetick Vertue in Stories, for one to attract another) minds me of a Passage in the beginning of her Reign. Making her Progresse into *Glocestershire*, people affected with this Disease did in uncivil Crowds presse in upon her. Insomuch that her Majestie, betwixt Anger, Grief, and Compassion, let fall words to this effect: *Alasse, poor people, I cannot, I cannot cure you; it is God alone that can doe it.* Which words some interpreted, (contrary to her Intent and Practice, continuing such Cures till the day of her Death) an utter renouncing and disclaiming of any Instrumentall Efficacy in her self. Whereas she onely removed her Subjects Eyes from gazing on her, to look up to Heaven. For mens Minds naturally are so dull and heavy, that instead of traveling with their Thanks to God, the Cause of all Cures, they lazily take up their Lodging more then half-way on this side, mistaking the Dealer for the Giver of their Recovery. It follows not therefore, that the Queen refused to heal their Bodies, because carefull in the

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the first place to cure their Souls of this dangerous Mistake. A Princesse, who as she was a most exact Demander of her Due, (observed seldome or never to forgive her greatest Favourites what they owed her) so did she most punctually pay her Ingagements to others, as to all men, so most especially to God, loth that he should lose any Honour due unto him, by her unjust Detaining thereof.

36. The Kings of *France* share also with those of *England* in this miraculous Cure. And *Laurentius* reports, that when *Francis* the first, King of *France*, was kept Prisoner in *Spain*, he, notwithstanding his Exile and Restraint, daily cured infinite Multitudes of people of that Disease; according to this Epigram:

Hispanos inter sanat Rex Chæradas, estque
Captivus Superis gratus, ut ante fuit.

The Captive King the Evil cures in *Spain*;
Dear, as before, he doth to God remain.

So it seemeth his Medicinall Quality is affixed not to his Prosperity, but Person; so that during his Durance he was fully free to exercise the same.

The Kings of *France* cure the Kings Evil.

37. Thus farre we patiently hear, and sufficiently credit this Authour; but can no longer afford him either Belief or Attention; when he presumeth to tell us, that the Kings of *England* never [a] cured the *Kings Evill*, a Vertue appropriated onely to his Majestie of *France*. Onely he confesseth, that long ago some of our *English* Kings of the *Anjouan* Race (descended from *Jeffery Plantagenet*) did *heal the Falling Sickneſſe*, with certain Consecrated Annulets, a Custome long since disused. Thus he seeks to deprive our Princes of their Patrimoniall Vertue, and to make them Reparations (instead of their sanative Power, whereof they are peaceably possest to *them and their Heires*, holding it of God *in chief*) with assigning them an old Lease, where the Title at the best was litigious, and the Term long ago expired. But the Reader may be pleased to take notice, that this *Laurentius* was *Physician in ordinary* to King *Henry* the fourth of *France*, and so had his Judgement herein bowed awry with so weighty a Relation; Flattery being so catching a Disease, wherewith the best Doctors of Physick may sometimes be infected. To cry quits with him, Doctor *Tucker*, Chaplain to Queen *Elizabeth*, in a Treatise he wrote of this Subject, denyeth the Kings of *France* ever originally cured this Evil, but *per aliquam* [b] *Propaginem*, by a Sprig of Right derived from the primitive Power of our *English* Kings, under whose Jurisdiction most of the *French* Provinces were once subjected.

Laurentius falsely denies the Kings of *England* power in curing the *Kings Evil*.

a *De mirabili strumarum curatione c. 2.*

b *In his charismate cap. 6. pag. 34.*

38. Between these two Authours, violent in Opposition, haply we may find the Truth, whose constant Dwelling-place is pleasantly seated in a moderate Vale, betwixt two swelling Extremes. For it plainly appeareth by uncontroulable Arguments and Evidences, that both the Crowns, of *England* and *France*, have for many years been invested with this miraculous Gift; yet so, that our *English* Kings are the elder Brothers in the Possession thereof. For if S[t]. *Lewes*, King of *France* (who was contemporary with our King *Henry* the third) was the [c] first of that Royall Race, which healed this Evil, his Cradle was more then 160. yeares after the Coffin of our *Edward* the Confessour, from whom, as is aforesaid, our Kings derive this soveraign Power by constant Succession. But methinks my Book in this Discourse, begins to bunch or swell out, and some will censure this Digression for a *Struma*, or tedious Exuberancy, beyond the just Proportion of our History; wherefore no more hereof: onely I will conclude with two Prayers; extending the first to all Good people, That Divine Providence would be pleased to preserve them from this painfull and loathsome Disease. The second I shall confine to my self alone (not knowing how it will suit with the Consciences and Judgements of others,) yet so as not excluding any who are disposed to joyn with me in my Petition; namely, That

The indifferent Opinion.

c *So witnesseth* Andrew Chasne *a French Authour, and others.*

if

if it be the Will of God to visit me (whose Body hath the Seeds of all Sickneſſe, and Soul of all Sins) with the aforeſaid Malady, I may have the Favour to be touched of his Majeſty, the Happineſs to be healed by him, and the Thankfulneſs to be grateſull to God the Authour, and Gods Image the Inſtrument of my Recovery. I'le onely adde this ſhort Story and then proceed. A little before theſe Wars began, a Miniſter (not over-loyally affected,) was accuſed, and was like to have been troubled for this Paſſage in his Sermon, that *Oppreſſion was the Kings Evil.* But being called to anſwer it before the *Commiſſioners*, he expounded his own words, that he meant *Oppreſſion was the Kings Evil*, not that the King cauſed it, but onely *cured* it, and alone in this Land could remedy and redreſſe the ſame.

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Harold uſurpeth the Crown.

39. King *Edward* dying Childleſſe, cauſed by his affected Chaſtity, left the Land at a Loſſe for an Heir in a direct Line, & opened a Door to the Ambition of Collaterall Pretenders. Indeed the undoubted Right lay in *Edgar Atheling*, Son to *Edward* the *Out-law*, Grand-child to *Edmond Iron-ſide* King of *England*: But he being tender in Age, and (as it ſeems) ſoft in Temper, and of a forrein Garb, becauſe of his Education in *Hungary*, (his moſt potent Alliance in *Germany*, out of Diſtance to ſend him ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance,) was paſſed by by the *Engliſh* Nobility. Theſe choſe *Harold* to be King, whoſe Title to the Crown is not worth our deriving of it, much leſs his relying on it. But having endeared Marriallists by his Valour, engaged Courtiers by his Bounty, and obliged all ſorts of People by his Affability, he was advanced to the Crown by thoſe, who more conſidered his Ability to defend, then his Right to deſerve it.

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William Duke of *Normandy* twiſteth many weak Titles together.

40. *William* Duke of *Normandy* was Competitour with *Harold*, who ſupplying in Number what he wanted in Strength of his Titles, claimed the Crown by Alliance, Adoption, and Donation from *Edward* the Confeſſour; though he was as unable to give and bequeath, as *William*, being a Baſtard, in the Strictneſſe of *Saxon* Laws, was uncapable to receive it. But his *Sword* was ſtronger then his *Titles*, and the Sins of the *Engliſh* more forceable then either, to deliver that Nation (now grown, as Authours obſerve, intolerably vicious) into his Subjection. So that in a pitch'd Field, he overcame and killed King *Harold*, with the prime of the *Engliſh* Nobility, (a juſt Puniſhment on their Perjury, for their deſerting their *Lawfull Prince*,) and ſuch as ſurvived, were forced either to hold the Stirrup, or Lackey by the Side of many a mean-born *Norman*, mounted to Places of Profit and Honour. This was the fifth time wherein the South of this Iſland was conquered; firſt by *Romans*, ſecondly by *Picts* and *Scots*, thirdly by *Saxons*, fourthly by the *Danes*, and fifthly by the *Normans*. This mindeth me of the Prophet *Eliſha*'s ſpeech to [a] *Ioaſh* King of *Iſrael*; *Thou ſhouldeſt have ſmitten* Syria *5. or 6. times, then hadſt thou ſmitten* Syria, *till thou hadſt conſumed it.* (It ſeemeth five may, but ſix muſt diſpatch a People.) God hath already ſmitten this Iſland five times with a Rod of Forrein Invaſion, let us beware the ſixth time (that ſinall, fatall Number) for fear it prove the laſt, and utter Confuſion and Deſtruction of our Nation.

a 2 Kings 13. 19.

William rebateth his conquering Sword with Compoſition.

41. Thus King *William* came in by Conqueſt, though in the later part of his Reign, growing more mild and moderate, he twiſted his Right of Victory with Compoſition: as ſuch who have raviſhed a Woman againſt her will, endeavour afterwards to make her Reparation by Wooing and Wedding her, whom formerly they had wronged; ſo with Love to cover their Luſt, by the moſt excuſable way of Marriage. So King *William*, though he had forced this Land, yet afterwards, not ſo much out of Remorſe as Policy, (to ſuppreſſe frequent Tumults, and procure Security to himſelf and Succeſſours) is ſaid to have cloſed with the Commons in a fair way of Agreement, reſtoring many ancient Priviledges unto them. Thus, though Conqueſt was more honourable for his Credit, Compoſition was comfortable for his Conſcience, and accounted moſt ſafe for his poſterity. Witneſſe that judiciall Sentence, which King *William* in open Court pronounced againſt himſelf, adjudging

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judging the Lord of [a] *Sharnborn* in *Norfolk*, being an *English*-man, true owner of that Mannour; contrary to that Grant, wherein he had formerly bestowed it on one *Warren* a *Norman*. Herein the Conquerour confessed himself conquered, submitting his Arbitrary Power and Pleasure to be regulated by Justice, and the ancient Rights of *English*-men.

a Camden's *Britannia* in Norfolk.

42. But what Impression the *Norman* Victories made on the State, let Politicians observe; what Change it produced in the Laws, we leave to the Learned of that Faculty to prosecute: whilest that which renders the Conquest to Consideration in our Church-Story is, the manifest Change of Religion, from what formerly was publickly professed in *England*. To make this Mutation in it's due time more conspicuous, we will here conclude this Book with a brief Character of the principall Doctrines generally taught and believed by the *English*, in these four last Centuries, before tainted with any *Norman* Infection. For though we must confesse and bemoan, that Corruptions crept into the Church by Degrees, and Divine Worship began to be clogg'd with superstitious Ceremonies; yet that the Doctrine remained still sound and intire, in most materiall Points, will appeare by an Induction of the dominative Controversies, wherein we differ from the Church of *Rome*.

A breviate of the Doctrine of *England* in these Ages before the *Norman* Conquest.

1. *Scripture generally read.*

For such as were with the Holy Bishop *Aidan, sive Attonsi, sive* [b] *Laici*, either Clergy or Laity, were tied to exercise themselves in reading the Holy Word, and learning of Psalms.

b Bedæ *Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

The Originall preferred.

For *Ricemarch* a [c] *Britan*, a right Learned and Godly Clerk, Son to *Sulgen* Bishop of Saint *Davids*, flourishing in this Age, made this Epigram on those who translated the Psalter out of the *Greek*, so taking it at the Second hand, and not drawing it immediatly out of the first Vessel.

c Caradoc. *in Chron. of Cambridge.*

Ebreis [d] *Nablam custodit litera signis,*
Pro captu quam quisque suo sermone Latino
Edidit, innumeros lingua variante libellos,
Ebreumque *jubar suffuscat nube* Latina.
Nam tepefacta ferum dant tertia Labra Saporem.
Sed sacer Hieronymus, Ebreo *fonte repletus,*
Lucidius nudat verum, breviusque ministrat.

d MS. in the Library of the Learned Bishop, William Bedel, and cited by the Arch-bishop of Armagh in the Religion of the ancient Irish, pag. 9.

This Harp the holy *Hebrew* Text doth tender,
Which, to their Power, whil'st every one doth render
In *Latine* Tongue with many Variations,
He clouds the *Hebrew* Rayes with his Translations.
Thus Liquors when twice shifted out, and powr'd
In a third Vessel, are both cool'd and sowr'd.
But Holy *Ierome* Truth to light doth bring
Briefer and fuller, fetcht from th' *Hebrew* Spring.

No Prayers for the Dead, in the modern notion of Papists.

For, though we find Prayers for the Dead, yet they were not in the nature of *Propitiation* for their Sins, or to procure *Relaxation* from their Sufferings: but were only an honourable *Commemoration* of their Memories, and a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving for their Salvation. Thus S[t]. *Cuthbert*, after he had seen the Soul of one *Hadwaldus* [e] *carried by Angels into Heaven*, did celebrate Obsequies of Prayers in his behalf.

e Bede in vita Cuthberti cap. 34.

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Purgatory, though newly hatched, not yet fledged.

For, although there are frequent Visions and Revelations in this Age pretended, thereon to build *Purgatory* (which had no Foundation in Scripture) yet the Architects of that fancy-full Fabrick had not so handsomely contrived it, as it stands at this day in the *Romish* Belief. For [a] *Bede*, out of the Vision of *Furseus*, relateth certain great Fires above the Aire, appointed to *examine every one according to the merits of his VVork*; differing from the Papists *Purgatory*, which *Bellarmine*, by the common Consent of the School-men, determineth to be within the Bowels of the Earth. Thus nothing can be invented, and perfected at once.

Communion under both kinds.

For, [b] *Bede* relateth, that one *Hilmer*, an Officer of *Egfride* King of *Northumberland*, intreated our *Cuthbert* to send a Priest that might minister the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Bloud unto his Wife, that then lay a dying. And *Cuthbert* himself, immediatly before his own Departure out of this Life, received the Communion of the Lords Body and Bloud. And, lest any should fondly hope to decline so pregnant an Instance, by the novel conceit of *Concomitancy* (a Distinction that could not *speak*, because it was not born in that Age) it is punctually noted, that he distinctly received the Cup.

Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum
Sanguine munit iter ———

His Voyage steep the easier to climbe up,
Christs Bloud he drank out of Lifes healthfull Cup.

So that the Eucharist was then administred entire, and not maimed (as it is by Papists at this day) serving it, as [d] *Hanun* the *Ammonite* did the Cloaths and Beards of *David*'s Ambassadours, cutting it off at the Middle. And, though the word Mass was frequent in that Age (generally expressing all Divine Service;) yet was it not known to be offered as a propitiatory-Sacrifice for the quick and dead.

43. But if any desire farther Information herein, let him repair to the worthy Work, which *Iames*, the right learned and pious Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, hath written of the *Religion professed by the ancient* Irish *and* British. From whom I have borrowed many a Note (though not alwayes thanking him in the Margin, by citing his Name) and therefore now must make one generall Acknowledgement of my Engagement. In Cities we see, that such as sell by Retaile (though of lesse Credit) are of great Use, especially to poor people, in parcelling out Peny-worths of Commodities to them, whose Purses cannot extend to buy by Whole-sale from the Merchant. Conceive I in like manner, my Pains will not be altogether unprofitable, who in this History have fetch'd my Wares from the Store-house of that Reverend Prelate (the *Cape-Merchant* of all Learning) and here in little Remnants, deliver them out to petty-country-Chapmen, who hitherto have not had the Hap, or Happinesse to understand the original Treasuries, whence they are taken. And clean through this Work in point of Chronologie, I have with implicite Faith followed his [e] Computation, setting my *Watch* by his *Dial*, knowing his *Dial* to be set by the *Sun*, and Account most exactly calculated, according to the critical truth of Time. Long may he live for the Glory of God, and Good of his Church. For whereas many learned men, though they be deep *Abysses of Knowledge*, yet (like the *Caspian* Sea, receiving all, and having no Out-let) are loth to impart ought to others; this bright Sun is as bountifull to deal abroad his Beams, as such dark Dales as my self, are glad, and delighted to receive them.

a *Lib. 3. c. 19.*

b *De vita Cuthberti prosa, cap. 15.*

c *Idem in vita Cuthberti carmine, cap. 36.*

d *2 Sam. 10. 4*

The Authors engagement to the Arch-bb. of Armagh, and conclusion of this second book

e *In his book, de Brit. Eccl. primord.*

SEVE-

SEVERALL COPIES OF BATTEL-ABBEY ROLL.

To the right worshipfull Sr. *Simon Archer*, of *Tanvvorth* in *Warvvickshire*.

Some report, that the Toad, *before her death, ſucks up (if not prevented vvith ſuddain ſurpriſall) the* precious Stone *(as yet but a* Jelly*) in her Head, grudging* Mankind *the Good thereof. Such generally the Envy of* Antiquaries, *preferring that their* Rarities *ſhould die vvith them, and be buried in their Graves, rather then others receive any Benefit thereby.*

You croſs the current of common Corruption; it being queſtionable vvhether you be more skilfull in knovving, carefull in keeping, or courteous in communicating your curious Collections in that kind.

Juſtly therefore have I dedicated theſe ſeverall Copies of Battel-Abbey Roll *unto you: firſt, becauſe I have received one of the moſt authentick of them from your ovvn Hand: ſecondly, becauſe your ancient Name* chargeth through and through *moſt of theſe* Catalogues. *Yea, as the* Archers *came over vvith the* Conquerour, *ſo the* Conquerour *may be ſaid to come over vvith the* Archers, *(therefore placed in a* List *by themſelves,) becauſe their* Valour *atchieved the greateſt part of his* Victory.

PEruſing the worthy Pains of grave and godly Mr. *Fox*, in his *Book of Martyrs*, I find him in the Reign of *William* the firſt, exemplifying a double Catalogue of ſuch eminent Perſons as came over at the Conqueſt. Now, ſeeing ſo Reverend a Writer accounted the inſerting thereof no Deviation from his Church-Hiſtory, we preſume accordingly, by way of Recreation of the Reader, to preſent him with a larger Liſt of thoſe Names, with ſome brief Notes thereupon. The Deſign propounded and aſſerted.

Imposing of names denotes dominion.
a Gen. 4.1.
b Gen. 2.23.
c Gen. 1.26.
d Exod. 3.14.

Here will I premiſe nothing about the ancient Original of Names, which argued the undoubted Dominion of him who firſt gave them, over thoſe on whom they were impoſed. Thus *Eve* [a] named *Cain*; to ſhew the command, even of the Mother, over the eldeſt (and therefore over all her) Children. *Adam* [b] named *Eve*, *She ſhall be called VVoman*; to ſignifie the Husbands Sovereignty over his Wife. God named [c] *Adam*, *Let us make Adam*, or *Man*; to denote his Power and Authority over Man. And God named himſelf, [d] *I am hath ſent me unto you*; importing his abſolute and independent being in, and from himſelf. But, waving what may be ſaid of the beginning of *Names*, we ſhall digeſt what we conceive neceſſary for our preſent Purpoſe, into the following Propoſitions.

Fixt Surnames not long before the Conqueſt.

The firſt is; *Surnames were fixed in Families in* England, *at, or about the Conqueſt*. I ſay, *fixed*. Formerly, though men had Surnames, yet their Sons did not, as I may ſay, *follow ſuit* with their Fathers, the Name deſcended not hereditarily on the Family. *At, or about*. Fourty years under or over will break no ſquares. It began ſomewhat ſooner, in the Confeſſours time, fetch'd out of *France*, but not univerſally ſettled till ſome hundred years after. When men therefore tell us, how their Surnames have been faſtened on their Families, ſome Centuries of years before the Conqueſt, *we hear them ſay ſo*. His Chronology was no better then his Herauldry, who boaſted that his Auncеſtours had given the *three Gun-holes* (which indeed were the *three Annulets*) for their Armes theſe thouſand yeares, when Guns themſelves have not been extant three hundred yeares in *Europe*. The ſame Soloeciſme in effect is committed by ſuch, who pretend to the Antiquity of Surnames, before the ſame were ſettled *in rerum natura*.

Surnames late in (becauſe not needfull to) Kings.

The ſecond; *Kings had fixed Surnames later then Common people*. Our four firſt *Norman* Kings had no Surnames, *Henry* the ſecond being the firſt of the *Plantageniſts*. Wonder not that a gentile Faſhion ſhould come later into the Court, then into the Country, and laſt to the Crown it ſelf. For Names being made to diſtinguiſh men, they were more neceſſary for common people, whoſe *Obſcurities* would be loſt in a Multitude, were they not found out by the ſigne of their *Surnames*, having no other Eminency whereby they might be differenced. But Princes (being comparatively few in reſpect of private perſons) are ſufficiently diſcovered by their own Luſtre, and *Sovereignty may be ſaid to be a Surname to it ſelf*; and therefore Kings, not of Neceſſity, but mere Pleaſure have accepted additions to their Chriſtian-names.

Many of the *Normans* moſt noble by birth.

The third; *Many who came over out of* Normandy, *were Noble in their native Country*. Eſpecially ſuch who are ſtiled from their Places, as *le Sire de Soteville*, *le Sire de Margneville*, *le Sire de Tancarville*, &c. whereby we underſtand them Lords and Owners of ſuch Mannours, Towns, and Caſtles from whence they took their Denomination. However this particle *de* ſuch a place (when without *le Sire* going before it) doth not alwayes give *Livery and Seiſin*, and preſently put the perſon ſo named into Poſſeſſion of the Place; ſometimes barely importing that he was born there, and not Owner thereof.

Yet ſome not ſo much as Gentlemen.

The fourth; *All that came over with the Conquerour were not Gentlemen untill they came over with the Conquerour*. For, inſtantly upon their Victory, their Fleſh was refined, Bloud clarified, Spirits elevated to an higher Purity and Perfection. Many a Peaſant in *Normandy* commenced Monſieur by coming over into *England*, where they quickly got Goods to their Gentry, Lands to their Goods, and thoſe of the moſt honourable Tenure in *Capite* it ſelf. What *Richard* the third ſaid, no leſſe ſpitefully then falſely, of the *VVoodviles* (Brethren to the Wife of his Brother King *Edward* the fourth, by whom they were advanced) that *Many were made noble who formerly were not worth a Noble*, was moſt true of ſome of the *Norman* Souldiery, ſuddenly ſtar-

ſtarting up honourable from mean Originalls. Theſe cruelly inſulted over the *Saxon* ancient Gentry, whom they found in *England*. Thus on the new caſting of a Die, when *Ace* is on the Top, *Siſe* muſts needs be at the Bottome.

Many of the neighbouring Nations under the notion of *Normans*.

The fifth; *Beſides native* Normans, *many of the neighbouring Countries ingaged in* England's *Invaſion*. As *Flemings*, which *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and Father in law unto the Conquerour, ſent to aide him: *VValloons*, with many from *Picardy*, *Britain*, *Anjou*, and the very Heart of *France*. Thus when a *Fair of Honour and Profit* is proclaimed, *Chapmen* will flock from all parts unto it. Some will wonder, that any would be ſuch wilfull Loſers, as to exchange *France* for *England*, a *Garden* for a *Field*. Was not this degrading of their Souls in point of Pleaſure, going backward from *VVine* to *Ale*, from *VVheat* to *Oates*, then the generall Bread-corn of *England*? Beſides, coming Northward they left the Sun on their Backs; the *Sun*, who is a comfortable *Vſher* to go before, but bad *Train-bearer* to come behind one. But let ſuch know, that *England* in it ſelf is an excellent Country (too good for the unthankfull people which live therein) and ſuch Forreiners, who ſeemingly ſlight, ſecretly love, and like the Plenty and Profit thereof. But, grant *England* far ſhort of *France* in Goodneſſe, yet ſuch Adventurers hoped to atchieve to themſelves a *better Condition* in a *worſe Country*. Many a younger Brother came over hither, in hope here to find an *elder Brotherſhip*, and accordingly procured an Inheritance to him, and his Poſterity. As for the great *French* Nobility, *Store was no ſore* unto them: ſuch *Pluraliſts* retained ſtill their old Patrimonies in *France*, with the additions of their new Poſſeſſions in *England*.

W-names *Walloons*.

The ſixth; *Names coming over with the Conqueſt, beginning with VV. were not out of* France, *but the Vicinage thereof*. As the *Britans* diſclaim *X.* the *Latines Y.* (ſave when the badge of a *Greek* word *Latinized*:) ſo the *French* diſown *VV*. When we find it therefore the initiall letter of a Name (whereof many occur in the enſuing Catalogue) it argueth the ſame *Walloon*, or *Almain*. Yea, I am credibly informed, that ſome of the *Engliſh* here, wearied with *Harold*'s Uſurpation, fled over into *Normandy* to fetch in the Conquerour; ſo that, when King *William* entred, they returned into *England*. And this particularly hath been avouched of the noble Family of the *Wakes*, who were here before the Conqueſt, yet found among the *Norman* Invaders.

The twilight credit of *Battel-Abbey Roll*.

The ſeventh; Battel-Abbey *Roll is the beſt extant Catalogue of* Norman *Gentry, if a true Copy thereof could be procured.*

1. *Battel-Abbey* Roll. Becauſe hung up in that Abbey, as fixt to the Freehold thereof, where the Names of ſuch as came over with the Conqueſt were recorded.
2. *Beſt extant*. Otherwiſe Induſtry, with Honeſty, Leiſure, and Liberty to peruſe *Dooms-day-book*, might collect one more perfect, out of impartiall Records, which neither fear, nor flatter. Such a Catalogue were to be believed on it's Word, before *Battell Roll* on it's Oath.
3. Yet that *Abbey Roll* deſerved Credit, *if a true Copy might be procured*. One asked, *which was the beſt S^t. Auguſtine*? To whom this Anſwer was given (generally true of all ancient Authours) *even that* Auguſtine *which is leaſt corrected*. For Corrections commonly are corruptive, as following the Fancy and Humour of the Corrector.

Battel-Abbey Roll hath been practiced upon with all the Figures of Diction, *Proteſis*, *Aphereſis*, &c. ſome names therein being augmented, ſubtracted, extended, contracted, lengthened, curtailed. The ſame Scruple therefore which troubleth Sophiſters, *Whether* Jaſon's *weather-beaten Ship, ſo often clouted and patched with new* Boards, *were the ſame numerically with the firſt*; may be

be propounded of *Battel-Abbey Roll*, whether that extant with us, after so many Alterations, be individually the same with the Original? See what a deadly Gash our great[a] Antiquary gives to the Credit thereof; *Whosoever considereth it well, shall find it to be forged, and those Names to be inserted, which the Time in every Age favoured, and were never mentioned in that Authenticall Record.*

[a] Camden in his Remaines p. 152.

Obj. If such be the depraving of *Battel-Abbey Roll*, then no Credit at all is due unto it. Let it be *pilloried* for a mere *Cheat*, and be suffered no longer to go about, to deceive the honest Reader thereof: seeing we cannot hear the *true Tone* of Names therein, Monks have so *set them to the Tune* of their present Benefactours, and Minions of the Age they lived in.

Obj. Then it is of no credit.

Anſ. How credit thereunto is to be cautioned.

Anſ. Though there be much Adulteration therein, yet I conceive, the main Bulk and Body thereof uncorrupted. As they therefore overvalue this *Roll*, who make it the *Grammer* of *French-Gentry*, the *Heraulds Institutes*, and of Canonicall Credit amongst them: so such too much decry the same, who deny all trust thereunto. Yea, we may confidently relie on this *Roll*, where we find a Concurrence of ancient *English* Historians therewith: and this will appear in the generality of Names which that *Roll* presenteth unto us.

We find in our English *Chronielers* two printed Copies (a Manuscript thereof worth mentioning, I have not met with) of *Battel-Abbey Roll*. Wherein such *various Lections*, they agree neither in Number, Order, nor Spelling of the Names; which, though generally digested in an Alphabeticall way, are neither of them exactly ordered according to the same. But behold both.

Holin-

Holinshead, pag. 3.	Stow, pag. 105.	Holinshead, pag. 3.	Stow, pag. 105.
Aumarle	Aumeie	Bluet	Beke
Aincourt	Audley	Baious	Bowlers
Audeley	Angilliam	Browne	Baniſtre
Angilliam	Argentoun	Beke	Belomy
Argentoun	Arundell	Bickard	Belknape
Arundell	Avenant	Banaſtre	Beachamp
Abell	Abell	Baloun	Bandy
Auverne	Awgers	Beauchamp	Broyleby
Aunwers	Angenoun	Bray	Burnell
Angiers	Archer	Bandy	Belot
Angenoun	Aſpervile	Bracy	Beuſort
Archere	Amonerduil	Boundes	Baudewine
Anvay	Arey	Baſcoun	Burdon
Aſpervile	Albeny	Broilem	Bertevyley
Albevile	Akeny	Brolevy	Barre
Andevile	Aſperemound.	Burnell	Buſſevile
Amoverduile	16	Bellet	Blunt
Arcy		Baudewin	Beawper
Akeny		Beaumont	Bret
Albeny		Burdon	Barret
Aybevare		Bertevilay	Barnevale
Amay		Barre	Barry
Aſpermound		Buſſevile	Bodyt
Amerenges.		Blunt	Bertevile
24		Beaupere	Bertine
Bertram	Bertram	Bevill	Belew
Buttecourt	Butrecourt	Bardvedor	Buſhell
Brehus	Brahus	Brette	Beleneers
Byſeg	Byſeg	Barrett	Buſſard
Bardolfe	Bardolf	Bonret	Boteler
Baſſet	Baſſet	Bainard	Botvile
Bigot	Bohun	Barnivale	Braſard
Bohun	Baylife	Bonett	Belhelme
Bailif	Bondevile	Barry	Braunch
Bondevile	Barbaſon	Bryan	Boleſur
Brabaſon	Beer	Bodin	Blundel
Baskervile	Bures	Bertevile	Burdet
Bures	Bonylayne	Bertin	Bagot
Bounilayne	Barbayon	Berenevile	Beaupount
Bois	Berners	Bellewe	Bools
Botelere	Braybuf	Bevery	Belefroun
Bourcher	Brand	Buſshell	Barchampe.
Brabaion	Bonvile	Boranvile	69
Berners	Burgh	Browe	
Braibuf	Buſshy	Belevers	
Brande	Blundell	Buffard	
Bronce	Breton	Botelere	
Burgh	Belaſyſe	Bonveier	
Buſhy	Bowſer	Botevile	
Banet	Bayons	Bellire	
Blondell	Bulmere	Baſtard	
Breton	Broune	Bainard	

Bra-

Holinshead, pag. 34	Stow, pag. 105.	Holinshead, pag. 35	Stow, pag. 105.
Brasard		Chawnes	Charles
Beelhelm		Chaumont	Chareberge
Braine		Caperoun	Chawnes
Brent		Cheine	Chawmont
Braunch		Curson	Cheyn
Belesuz		Coville pag. 4.	Cursen
Blundell		Chaiters	Conell
Burdet		Cheines	Chayters
Bagot		Cateray	Cheynes
Beauvise		Cherecourt	Cateray
Belemis		Cammile	Cherecourt
Bisin		Clerenay	Chaunvile
Bernon		Curly	Clereney
Boels		Cuily	Curley
Belefroun		Clinels	Clifford. 49
Brutz		Chaundos	
Barchamp. 96		Courteney	
		Clifford. 52	
Camois	Camos	Denaville	Deanvile
Camvile	Canville	Dercy	Dercy
Chawent	Chawent	Dive	Dine
Chauncy	Chancy	Dispencere	Dispencer
Conderay	Couderay	Daubeny	Daniel
Colvile	Colvile	Daniell	Denyse
Chamberlaine	Chamberlain	Denise & Druell	Druel
Chamburnoun	Chambernoune	Devaus	Devause
Comin	Cribet	Davers	Davers
Columber	Corbine	Dodingsels	Doningsels
Cribet	Corbet	Darell	Darel
Crenquere	Coniers	Delaber	De la bere
Corbin	Chaundos	Delapole	De la pole
Corbett	Coucy	Delalinde	De la lind
Chaundos	Chaworth	Delahill	De la Hill
Chaworth	Claremaus	Delaware	De la ware
Cleremaus	Clarel	Delavache	De la watch
Clarell	Camuine	Dakeny	Dakeny
Chopis	Chaunduyt	Dauntre	Dauntry
Chaunduit	Clarevays	Desny	Desny
Chantelow	Chantilowe	Dabernoune	Dabernoun
Chamberay	Colet	Damry	Damry
Cressy	Cressy	Daveros	Daveros
Curtenay	Courtenay	Davonge	De la Vere
Conestable	Constable	Duilby	De liele
Cholmely	Chaucer	Delavere	De la ward
Champney	Cholmelay	Delahoid	De la plance
Chawnos	Cornevile	Durange	Danway
Comivile	Champeney	Delee	De Hewse
Champaine	Carew	Delaund	Disard
Carevile	Chawnos	Delaward	Durant
Carbonelle	Clarvaile	Delaplanch	Drury
Charles	Champaine	Damnot	32
Cherberge	Carbonel		

Dan-

Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 105.	Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.
Danway		Fitz VVaren	
Dehenſe		Fitz Rainold	
Devile		Flamvile	
Diſard		Formay	
Doiville		Fitz Euſtach	
Durant		Fitz Laurence	
Drury		Formibaud	
Dabitot		Friſound	
Dunſterville		Finere and	
Dunchampe		Fitz Robert	
Dambelton		Furnivale	
44		Fitz Geffrey	
Eſtrange	Eſtrange	Fitz Herbert	
Eſtutevile	Eſcutavile	Fitz Peres	
Engaine	Eſcriols	Fichet	
Eſtriels	Engain	Fitz Rewes	
Eſturney	Evers	Fitz Fitz	
5	Eſturney	Fitz John	
Ferrerers	6	Fleſchampe	
Folville	Folvile	53	
Fitz Water	Fitzwatter	Gurnay	Gargrave
Fitz Marmaduke	Fitz-Marmaduke	Greſſy	Granſon
Flevez	Fibert	Graunſon	Gracy
Filberd	Fitz-Roger	Gracy	Glaunvile
Fitz Roger	Fitz-Robert	Georges	Gouer
Favecourt	Fanecourt	Gower	Gaſcoyne
Ferrers	Fitz-Philip	Gaugy	Gray
Fitz Philip	Fitz-VVilliam	Goband	Golofer
Filiot	Fitz-Pain	Gray	Grauns
Furniveus	Fitz-Alyne	Gaunſon	Gurly
Furnivaus	Fitz-Ralfe	Golofre	Gurdon
Fitz Otes	Fitz-Broun	Gobion	Gamages
Fitz VVilliam	Foke	Grenſy	Gaunt
Fitz Roand	Frevile	Graunt	13
Fitz Pain	Faconbridge	Greile	
Fitz Auger	Friſſel	Grevet	
Fitz Aleyn	Filioll	Gurry	
Fitz Rauff	Fitz-Thomas	Gurley	
Fitz Brown	Fitz-Morice	Grammori	
Fouke	Fitz-Hugh	Gernoun	
Frevil	Fitz-VVarren	Grendon	
Front de Boef	Faunvile	Gurdon	
Facunberge	Formay	Gines	
Fort	Formibaud	Grivel	
Friſell	Friſon	Greneuile	
Fitz Simon	Finer	Glatevile	
Fitz Fouk	Fitz-Vrey	Gurney	
Filioll	Furnivall	Giffard	
Fitz Thomas	Fitz-Herbert	Goverges	
Fitz Morice	Fitz-John	Gamages	
Fitz Hugh	31	30	
Fitz Henry		Haunteney	Hanſard

Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.	Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.
Haunſard	Haſtinges	Luſe	Le Vawſe
Haſtings	Haulay	Loterell	Loy
Hanlay	Huſie	Loruge	Lave
Haurell	Herne	Longevale	Le Diſpenſer
Huſee	Hamelyn	Loy	22
Hercy	Harewell	Lorancourt	
Herioun	Hardell	Loians	
Herne	Hecket	Limers,	
Harecourt	Hamound	Longepay	
Henoure	Harcourd	Laumale	
Hovell	11	Lane	
Hamelin		Lovetot	
Harewell		30	
Hardell		Mohant	Marmilon
Haket		Mowne	Moribray
Hamound		Maundevile	Morvile
Harcord		Marmilon	Manley
18		Moribray	Malebranch
Iarden	Iarden	Morvile	Malemaine
Iay	Iay	Miriell	Muſchampe
Ieniels	Ianvile	Manlay	Muſgrave
Ierconviſe	Iaſpervile	Malebraunch	Menilebillers
Ianvile	4	Malemaine	Mortmain
Iaſpervile		Mortimere	Muſe
6		Mortimaine	Mountbocher
Kaunt	Karre	Muſe	Malevile
Karre	Karron	Marteine	Marteine
Karrowe	Kyriell	Mountbother	Mountney
Koine	3	Mountſoler	Maleherbe
Kimaronne		Malevile	Muſegroſs
Kiriell		Malet	Muſard
Kancey		Mounteney	Mautravers
Kenelre		Monfichet	Merke
8		Maleherbe	Murres
Loveny	Leſtrange	Mare	Montague
Lacy	Levony	Muſegros	Mantalent
Linneby	Latomere	Muſard	Mandute
Latomer	Loveday	Moine	Manle
Loveday	Logenton	Montravers	Malory
Lovell	Levell	Merke	Merny
Lemare	Le Scrope	Murres	Muffet
Levetot	Lemare	Mortivale	Menpincoy
Lucy	Litterile	Monchenefy	Mainard
Luny	Lucy	Mallory	Morell
Logevile	Liſlay, or Liele	Marny	Morley
Longeſpes	Longspes	Mountagu	Mountmartin
Loverace	Longschampe	Mountfort	Myners
Longechampe	Laſtels	Maule	Mauley
Laſcales	Lind-Sey	Monhermon	Mainwaring
Lacy	Loterell	Muſett	Mantell
Lovan	Lindſey	Menevile	Mayel
Leded	Longvaile	Mantevenat	Morton
	X	Manſe	39 Men-

Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.	Holinshead, pag. 4.	Stow, pag. 106.
Menpincoy		*Oliſant*	*Oliſaunt*
Maine		*Oſenel*	*Oyſel*
Mainard		*Oiſel*	*Oliſord*
Morell		*Olifard*	*Oryol*
Mainell		*Orinal*	6
Maleluſe		*Oriol*	
Memorous		8	
Morreis		*Pigot*	Pigot
Morleian		*Pery*	Percy
Maine		*Perepount*	Perecount
Malevere		*Perſhale*	Perſhale
Mandut		*Power*	Power
Mountmarten		*Painel*	Paynel
Mantelet		*Perche*	Peche
Miners		*Pavey*	Peverel
Mauclerke		*Peurell*	Perot
Maunchenel		*Perot*	Picard
Movet		*Picard*	Pudſey
Meintenore		*Pinkenie*	Pimeray
Meletak		*Pomeray*	Pounſey
Manvile		*Pounce*	Punchardon
Manlay		*Pavely*	Pynchard
Maulard		*Paiſrere*	Placy
Mainard		*Plukenet*	Patine
Menere		*Phuars*	Pampilion
Martinaſt		*Punchardoun*	Poterel
Mare		*Pinchard*	Pekeney
Mainwaring		*Placy*	Pervinke
Matelay		*Pugoy*	Penicord
Malemis		*Pateſine*	22
Maleheire		*Place*	
Moren		*Pampilioun*	
Melun		*Percelay*	
Marceans		*Perere*	
Maiell		*Pekeny*	
Morton		*Poterell*	
76		*Peukeny*	
Noers	*Nevile*	*Peccel*	
Nevile	*Neumarch*	*Pinel*	
Newmarch	*Norton*	*Putril*	
Norbet	*Norbet*	*Petivol*	
Norice	*Norece*	*Preaus*	
Newborough	*Newborough*	*Pantolf*	
Neiremet	*Neele*	*Peito*	
Neile	*Normanvile*	*Penecord*	
Normavile	8	*Prendirlegaſt*	
Neoſmarch		*Percivale*	
Nermitz		39	
Nembrutz		*Quincy*	*Quincy*
12		*Quintiny*	*Quintine*
Otevel	*Otenel*	2	2
Olibet	*Olibet*	*Roſt*	*Roſe*

Holinshead, pag. 5.	Stow, pag. 107.	Holinshead, pag. 6.	Stow, pag. 107.
Ridell	Ridle	*Sent Barbe*	
Rivers	Rynel	*Sent Vile*	
Rivell	Rous	*Souremount*	
Rous	Ruſſel	*Soregliſe*	
Ruſhell	Rond	*Sandvile*	
Raband	Richmond	*Sauncey*	
Ronde	Rochford	*Sirewaſt*	
Rie	Reymond	*Sent Cheverol*	
Rokell	9	*Sent More*	
Riſers		*Sent Scudemore*	
Randvile		40	
Roſelin		*Toget*	Towrs
Raſtoke		*Tercy*	Toget
Rinvill		*Tuchet*	Talybois
Rougere		*Tracy*	Tuchet
Rait		*Trousbut*	Truſlot
Ripere		*Trainel*	Trusbut
Rigny		*Taket*	Traynel
Richemound		*Truſſel*	Taket
Rochford		*Triſon*	Talbot
Raimond		*Talbot*	Tanny
22		*Touny*	Tibtote
Souch	Seuche	*Traies*	Truſſel
Shevile	Seint Quintine	*Tollemach*	Turbevile
Seuchens	Seint Omer	*Tolous*	Turvile
Senclere	Seint Amond	*Tanny*	Totet
Sent Quintin	Seint Leger	*Touke*	Tavers
Sent Omere	Sovervile	*Tibtote*	Torel
Sent Amond	Sanford	*Turbevile*	Tirel
Sent Legere	Somery	*Turvile*	Totels
Somervile	Seint George	*Tomy*	Taverner
Siward	Seint Les	*Taverner*	20
Saunſovere	Savine	*Trenchevile*	
Sanford	Seint Glo	*Trenchelion*	
Sanctes	Seint Albine	*Tankervile*	
Savay	Seint Barbe	*Tirel*	
Saulay	Sandevile	*Trivet*	
Sules	Seint More	*Tolet*	
Sorell	Seint Scudemore	*Travers*	
Somerey	17	*Tardevile*	
Sent Iohn		*Turbarvile*	
Sent George		*Tinevile*	
Sent Les		*Torel*	
Seſſe		*Tortechappel*	
Salvin		*Trusbote*	
Say		*Treverel*	
Solers		*Tenwis*	
Saulay		*Totelles*	
Sent Albin		37	
Sent Martin		*Vere*	Valence
Sourdemale		*Vernoun*	Vancord
Seguin		*Veſcy*	Vavaſour

Ver-

Holinshead, pag. 5.	Stow, pag. 107.	Holinshead, pag. 5.	Stow, pag. 107.
Verdonne	Vender	Valinford	
Valence	Verder	Venicorde	
Verdeire	Verdon	Valive	
Vavasour	Vere	Viville	
Vendore	Vernoune	Vancorde	
Verlay	Venables	Valenges	
Valenger	Venoure	35	
Venables	Verland	Wardebois	Wake
Vemoure	Verlay	Ward	Walenger
Vilan	Vernois	Wafre	Warde
Verland	Verny	Wake	Wardebus
Valers	Vilan	Wareine	Waren
Veirny	Umframvile	Ware	Ware
Vavurvile	Unket	Watelin	Wateline
Veniels	Urnall	Watevile	Watevile
Verrere	18	Wely	Woly
Uschere		Werdonel	Wyvel
Vessay		Wespaile	10
Vanay		Wivell	
Viau		12	
Vernoys		The total summe of all in *Ralph Holinshed*,	The total summe of all in *John Stow*,
Urnal		629	407
Unket			
Urnasul			
Vasderol			
Vaheron			

Besides this Roll of *Battel Abbey*, there is another extant, not (as this) Alphabetically modelled, (the work of some Monk well at Leisure) but loose, without any literal Order. An argument, in my opinion, of the more native Purity thereof, (lesse soiled with partiall Fingers) as not so much tampered with by Art and Industry. It is reputed by many to be the Muster-roll of such principal Souldiers, as embarqued with Duke *William* at St. *Valeries*: and it is said that after the Fight ended, this *List* was called over, and all persons solemnly summoned, to answer to their Names therein; though many made no *vous-avez*, as either sick of their Wounds, or slain out-right amongst the six thousand and odd, which lost their Lives on the place. Were we assured hereof, we would preferre this before the former Roll, believing a *French Muster-master*, rather then any *English Monk*, (though the *Abbot* of *Battel* himself) as not so subject to the suspicion of Flattery herein. This Catalogue is taken out of *Guillam Tayleur* a *Norman* Chronicler of good Credit: but the worst is, we want Tayleur's *French* Originall, and I fear it hath passed through some *Botchers* hands, before it came to us. For there be three Editions thereof in our *English* Historians, which (like the feet of a Badger) fall out of unequal Length, (if the Reader be pleased to measure them) so different the Number of names therein. However, because this Catalogue may conduce to the supplying of Defects, clearing of Doubts, and amending of Faults in that former, we here present the several Copies thereof.

Fox

Fox, Acts & Mon. pag. 182.	Holinshed, Chron. pag. 2.	Stow, Chron. pag. 103.
Odo Biſhop of *Bayeux*	*Odo* Biſhop of *Bayeulx*	*Odo* Biſhop of *Bayon*
Robert Count de *Mortaigne*, Duke *William's* half brethren	*Robert* Earle of *Mortaing*	*Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*
Baudwin de *Buillon*	*Roger* Earle of *Beaumont*, ſurnamed *a la* Barbe	*Bandonni* de *Buillon*
Roger Count de *Beaumont*, ſurnam'd with the beard	*Guillaume Mallet*, ſeig. de *Montfort*	*Roger* E. of *Beamont* with the beard
Guillaume Malet	*Henry* ſeign. de *Ferrers*	*Guilliam Mallet*
le ſire de *Monfort* ſur *Rille*	*Guil.* d' *Aubellemare*, ſeig. de *Fougieres*	*Guil. Fitz Osberne*
Guil. de *Viexpont*	*Guil.* de *Roumare*, ſeig. de *Lithare*	le ſire de *Montfort* ſus *Rille*
Neel de *S. Sauveur* le Viconte	le ſeig. de *Touque*	*Guil.* de Vielz pont
le ſire de *Fougiers*	le ſeig. de la *Mare*	*Neel* de *Saint Saveur* le Vicont
Henry Seigneur de *Ferieres*	*Neel* le Viconte	le ſire de *Feugiers*
le ſire *Daubemare*	*Guil.* de *Vepont*	*Henry* ſire de *Ferrers*
Guil. ſire de *Romare*	le ſeig. de *Magneville*	le ſire *Dambemare*
le ſire de *Lithehare*	le ſeig. de *Groſmenil*	*Guil.* ſire de *Romare*
le ſire de *Touque*	le ſeig. de *S. Martin*	le ſire de *Lichare*
le ſire de la *Mare*	le ſeig. de *Puis*	le ſire de *Tonque*
le ſire de *Neauhou*	*Guil. Creſpin*	le ſire de la *Mare*
le ſire de *Pirou*	*Guil.* de *Moyenne*	le ſire de *Nahabon*
Rob. ſire de *Beauſou*	*Guil.* De*ſmoullins*	le ſire de *Piron*
le ſire *Danou*	*Guil.* De*ſgarennes*	le ſire de *Beauſon*
le ſire de *Soteville*	*Hue* de *Gourney*, aliàs *Genevay*	le ſire de *Damnon*
le ſire de *Margneville*	le ſeig. de *Bray*	le ſire de *Soteville*
le ſire de *Tancarville*	le ſeig. de *Govy*	le ſire de *Margneville*
Euſtace Dambleville	le ſeig. de *Laigle*	le ſire de *Tankerville*
le ſire de *Magneville*	le ſeig. de *Tovarts*	*Euſtace Dambleville*
le ſire de *Grantmeſnil*	le ſeig. de *Aurenchin*	le ſire de *Magneville*
Guil. Creſpin	le ſeig. de *Vitrey*	le ſire de *Grimſville*
le ſire de *S. Martin*	le ſeig. de *Traſſy*, aliàs *Tracy*	*Guil. Creſpin*
Guil. de *Moulins*	le ſeig. de *Picquigny*	le ſire de *S. Martin*
le ſire de *Puis*	le ſeig. d' E*ſpinay*	pag. 104.
Geoffray ſire de *Mayenne*	*Oſmond* ſeig. du *Pont*	*Guil.* de *Moulinoux*
Auffroy de *Bohon*	le ſeig. de *Eſtoutevile*	le ſire de *Pins*
Auffroy, & *Maugier* de *Cartrait*	le ſeig. de *Torchy*	*Gieffray* ſire de *Mayenne*
Guil. de *Garennes*	le ſeig. de Barnaboſt	*Affroy* de *Behunt*
Hue de *Gournay*, ſire de *Bray*	le ſeig. de *Breval*	*Affroy* & *Mavigr.* de *Cartaict*
le Conte *Hue* de *Gournay*	le ſeig. de *Seculme*	*Guil.* de *Garennes*
Enguemont de l' *Aigle*	le ſeig. de *Houme*	*Hue* de *Gournay*, ſire de le *Bray*
le Vicomte de *Tovars*	le ſeig. de *Souchoy*	le Conte *Hue* de *Dournay*
Rich. Dauverenchin	le ſeig. de *Cally*	*Enguemount* le *Laigle*
le ſire de *Biars*	le ſeig. de la *Rivere*	le Vicont de *Tovars*
le ſire de *Solligny*	*Euldes* de *Beavieu*	*Rich. Donnemchin*
le Bouteiller *Daubigny*	le ſeig. de *Roumilly*	le ſire de *Biars*
	le ſeig. de *Glotz*	le ſire de *Salligny*
	le ſeig. du *Sap*	le Boutellier *Daubegny*

le

Fox, Acts & Mon. pag. 182.

le sire de *Maire*
le sire de *Vitry*
le sire de *Lacy*
le sire du val *Dary*
le sire de *Tracy*
Hue sire de *Montfort*
le sire de *Piquegny*
Hamon de *Kayeu*
le sire *Despinay*
le sire de *Port*
le sire de *Torcy*
le sire de *Iort*
le sire de *Riviers*
Guil. Moyonne
Raoul Tesson de *Tinguleiz*
Roger Marmion
Raoul de *Guel*
Avenel des Byars
Paennel du *Monstier Hubert*
Rob. Bertran le *Tort*

pag. 183.

le sire de *Seulle*
le sire de *Dorival*
le sire de *Breval*
le sire de *S. Iehan*
le sire de *Bris*
le sire du *Homme*
le sire de *Sauchoy*
le sire de *Cailly*
le sire de *Semilly*
le sire de *Tilly*
le sire de *Romelli*
Mar de *Basqueville*
le sire de *Preaulx*
le sire de *Gonis*
le sire de *Sainceaulx*
le sire de *Moulloy*
le sire de *Monceaulx*
The Archers du val de *Reul*, and of *Bretheul*, and of many other places.
le sire de *S. Saen*, i. de *S. Sydonio*
le sire de la *Kiviere*
le sire de *Salnarville*
le sire de *Rony*
Eude de *Beaugieu*
le sire de *Oblie*
le sire de *Sacie*

Holinshed, Chron. pag. 2.

le seig. de *Vanville*
le seig. *Branchou*
le seig. *Balleul*
le seig. de *Beausault*
le seig. de *Telleres*
le seig. de *Senlys*
le seig. de *Bacqueville*
le seig. de *Preaulx*
le seig. de *Iovy*
le seig. de *Longueville*
le seig. de *Aquigny*
le seig. de *Passy*
le seig. de *Tournay*
le seig. de *Colombieres*
le seig. de *Bollebec*
le seig. de *Garensieres*
le seig. de *Longveile*
le seig. de *Houdetot*
le seig. de *Malletot*
le seig. de la *Haie Malerbe*
le seig. de *Porch Pinche*
le seig. de *Ivetot*
The Earle of *Tanquervile*
The Earle d' *Eu*
The Earle d' *Arques*

pag. 3.

The Earle of *Anjou*
The Earle of *Nevers*
le seig. de *Rouvile*
le Prince de *Alemaigne*
le seig. de *Pavilly*
le seig. de *S. Cler*
le seig. d' *Espinay*
le seig. de *Bremetot*
Alain Fergant Earle of *Britaigne*
le seig. de la *Ferte*
Rob. fils *Hervays*, Duc de *Orleans*
le seig. de la *Lande*
le seig. de *Mortimer*
le seig. de *Clare*
le seig. de *Magny*
le seig. de *Fontnay*
Roger de *Montgomery*
Amaury de *Touars*
le seig. de *Hacquevile*
le seig. de *Neanshou*

Stow, Chron. pag. 103.

le sire de *Marre*
le sire de *Victry*
le sire de *Lacy*
le sire du vall *Darie*
le sire de *Tracy*
Hue sire de *Montfort*
le sire de *Piqgny*
Hamon de *Brayen*
le sire de *Spinay*
le sire de *Port*
le sire de *Torchy*
le sire de *Iort*
le sire de *Rivers*
Guil. Moyon
Raoul Tesson de *Chignelois*
Rogier Marmion
Raoul de *Gael*
Ave Neel de *Biars*
Parnel du *Monstier*
Bertram le *Tort*
Hubert Robert
le sire de *Seukee*
le sire de *Dormal*
le sire de *Brenall*
le sire de *S. Iehan*
le sire de *Bois*
le sire de *Homme*
le sire de *Saussay*
le sire de *Cailly*
le sire de *Semilly*
le sire de *Tilly*
le sire de *Romely*
Martell de *Basquevill*
le sire de *Praux*
le sire de *Gonys*
le sire de *Sainteaulx*
De *Mullox*

These Archers of the vale of *Rueill*, and of *Bretviel*, and of many other places.

le sire de *S. Saen*
le sire de la *Rimer*
le sire de *Salnarnille*
le sire de *Tony*
Eude de *Beaugien*
le sire de *Ollie*

le

Fox, Acts & Mon. pag. 183.	Holinshed, Chron. pag. 2.	Stow, Chron. pag. 104.
le sire de *Nassie*	le seig. de *Perou*	le sire de *Sacy*
le Visquaius de *Chaymes*	*Robert* de *Beausou*	le sire de *Vassie*
le sire du *Sap*	le seig. *Meauvon*	le Bisquams de *Chaymes*
le fire de *Glos*	le seig. de *Sotevile*	le sire de *Sap*
le sire de *Mine*	*Eustace* de *Hamblevile*	le sire *Dugloſſe*
le sire de *Glanville*	*Geoffray Bournom*	le sire de *Nime*
le sire de *Breencon*	le seig. de *Blainvile*	le sire de *Blamville*
le Vidam de *Partay*	le seig. de *Maunevile*	le sire de *Brencon*
Raoul de *Morimont*	*Geoffray* de *Moienne*	le Vidam de *Partenay*
Pierre de *Bailleul*	*Auffray*, and *Manger* de *Carteny*	*Raoult* de *Mormont*
sire de *Fiscamp*	le seig. de *Freanvile*	*Pierre* de *Bailleul*
le sire de *Beausault*	le seig. de *Moubray*	sire de *Fescamp*
le sire de *Tillieres*	le seig. de *Iasitay*	le sire de *Beausault*
le sire de *Pacy*	*Guil. Patais*, seig. de la *Lande*	le sire de *Tillieres*
le Seneschal de *Torcy*	*Eulde* de *Mortimer*	le sire de *Pacy*
le sire de *Gacy*	*Hue* Earle of *Gournay*	le Seneschall de *Torchy*
le sire *Doully*	*Egremont* de *Laigle*	le sire de *Gacy*
le sire de *Sacy*	*Richard* d' *Aurinchin*	le sire de *Doully*
le sire de *Vacy*	le seig. de *Bearts*	le sire de *Sancy*
le sire de *Tourneeur*	le seig. de *Soulligny*	le sire de *Bacy*
le sire de *Praeres*	Bouteclier d' *Aubigny*	le sire de *Tourneur*
Guil. de *Coulombieres*	le seig. de *Marcey*	le sire de *Praores*
Hue sire de *Bollebec*	le seig. de *Lachy*	*Guilliam* de *Colombieres*
Rich. sire *Dorbec*	le seig. de *Valdere*	*Hue* sire de *Bollebec*
le sire de *Bonneboz*	*Eulde* de *Montfort*	*Richart* sire *Dorbec*
le sire de *Tresgoz*	*Heneyn* de *Cahieu*	le sire de *Donnebos*
le sire de *Montfiquet*	le seig. de *Vimers*	le sire de *Troisgros*
Hue le *Bigot* de *Maletot*	*Guil.* de *Movion*	le sire *Mont Fiquet*
le sire de la *Haye*	*Raoul Tesson* de *Tignolles*	*Hue* le *Vigot*, alias *Bigot* de *Maletot*
le sire de *Breey*	*Anguerand* Earle of *Hercourt*	le sire de la *Haye*
le sire de *Mombray*	*Roger Marmion*	le sire de *Bracy*
le sire de *Saye*	*Raoul* de *Gael*	le sire de *Moubray*
le sire de la *Ferte*	*Avenel* de *Viers*	le sire de *Say*
Boutevillain	*Pauvel* du *Montier Hubert*	le sire de *Lasert*
Trousseboue	*Rob. Bertraule Tort*	*Bontevillam Tronsebours*
Guillaume Patric de la *Laund*	le seig. de *Seulle*	*Guilliam* Patris de la *Laud*
Hue de *Mortemer*	le seig. *Dorival*	*Hue* de *Mortimer*
le sire *Danvillers*	le seig. de la *Hay*	le sire *Donviller*
le sire *Donnebaut*	le seig. de *S. Iohn*	le sire *Donnebant*
le sire de *S. Cler*	le seig. de *Sausſy*	le sire de *S. Cler*
Rob. le filz *Herveys* Duc d' *Orleans*	le seig. de *Brye*	*Robert* le Fitz *Herneys* Duke *Dorlians*
le sire de *Harecourt*	*Richard Dollebec*	le sire de *Harecourt*
le sire de *Crevecœur*	le seig. du *Monſiquet*	le sire *Crevecure*
le sire de *Deyncourt*	le seig. de *Breſey*	le sire de *Dancourt*
le sire de *Brimetot*	le seig. de *Semilly*	le sire de *Brunetot*
le sire de *Combray*	le seig. de *Tilly*	le sire de *Cambray*
le sire *Daunay*	le seig. de *Preaux*	
le sire de *Fontenay*		
le Conte *Deuceux*		

le

Fox, Acts & Mon. pag. 183.	Holinshead, Chro. pag. 3.	Stow, Chron. pag. 104.
le sire de *Rebelchil*	le seig. de *Meuley*	le sire D*auncy*
Alain Fergant, Conte de *Bretaigne*	le seig. de *Monceaux*	le sire *Fonteney*
le sire de *S. Vallery*	The Archers of *Bretvile*	le Counte *Deureux*
le Conte *Deu*	The Archers of *Vaudrevile*	le sire de *Roberchil*
Gaultier Giffard Conte de *Longueville*	le seig. de S. *Sain*	*Alan* sergent Counte de *Britaigne*
le sire *Destouteville*	le seig. de *Breanfou*	le sire de sainct *Wallery*
le Conte *Thomas* Dunbmalle	le seig. de *Sassy*	le Counte D*eden*
Guil. Conte de *Hoymes*, & *Darques*	le seig. de *Nassy*	*Gualtar Guisart*, Counte de *Longueville*
le sire de *Bereville*	le *Vidam* de *Chartres*	le sire de *Scouteville*
le sire de *Breante*	le seig. de *Ieanvile*	le Counte *Thomas* D*anbinale*
le sire de *Freanville*	le *Vidam* du *Passais*	*Guil.* de *Hoimes*, & D*arques*
le sire de *Pavilly*	*Pierre* du Bailleul seig. de *Fescampe*	le sire de *Barrevile*
le sire de *Clare*	le seneschal de *Torchy*	le sire de *Breante*
Toustan du *Bec*	le seig. de *Grissey*	le sire de *Freanvile*
le sire de *Maugny*	le seig. de B*assey*	le sire de *Panilly*
Roger de *Montgomery*	le seig. de *Tourneur*	le sire de C*lere*
Amaury de *Touars*	*Guil.* de *Colombieres*	*Toftamdubec*
147	le seig. de B*onnebault*	le sire de *Mangny*
	le seig. de *Ennebault*	*Roger* du *Montgomery* Comes
	le seig. de D*anvillers*	*Almary* de *Tovaers*
	le seig. de B*ervile*	153
	le seig. de *Creveceur*	
	le seig. de B*reate*	
	le seig. de C*outray*	
	The Earle of *Eureux*	
	le seig. de S. *Valery*	
	Thomas Earle d' *Aumale*	
	The Earle de *Hiesmes* 163	

There is still another Catalogue, late in the possession of *Thomas Scriven* Esquire. I confesse, *Quantus Author, tanta fides*; and the Gentleman, long since dead, being generally unknown, some will question the Authority thereof. But know he was a good *Promus-condus* of ancient Records. *Condus*, in keeping them faithfully himself, and *Promus*, in imparting them freely to others. This his Catalogue is exemplified by *John Stow* in his Chronicle. Of whom though a *Cambridge* Comedian was pleased pleasantly to say, that *Mendacio now and then jogg'd on the Elbow*; yet indeed he deserveth [a] *Camden*'s commendation of *a famous Chronicler*, lacking Learning rather then Truth, seldome omitting what is, sometimes recording what is not observeable. But see the [b] Catalogue.

a Camden in Middlesex.

b Stow Chron. pag. 107.

Achard	*Aubrey*	*Boneit*	*Burnel*	*Bozim*	*Cursey*
Averenges	*Archer*	*Bluet*	*Busset*	*Bion*	*Caution*
Avelard	*Bastarde*	*Bracbet*	*Belecie*	*Bailoil*	*Caily*
Alard	*Baignard*	*Buket*	*Bonere*	*Brocheris*	*Corbet*
Aubeney	*Barvile*	*Biset*	*Bodier*	*Barduise*	*Clare*
Avenel	*Brassard*	*Blundet*	*Botiler*	*Bancan*	*Curtah*
Asperil	*Berad*	*Burdet*	*Bigod*	*Bussey*	*Curtbose*
Audeny	*Boygnard*	*Bitet*	*Burle*	*Beamvis*	*Chamlin*
Aleho	*Barkervile*	*Barry*	*Blul*	*Bleu*	*Cosientin*
Arcy	*Baret*	*Berri*	*Brebe*	*Baventre*	*Conthense*
Amile	*Basset*	*Bracy*	*Brus*		*Cozmit*
Aunmidvile	*Burt*	*Brenenile*	*Butelem*	*Camule*	*Chalenges*
Abbevile	*Bulet*	*Bountuile*	*Bricourt*	*Carenile*	*Chastlem*
Andvile	*Beil*	*Butenile*	*Brian*	*Cardevile*	*Courtueis*
Albemarle	*Breit*	*Beamchampe*	*Boch*	*Condrey*	*Chawers*

Curty
Conun
Croile
Charles
Chen
Chaucer
Chandos
Cunly
Curly
Crely
Colenile
Cabot
Charnel
Chamel
Charel
Cheinie

Darcy
Dunſtervile
Douchampe
Deſpenſer
Duredent
Drivall
Duket
Dreward
Delamare
Drunall
Dela
Deincourt

Eurous
Eſtotkirke

Faberburt
Foſſard
Freſel
Frevile
Freſſenile
Folenile
Fitzmunde
Fitzgeffray
Firpers
Fitzwaters
Feskampe
Fitzhu
Fizurs
Ferrer
Fornitall
Fineu
Fitzbrian
Friſon
Ferers
Fohamble

Frignes
Fitzgariz
Formentin

Gangy
Greminle
Gieunile
Gornumile
Gemule
Gerard
Giffard
Gondrel
Gorger
Goner
Gigod
Gaibit
Giptot
Garin
Gunter
Gras
Grauntſon
Gournay
Greiu
Gamage
Gautere
Gorge

Hainule
Hantvile
Humchampe
Herebrace
Henile
Herenile
Havel
Hachet
Haket
Harvy
Haneſy
Herſy
Hai
Haſard
Hauſard
Haſſer
Hubert
Hamelin
Harecurte
* Hus
Henſe

Iardin

Kemes

Keimes
Kuſac
Koſin
Kaimau

Laci
Liar
Lunecy
Luret
Lucy
Lidet
Linguenile
Levener
Licot
Lonecot
Lovell
Leſcei
Lambert
Lenn
Limare
Liſle
La.

Maignard
Maureward
Mountford
Mountague
Mountbray
Maundevile
Mortmer
Manſel
Maſcby
Mungomer
Morvile
Meiſy
Munty
Mounteni
Mulet
Mumfitchet
Mariell
Morell
Muſard
Maleiz
Milere
Molevorer
Manturners
Moreiu
Murlent
Meigne
Menul
Manne
Maceu

Mabuom
Mortem
Manſey
Mareſthall
Morley
Martmas
Murdacke
Metun
Mameiſin
Morin
Mire
Morim

Neemarch
Nepunt

Orniall
Oſevile
Orſware

Paſſemer
Paſſenaunt
Picot
Poorvanger
Pers
Purcel
Pichard
Pypard
Pamel
Panel
Piterel
Penerel
Pleiſy
Paveli
Pilet
Parly
Palet
Piket
Percy
Punchet
Pachet
Punis
Pandulfe
Pulem
Penir
Penne
Phanecourt
Pales
Preux
Pirim
Peiſim
Parteben

Puntfrait.

Quinſi
Quatramart

Ruſſel
Rydel
Roter
Rochell
Roez
Richmount

Seintenile
Somery
Say
Suneli
Sorel
Seteplace
Spivenile
Saundernile
Sonule
Soler
Sourrile
Stutenile
Soleny
Spigurnel
Seintbrenel
Soylard
Swyswar
Saucer
Sauſaver
Seniler
Saintcler
Senittomer
Seintleger
Saundenal
Savage
Seintion
Saint-mareu
Saucei
Sal
Seignes
Seintlis
Seintmoris
Seintgorge
Seintiore
Seint-quintin
Seintmore
Sauntzire
Saintchy
Setuans

Seinte-royiz
Seinteleme

Toret
Tavis
Turpet
Tramel
Torchapel
Tonny
Truſſel
Tuchet
Torevile
Trevet
Tirel
Trans
Talebot
Turbenile
Tracy
Truſſebut
Toc
Tailpas
Truan
Tener
Tiſiure
Tayleboys

Verer
Vilers
Veſty
Vinframile
Veily
Vaieus
Veiſin
Vorill
Venur
Vavaſue
Vaus.

Widenile
Wimle
Wilby
Wadel
Ward
Wyſchard
Waldeboef
Waſtueis
Warem
Weirim

Tuoire,

To theſe ſix Catalogues let me adde one more; not that I am an affecter of a *Septenarie Number*, but becauſe confident it is the beſt and moſt authentick of all the reſt. I find it in [a] M^r. *Fox*; but ſurely collected by ſome (more skilfull then himſelf in this kind) out of ſeverall ancient *Chronicles*. It containeth ſuch Perſons who after the Battel were advanced to *Seignories* in this Land. It preſenteth us onely with the initial Letters of their Chriſtian Names, ſave for the firſt ſeven therein. And although hereby we are left at an Uncertainty, as whether *G.* ſignifieth *George* or *Gilbert*, *I. Iames* or *Iohn*; yet more then a Conjecture may be made by obſerving what Chriſtian Name was predominant in their Poſterity.

[a] *Acts and Mon. To. 1. pag. 237.*

Iohn

Iohn de Maundevile
Adam Vndevile
Bernard de Frevile
Rich. de Rochvile
Gilbert de Frankvile
Hugo de Dovile
Symond de Roevile
R. de Evile
B. de Knevvile
Hugo de Morvile
R. de Colevile
A. de Warvile
C. de Karvile
R. de Roevile
S. de Stoevile
H. Bonum
I. Monum
W. de Vignoum
R. de Visount
VV. Baibeof
S. de Baleyn
H. de Maireys
I. Aguleyne
G. Agilon
R. Chamburlayn
N. de Vendres
H. de Verdon
H. de Verio
C. de Vernon
H. Hardul
C. Cappan
VV. de Camvile
I. de Cameres
R. de Roses
R. de Boys
VV. de VVaren
T. de VVardboys
R. de Boys
VV. de Audely
R. Dynham
R. de Vaures
G. de Vargenteyn
I. de Hastings
G. de Hastank
L. de Burgee
R. de Burvileyn

H. de Malebranche
S. de Malemain
G. de Hauteville
H. Hauteyn
R. de Moreyn
R. de Mortimer
G. de Konoville
E. de Columb
VV. Paynel
C. Panner
H. Pontrel
I. de Rivers
T. de Revile
VV. de Beauchamp
R. de Beaupale
E. de On
F. Lavel
S. de Troys
I. de Arsel
I. de Montebrugge
H. de Mountserel
W. Trussebat
VV. Trussell
H. Bysset
R. Basset
R. Molet
H. Malovile
G. Bonet
P. de Bouvile
S. de Ravile
N. de Narbeck
I. de Corneux
P. de Corbet
VV. de Mountague
S. de Mountfychet
I. de Geneyvle
H. Gyffard
I. de Say
T. Gilbard
R. de Chalons
S. de Chauward
H. Ferret
Hugo Pepard
R. de Harecourt
H. de Haunsard
I. de Lamare

P. de Mauservers
G. de Ferron
R. de Ferrers
I. de D'eſſy
VV. de VVerders
H. de Bornevile
I. de Saintenys
S. de Synclet
R. de Gorges
E. de Gemete
VV. de Fenes
S. de Filberd
H. de Turbervile
R. Troblenuet
R. de Angan
T. de Morer
T. de Rotelet
H. de Spencet
R. de St. Quentin
I. de Saint Martin
G. de Cuſtan
Saint Conſtantin
Saint Leger & Saint Med.
M. de Crona & de S. Viger
S. de Crayel
R. de Crenker
N. Meyvel
I. de Berners
S. de Chumly
E. de Charers
I. de Grey
VV. de Grangers
S. de Grangers
S. Banbenyn
H. Vaugers
E. Bertram
R. Bygot
S. Treoly
I. Trigot
G. de Fenes
H. Filiot
R. Taperyn
S. Talbot

H. Sanſaver
T. de Samford
G. de Vandien
C. de Vaugort
G. de Mountague
Tho. de Chamberuon
S. de Monifort
R. de Fernevaulx
VV. de Valence
T. Clarel
S. de Clervaux
P. de Aubermale
H. de Saint Arvant
E. de Augannteyl
S. de Gant
G. de Malearbe
H. Mandut
VV. de Cheſun
L. de Chandut
R. Filz ux
B. Vicount de Low
G. de Cantemere
T. de Canlow
R. Breaunce
T. de Broxebouſ
S. de Bolebec
B. Mol de Boef
I. de Muelis
R. de Brus
S. de Brewet
I. de Lille
T. de Beſſile
I. de VVaservile
G. de Nevile
R. de Neuburgh
H. de Burgoyne
G. de Bourgh
S. de Lymoges
L. de Lyben
VV. de Helyoun
VV. de Hildrebron
R. de Loges
S. de Saint Low
I. de Maubank

P. de Saint Malow
R. de Leoſern
I. de Lovotot
G. de Dabbevile
H. de Appelot
VV. de Percy
H. de Lacy
G. de Quincy
E. Tracy
R. de la Souche
V. de Somery
I. de Saint Iohn
T. de Saint Gory
P. de Boyly
R. de Saint Valery
P. de Pinkeny
S. de Pavely
G. de Monthant
T. de Mounſcheſy
R. de Lymozy
G. de Lucy
I. de Artois
N. de Arty
P. de Grenvile
I. de Greyſ
V. de Creſſy
F. de Courcy
T. de Lamar
H. de Lymaſtz
I. de Mombray
G. de Marley
S. de Gurney
R. de Courtenay
P. de Gournay
R. de Cany
I. de la Huſe
R. de la Huſe
V. de Longevile
P. Longeſly
I. Pouchardon
R. de la Pomeray
I. de Pomtz
R. de Poutlarge
R. Eſtraunge
Tho. Savage.

I preſume the Reader ſufficiently wearied with ſo many dull *Proſe-Catalogues*; and now we will refreſh him a little with an old Song, as I find their Names metrically compoſed in the Chronicle of *Iohn Brompton* the *Abbot*. Indeed the Rythms may be ſaid to make themſelves; ſuch is the like *Cadency* of many *Norman-names*; and if the Verſes do but *chime* and *tinck* in the Cloſe, it is enough to the purpoſe.

Vous que deſyrez aſſaver
Les Nons de grauntz de la la mer
Que vindrent Od le conquerour
William Baſtard *de graunt vigoure,*
Lours ſurnons iſſi nous denys,
Com je les trova en eſcris.
Car des propres nons force ny a,
Purce qillis ſons chaunges ſa & la;
Come de Edmond *en* Edwarde,
De Baldwyn *en* Barnard,
De Godwyn *en* Godard,
De Elys *en* Edwin:
Es iſsint de toutz autrez nons,
Come ils ſont levez du ſons.
Purce lour ſurnons que ſont uſez,
Et ne ſons pas ſovent chaungez,
Vous ay eſcriptzore eſcotez,
Si vous oier les voylletz.

Maundevyle & Daundevyle	Seynt Denis & Seynt Cler	Harecourt & Hamsard	Hynayt, Burs, Burgenun
Ounfravyle & Downefrevyle	Seint Aubyn & Seynt Omer	Musegrave & Mussard	Tiebon, Hylderbrond, Holyon
Bolvyle & Baskarvyle	Seynt Fylbert, Fyent & Gomer	Mare & Mantravers	Leget & Seint Lou
Evyle & Clevyle	Turbevyle & Turbemer	Ferez & Ferers	Manbank & Seint Malin
Morevyle & Colevyle	Gurges & Spenser	Bernevyle & Berners	Wake & Wakevyle
Warbevyle & Carvyle	Brus & Boteler	Cheyne & Chalers	Condree & Knevyle
Botevyle & Sotevyle	Crevequel & Seynt Quinteyn	Daundon & Daungers	Scales & Clermont
Deverous & Caverevyle	Devereux & Seynt Martin	Vessi, Gray & Grausgers	Beauvys & Beaumont
Mouun & Bun	Seynt Mor & Seynt Leger	Bertram & Bygod	Mouns & Mountchampe
Vipoun & Vimeru	Seynt Viger & Seynt Per	Trayliz & Trayod	Nomers & Newchampe
Baylon & Baylown	Avynel & Paynell	Pembri & Pypotte	Percy, Crus & Lacy
Maris & Marmyoun	Peyvere & Peverell	Freyn & Folyot	Quincy & Tracy
Agulis & Aguloun	Rivers & Rivel	Dapifoun & Talbote	Stokes & Somery
Chaumberleyn & Chamberfoun	Beauchamp & Beaupel	Sanzaver & Stanford	Seynt Iohan & Seynt Ivy
Vere & Vernoun	Lou & Lovell	Vaux & Vaterte	Greyle & Seynt Walry
Verdyers & Verdoun	Rot & Druell	Montagu & Mounford	Pynkney & Panely
Cryel & Careun	Mountabours & Mountfurell	Fornens & Fornyvam	Mohaut & Mauntherfy
Dammer & Dammoun	Trusebot & Trussell	Valeus, Tle & Vaus	Loveyn & Lucy
Haslyng & Cammois	Bergos & Barnell	Clarel & Clarous	Arseys & Arcy
Bardelfe, Boies & Bays	Bra & Boterell	Aubevyle & Seint Amaun	Greyle & Courcy
Warenne & Wardeboys	Biset & Basset	Aganiez & Dragans	Arras & Cressy
Rodes & Devereis	Malevyle & Malet	Malebe & Maudut	Merle & Mowbray
Aurii & Argenten	Banevyle & Bonet	Brewes & Chandut	Gornay & Courtnay
Botetour & Botevelyn	Nervyle & Narbet	Fitzowret & Fiz de Lan	Hausleyng & Tornay
Malebouth & Malemeyn	Coynde & Curbet	Cantemer & Cantelon	Huse & Husa,
Hautvyle & Hauteyn	Mounteyn & Mounsyvbet	Brayboffe & Huldhyufe	Pounchardon & Pomeray
Darveg & Dyveyn	Geyneryle & Gyffard	Bolebeke & Molyns	Longevyle & Longespay
Malute & Malvelyn	Say & Seward	Molevon & Beslyle	Peyns & Pomilarge
Morten & Mortimer	Chacy & Chamond	Richford & Defevyle	Straunge and Sauvage.
Brauz & Chamber	Pyryton & Pypard	Watervyle & Dayvyle	
		Nebors & Nevyle	

Passe we now from Poetry to Painting, seeing great the affinity betwixt them, Fancy being predominant in both. Present we here the Reader with the Names and Armes of fourty Souldiers of King *William* the Conquerour, matched with as many Monks; but how, and on what occasion, the ensuing Writing will acquaint us.

In the time of Thurston, *our Abbot of* Ely, *born of worshipfull Parentage in the Village of* Wichford *near* Ely, *King* Harold, *Son of* Godwin, *and together with him all the States of* England *almost, were slain by the Souldiers of* William *Duke of* Normandy, *Nephew to Saint* Edward *the King, upon the Feast of S^t.* Calixt *the Pope, in the year of our Lord God one thousand sixty and six.*

Whereupon Egelwine *Bishop of* Durham, Egfride *Abbot of S^t.* Albans, *the Earle of* Margary, *and* Edward Byarn, *with sundry other chief of the Land, together with their Friends, laden with great Treasures, fled unto us, desirous to withstand, so far as lay in them, the enterprise of the Bastard: by whose Aide we withstood the tempestuous Threats of the* Normans *seven yeares; untill such time as* Belase, *who at that time was General of the Kings Army, and from whom the circuit of certain Hills at the South end of* Alderhithe-*Causey, which at this day are corruptly called* Belsar's-Hills, *took their name, being cast up on purpose, that the Army in the Night time might lodge there safely, astonied us by the means of an huge number of Boats gathered together upon a sudden. A Councell then being called, it seemed good to our Captains in convenient time to crave the Kings Mercy. Whereupon certain were sent to the Kings Court, being then at* Warwick, *carrying with them to the King a mighty Treasure, a competent Price & Satisfaction to pacify him concerning an unadvised Attempt. Where with the Honourable King was appeased, yet with this Covenant and Condition, that so long as it pleased him, fourty of the Kings Souldiers should be maintained at the charge of the Monastery. For the King feared, lest that whilest he bent his forces against the* Scots *not yet subdued, the Isle of* Ely (*being indeed a dreadfull Strength*) *should again revolt to his great Danger. The Souldiers with their Retinue are sent, they come and here abide. Whereof each one is delivered to some principall Monk, as a Captain to his*

Lieu-

Lieutenant, or a Guest to his Host. Now the King decreed that Bertwolde, *the Butler, should minister Food to the Souldiers and Monks joyntly together, one with another, in the common Hall of the Monastery. What need many words? These Captains to their Lieutenants, these Guests to their Hosts, these Souldiers to their Monks were most welcome: for all of them entertained each one, each one entertained all, and every one mutually one another, with all duties of Humanity. At the length the Fire of the civil War being quenched, and the King established according to his Hearts desire, five yeares after, his Severity in punishing being in godly manner pacified, it pleased the King to withdraw this Yoke, wherewith the Pride of the Monks was now sufficiently abated. And the Conquerour reclaimed his Souldiers, to punish the ungodly Insolency of his Son* Robert, *who at that time in outragious manner kept Riot in* Normandy. *But our Monks (which is a wonder to report) did not onely with Teares bewaile the departure of their deerest Mates, the heroicall Souldiers, and welcome Guests; but howled out most fearfully, and beat their Breasts as destitute of Hope, after the manner of a new-married Wife, whose Husband is violently taken away, at an unseasonable time, out of her sweet Armes unto the Wars. For they doubted lest that, being thus forsaken, they should be subject to the Spoil; whereas they had lived securely at ease, with their armed Guests, to whose trust they had committed themselves and their Goods. They being now all ready for their Journey, every one of our Monks, many in number, invested in their Copes, in dutifull manner accompanied these Gentlemen departing, unto* Hadenham, *with Songs, Crosses, Censers, Processions, and all Solemnity that might be used. And returning home, took order that the Armes of each Souldier should be lively depainted upon the Wall of the common Hall, where they took their Repast together, to the perpetuall memory of the customed Kindness of their Souldier-like Guests, the which from time to time, from the Predecessours to the Successours, and from obscure Antiquity to our Posterity at this day, are curiously set forth to be viewed of all men, not without a pleasant Delight, in such manner as they glitter and shine honourable in the Margent of this Table.*

This Writing was composed about the Reign of King *Henry* the seventh, but the *Armes* set up in *Ely*-Hall (as may appeare by inserting the *Coat* of *Robert Orford*, the fourteenth Bishop of *Ely*) about the year 1306. Which Hall was destroyed at the Dissolution; but another Transcript of the *Armes* of these Knights being depicted on the Wall of the Deanes Dining-room, was lately extant, whence our Draught here presented was taken (rather truly then neatly done, out of desire to conform to the Original) and communicated to me by that worthy Knight, and able Antiquary, S^r. *Simon Archer* of *Warwickshire*.

Some will wonder that M^r. *Camden* maketh no mention hereof, whose Omniscience in these things may be presumed of. Yea, which is more, *there is* (saith [a] he) *a Rampire of mean Height, but of very large Compasse, which they call* Belsar's-Hills, *of one* Bellisar, *I wot not who*; taking no notice of *Belasis*, the *Norman Generall*, who subdued *Elie*, and from whom our late-produced Writing attesteth those Hills to be so named. But, besides that *Camdenus non videt omnia*, great Antiquaries are sometimes subject to fits of Sullennesse, & will not see what they do see, when resolved to take no Notice thereof.

[a] Camden's *Britannia* in Cambridgeshire.

And now we have presented the Reader with eight severall Catalogues, two of *Holinshead*'s, two of *Stow*'s, two of M^r. *Fox*, one of *Serven*'s, one of *Friar Brompton*'s, besides the List of *Elie* Knights, I could wish a good *Herauld* would make a *Mono-ogdoon*, that is, *one out of eight*, and Alphabetically digest the same; also note what Names are extant, and which, how, and when extinct.

By names which I call *extinct*, understand, not existent in any signal and remarkable lustre proportionable to their former greatness, though possibly some obscure under-boughs, truly derived thence, may still be in being. That worthy [b] Doctour hath made many Converts in Physick to his seeming Paradox, main-

[b] D^r. Hervey

maintaining the Circulation of Bloud running round about the Body of man. Nor is it leſſe true, that gentile Bloud fetcheth a Circuit in the body of a Nation, running from *Yeomanrie*, through *Gentry* to *Nobility*, and ſo retrograde, returning through *Gentry* to *Yeomanrie* again. My Father hath told me from the mouth of S^r. *Robert Cotton*, that that worthy Knight met in a Morning a true and undoubted *Plantagenet* holding the Plough in the Country.

He might adde *Arms* to ancient names, where he could recover any Certainty therein; for I am confident that hereditarie *Arms* are not ſo ancient as the Conqueſt, but fixed in Families about the beginning of *Henry* the third, finding before that time the warlike Deviſes of the Sons, not the ſame with the Fancies of their Fathers, and their Grand-children differing from both.

If any ſay that I have already gone too far in this Subject, who am no *Herauld by Profeſſion*, but onely Κηρυξ, *Præco*, a *Crier* in the ſpirituall acception of the Office: yea, that this favours of *Revenge*, as if, becauſe ſo many in this Age invade my Calling, I in requitall have made Incurſion into other mens Profeſſions; like men that take *Letters of Mart*, not caring whom they wrong, ſo they repair themſelves for their former ſuſtained, or pretended Loſſes: Let ſuch know that I adventure on Herauldry, not as a Calling, but as an acceſſorie quality for Recreation. And, in evidence of my Loyalty to the *Kings of Arms*, I ſubmit what here I have written to their Cenſure and Correction, who have obliged me unto them with their many and great Civilities.

Onely I will add ſome Corollaries to this Roll, and ſo conclude.

The prefixing of D' before names.

First Coroll. When any Name begins with a *Vowel*, or an *H*, the prefixing of *D'* createth a (ſeeming) new Name: as *Arcy*, *D' Arcy*; *Aunvers*, *D' Aunvers*; *Haurel* or *Hairel*, *D' Hairel*.

French Surnames diſcerned by their terminations.

Second Coroll. French Surnames are generally diſcernable by their *Terminations*

In	As	In	As
Age	*Savage*	*Ers*	*Danvers*
Ard	*Giffard*	*Eux*	*Devereux*
Champe	*Beauchampe*	*Et*	*Barret*
Court	*Harcourt*	*Lay*	*Cholmelay*
Cy	*Darcy*	*Nay*	*Courtnay*
Ell	*Terrell*	*Ot*	*Talbot*
Er	*Archer*	*Vile*	*Nevile*

Some few Names whoſe Endings are exceptions from theſe Rules, are eaſily obſerved by reading, and known to be of *French Extraction*.

Wivil cloſeth the Catalogue.

Third Coroll. *Wivil* is the laſt name in moſt Catalogues. Firſt fixed at *Stanton Vivil* in *Leiceſterſhire*, where they continued in the twenty fourth year of the *Reign* of King *Henry* the ſixth, on this Token, that *William Vivill* (being ſworn and examined) did depoſe that he could expend twenty pounds a year of *old Rents* beſides all Charges. Of this Houſe was *Robert* de *Vivil* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, one neither Handſome, nor Learned, but eminent for his long Life, (fourty five years Biſhop there) and high Spirit, that he would not ſuffer the Caſtle of *Sarum* to be parted from his *See*, challenged by *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, without putting it upon *Tryall* of *Battel*. Long ſince the *Wivils* here are extinct, bearing *Gules*, *Frettey Vary*, a *Chief Or*. But there is extant an ancient Family of that name in the North (though different in *Armes*) augmented in State and Honour by Matches with the *Heires* of *Pigot*, *Scroope* of *Upſall*, and *Bointon*: whereof S^r. *Marmaduke* *Wivil* of *Conſtable-Burton* in *Richmondſhire* was created Baronet by King *Iames*, whoſe Grand-child *Marmaduke* Baronet *Wivil* married the Daughter of *Coniers* Lord *Darcy*. And I am glad that I may auſpiciouſly cloſe, and conclude my Catalogue with ſo worthy a Gentleman; bearing *Gules*, three *Cheveronels braced* in *Baſe*, *Gobonee Argent* and *Azure*, a *Chief Or*.

The family of the *Walgraves*.

Fourth Coroll. All names of Gentry which by authenticall Records came

over

over at the Conqueſt, are not expreſſed in any of theſe Catalogues; as *Saukvil*, or *Sackvil*, and *Walgrave*, we finding two of that Surname.

One *John Walgrave* a *Saxon*, living at *Walgrave* in *Northamptonſhire*, and poſſeſſed of that *Mannour* before the *Conqueſt*.

The other a *Walloon* of that name, coming over with the *Conquerour*, and employed by him in many Services.

The later of theſe, on the former his conſent that he ſhould marry his onely Daughter, procured from the *Conquerour* a *Pardon* for his Father in Law, that he might quietly enjoy his Lands and Livings, deſcending on this *Walloon VValgrave* after the other his Death. Which Pardon, legible in *French*, was *Anno* 1612. in the poſſeſſion of the [a] *Walgraves*, ſtill flouriſhing in *Suffolk*.

[a] *Atteſted by* John Raven Richmond *Herald. See* Weavers *Funerall Monuments, pag.* 758.

Fifth Coroll. Let none wonder, if ſome names of *VVorſhipfull* and *Honourable Families*, undoubtedly of *French Originall* (but ſince the Conqueſt) have not appeared in the aforeſaid Catalogues. For know that after the Conqueſt, ſundry *French*-men of ſignall Worth entred *England* at ſeverall times, chiefly

At the Marriage
- First of King *Henry* the ſecond to Queen *Eleanor*, who brought the Dukedome of *Aquitain* & Earledome of *Poictiers* for her *Dowrie*.
- Secondly of *Edward* the ſecond to *Iſabella* Daughter to *Philip* the *Fair* King of *France*, when three thouſand *French* came over with her (complained of as a great Grievance) and many ſettled here.

After the Conqueſt ſeverall recruits of *French* in *England*.

Not to ſpeak of the Conqueſts of King *Edward* the third and *Henry* the fifth in *France*, cauſing ſuch an Intercourſe of the *Nations*, that then *England* and *France* may be ſaid to have born counterchangeably each others *Natives*.

Sixth Coroll. Many will admire no mention of *Tradesmen* in all theſe Catalogues, being of abſolute neceſſity both in War and Peace. For ſoon would the *Head* of the beſt *Monſieur* ake without a *Capper*, *Hands* be tanned without a *Glover*, *Feet* be foundred without a *Tanner*, *Currier*, *Shoemaker*, whole *Body* be ſtarved, cold, without *VVeaver*, *Fuller*, *Tailour*, hungry, without *Baker*, *Brewer*, *Cook*, harbourleſs, without *Maſon*, *Smith* and *Carpenter*. Say not, it was beneath the *French Gallantry* to ſtoup to ſuch mean Employments, who found all theſe *Trades* here amongſt the *Engliſh* their *Vaſſalls*. For (beſides that nothing is baſe which is honeſt, and neceſſary for humane Society) ſuch as are acquainted with the *French*, both ancient & modern, finicall humour, know they account our *Tailours Botchers*, *Shoemakers Coblers*, *Cooks Slovens*, compared to the exactneſſe of their Fancy and Palate; ſo that certainly ſuch *Trades* came over with them.

Tradeſmen not mentioned in this Roll came over with them.

Seventh Coroll. But hear what our great [b] *Antiquary* ſaith herein. *In that moſt authenticall Regiſter, Doomeſday Book in the Exchequer, ye ſhall have* Cocus, Aurifaber, Pictor, Piſtor, Accipitrarius, Camerarius, Venator, Piſcator, Medicus; Cook, Goldſmith, Painter, Baker, Falconer, Chamberlain, Huntſman, Fiſher, Leach, Marſhall, Porter, *and others, which then held land* in capite, *and without doubt left theſe Names to their Poſterity; albeit haply they are not mentioned in thoſe Tables of* Battel Abbey *of ſuch as came in at the Conqueſt.*

[b] Camden *his remaines pag.* 234. As appeats by Doomsday Book.

Eighth Coroll. Now let me beſpeak the Readers Pity (though poſſibly his ingenuous *Sympathie* hath given it before it was requeſted) for thoſe poor *Engliſh*-men who were to find Free-quarter for all theſe *French*. Where could their *Land-lords* lodge them? or rather how could they long continue *Land-lords*, when ſuch potent Gueſts came to their Houſes? O the ſeverall wayes which their Neceſſities dictated unto them! Some fought, as the *Kentiſh*; who capitulated for their Liberty: ſome fled, as thoſe in the North into *Scotland*: ſome hid themſelves, as many in middle *England* in the *Iſle* of *Ely*: ſome, as thoſe of *Norfolk*, traverſed their *Title* by Law, and that with good Succeſſe in the Old age of King *William* the *Conquerour*. Moſt betook themſelves to Patience, which taught many a Noble Hand to work, Foot to travel, Tongue to intreat; even thanking them for their Courteſie, who were pleaſed to reſtore a *Shiver* of their own *Loaf* which they violently took from them.

The ſad caſe of the *Engliſh*.

F I N I S.

THE Church-History OF BRITAINE.

The Third Book.

FROM THE COMING IN OF THE NORMANS, Untill the appearing of IOHN WICLIFFE.



LONDON,
Printed in the Year, M. DC. LV.

THE

Church-History

OF

BRITAIN.

The Third Book.

FROM THE COMING IN OF

THE

NORMANS,

Till the appearing of

JOHN WICLIFFE.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year M DC LV.

To the Right Honourable,

WILLIAM,

Lord Beauchampe, &c.

GRAND-CHILDE,

AND

HEIR APPARENT,

To the Right Honourable,

WILLIAM,

Marquiſs of Hertford.

SOme there are, *who exact of every Chriſtian* (*as a* Touchſtone *of their* ſincerity) *to render an account of the exact time of their* Converſion, *with the* Circumſtances *thereof*, how, when, *and* where performed. *I muſt crave leave to enter my ſelf a* Diſſenter *herein, conceiving ſuch a* Demand *unreaſonable,*

reaſonable, as generally required eſential to all true Believers.

I confeſs ſome may return a ſatisfactory Anſwer *thereunto; namely, ſuch, whoſe* Souls (*ſuddenly ſnatch'd out of* Errour *and* Vitiouſneſs) *were immediately wrought upon,* (*almoſt in an inſtant*) *by the* Spirit *of* God. *Thus of thoſe* * three thouſand *gained,* (*on* Many-Saints-day) *by* Saint Peter, *at* Jeruſalem, *with the preaching of one* Sermon, each one *might punctually and preciſely tell, the very* Moment *of their true* Converſion, *and generally, the* WORSE *men have been, the* BETTER *they can* point *at the accurate date thereof.*

* Acts 22.41.

And thus as Kings *count their actions by the years of their* Reign, (Biſhops *formerly of their* Conſecration) *ſo theſe may uſe the ſtile* (In the year of our Converſion, firſt, or ſecond, &c.) *And as* * Herod *kept a* Feſtivall *of his* Natural Birth-day, *ſuch* (*if ſo pleaſed*) *may duly and truly obſerve an* Anniverſary Solemnity *of their* Regeneration.

* Mat. 14.6.

A Priviledge, *not granted to all true* Believers, God, *to ſhew his* Power *that he* Can, *and* Pleaſure *that he* VVill, *vary the manner of* Mens Converſion, (*though going the* ſame path *by his* VVord *and* Spirit) *uſeth a* flower pace *in the hearts of others, in whom* Grace *is wrought* ſenſim ſine ſenſu, *modeled by degrees;*

In

In ſuch, no mortal man can aſſign, the minutary juncture *of* Time, *when* preparing grace (*which* cleared the ground) ended, *and* ſaving grace (*which* finiſh'd *the fabrick of* Converſion) *did firſt begin.*

Obſervable to this purpoſe are the words of our Saviour, * So is the Kingdom of God, as if a man ſhould caſt ſeed into the ground, and ſhould ſleep, and riſe night and day, and the ſeed ſhould ſpring, and grow up, He Knoweth Not How. *That grace is* ſown, *and is* grown, Men know; *but* when, *and* how, (*in the perſons aforeſaid*) God Knows. * Mark 4. 26.

Beſides *theſe*, (*adult* Converts) *there are a ſecond ſort of* Chriſtians *unable to diſcover the* Date *of* grace dawning *in them*; *namely, ſuch who with* * Timothy, *may be ſaid to be* good, time out of minde, ſucking *in* grace *with their* milk, extracted *from, and* educated *under a* pious Parentage. * 2 Tim. 1. 5. and 3. 15.

I hope and truſt that your Honour *may truly be ranked in this* latter Form, *that as many ancient deeds* (*written before the* Reign *of* King Henry the third) *are commonly* without any date. Grace *in like manner, will ariſe ſo early in your heart,* (*advantaged by your Godly* Birth, *and* Breeding) *that you ſhall not remember the beginning thereof.*

However to make ſure work, it will be ſafeſt to examine your ſelf, (*when arived at* Age) *what eminent* acceſsions,

ceſsions, *and* additions *of* Grace, *you can remember, with the* Place *and* Time, *when the ſame were effectually wrought in* your Soul, *and what* boſome-ſin *you have conquered. Eſpecially take notice of your ſolemn* Reconciling *to* God *after* Repentance *for ſome ſin committed.*

David *no doubt in ſome ſort may be ſaid to be* born good, God being his hope when in the * Womb, when on the Breaſts of his Mother, † Truſting *in him, and* * Taught *by him, from his* Youth. *Now though probably he could not remember his firſt, and general* Converſion, *he could recount his* Reconverſion, *after his foul* Offences *of* Adulterie *and* Murder, *as by his* Penitential Pſalm *doth plainly appear.*

* Pſal. 22. 10.
* Pſal. 71. 5.
* Pſal. 71. 17.

Otherwiſe ſuch who boaſt themſelves Converted before Memorie, (*by the* priviledg *of their* pious Infancy) *if they can recover no* Memorials *of their* Repentance *after relaps, and produce no* time, *nor* tokens *thereof, are ſo far from being* good from their Cradle, *it is rather ſuſpicious they will be* bad to their Coffin, *if not labouring for a better ſpiritual eſtate.*

And now my Lord *let me recommend to your* Childhood *the Reading of the* Holy Scriptures, *as the* * Apoſtle *termeth them,* holy *in the* fountain, *flowing from the* holy Spirit *inditing them,* holy *in the* Conduit-pipe, *derived through* * holy men *penning them,* holy *in the* Liquor,

* 2 Tim. 3. 15.
2 Peter 1. 21.

Liquor, *teaching, and directing to* Holineſs, holy *in the* Ciſterne, *working* Sanctity *in ſuch as worthily receive them, and making them wiſe unto* Salvation.

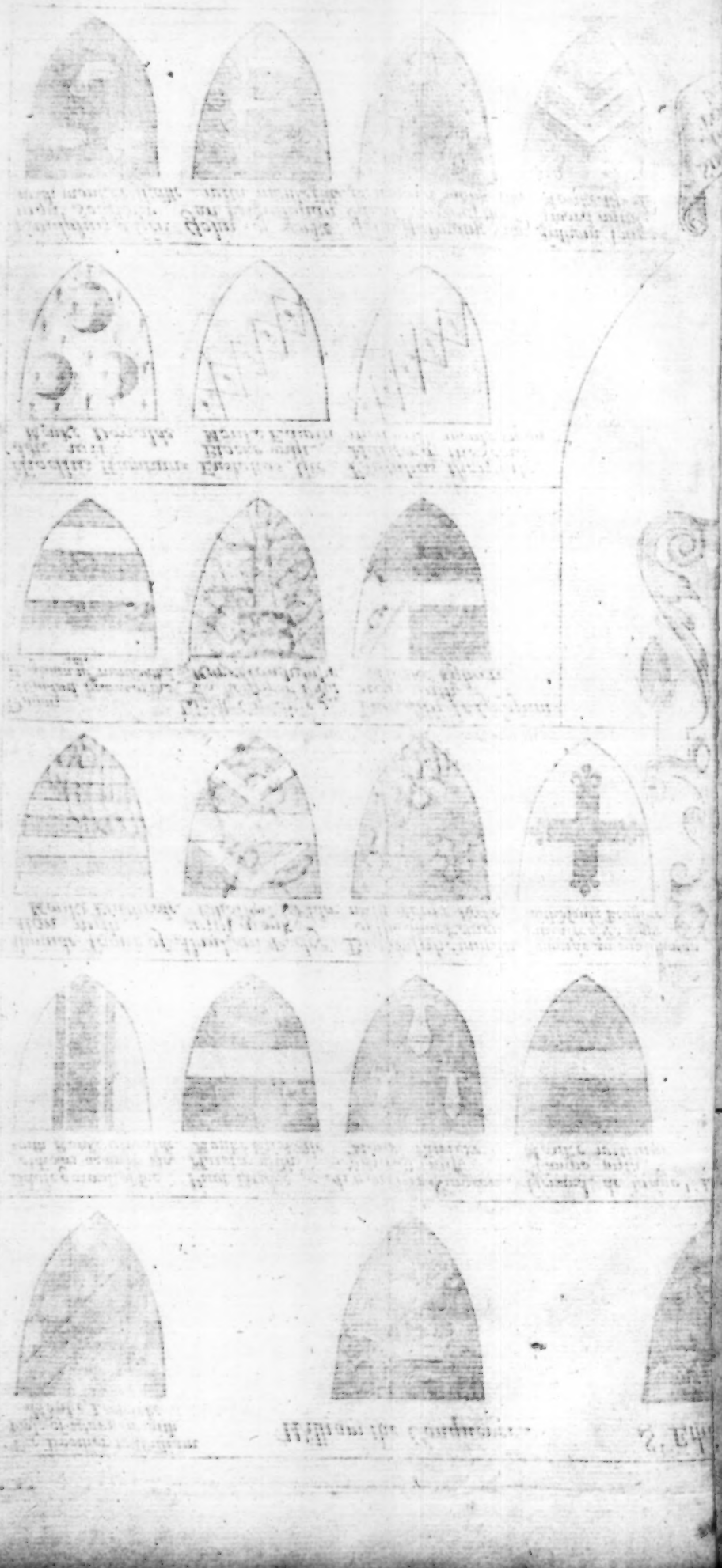
Now next to the Study *of the* Scriptures, Hiſtory *beſt becometh a* Gentleman, Church-Hiſtory *a* Chriſtian, *the* Britiſh Hiſtory *an* Engliſhman; *all which qualifications meeting eminently in* your Honour, *give me ſome comfortable aſſurance, that theſe my weak endeavours will not be unwelcome unto you; by peruſing whereof,* ſome profit *may probably* accrew to your ſelf, *and* more honour *will certainly redown to*

The meaneſt and unworthieſt
of your Lordſhips Servants,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE

THE



The Brother to William Erle of Warren with Monke Leofricke

William the Conquerer

S[t] Ethe

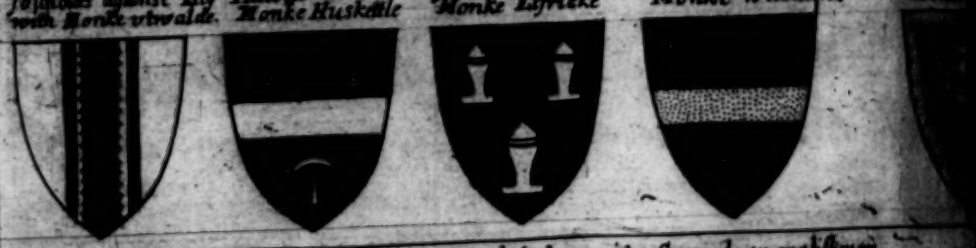


Bdase generall of the soldiours against Ely with Monke Vivalde

Picot Bridge Master with Monke Huskelle

Argentine Surgeon Generall with Monke Elfricke

Gerard de longo Campo with Monke William

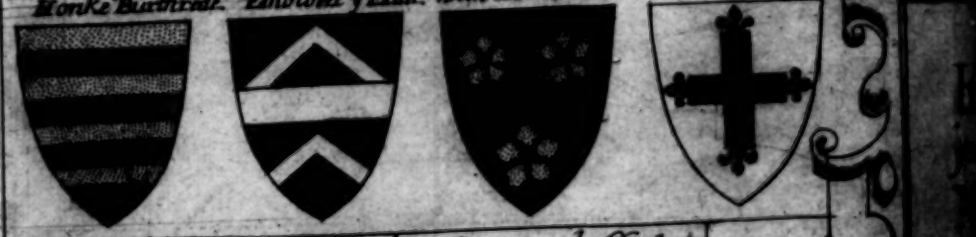


Mamude Sonne of Alan with Monke Burthrede

Abraham Pechy with monke Etholbert y Elder

Biardolphe master of the Iberkemen with Monke Ricke

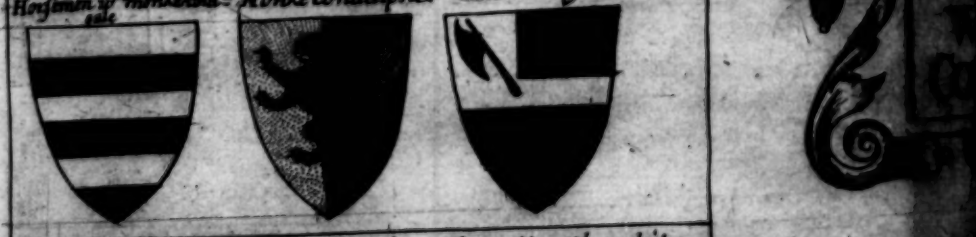
Seward an englishman Victualer of y Campe with Monke Beoffine



Pagan Standard bearer of the Horsmen w monke Edsale

Bigotte Captaine of 100 horsmen with Monke Condulphe

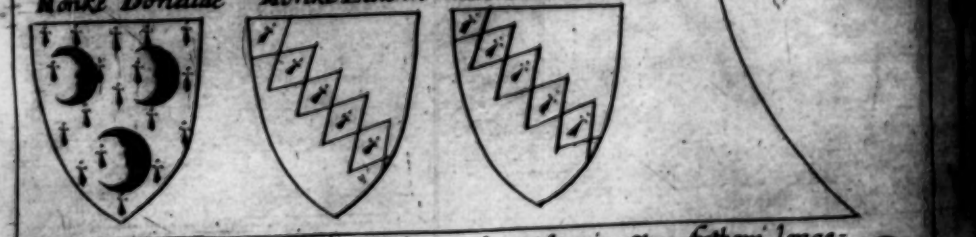
Dunstan le Grosmanews with Munke Egbate



Nigellus Hamtaindalle with Monke Donalde

Eustatias the Blacke with Monke Edwin

Eustatias the white Master of the Scoutmen with monke Swan



Kenulphus a German Soldiour with monke Vskelle

John of yorke an Englishman with monke Felix

John Malmaine Standerd bearer of the footmen w monke Otho

Anthoni longe sword with Monke Alfrede



SIMON
Antiqu
TOGE
lectissima

S[t] Ethelwarde Bishope

Robert Orfford the xiiij[th] Bishope of Elye

Opsal Captaine of the Crossbowe men w[th] Monke Godfryde

[Marshall] Guido de S[t] Leodigaro with the holy Monke Adelmere.

Hastings a souldior. Hilbull in Mangaston with Monke Rigell

Walter Lucy sheild bearer to y[e] Conquerour with Monke Occam

Pamell Captaine of 300 footmen with Monke Edmode

Eyles de furnivall a lumbard with Monke Sulp.

Blounte Captayne generall of y[e] Shotemen with Monke Wilmote

Brian Clare an old Souldior with Monke Aiton

Hugh Mountfort Captayne of y[e] horsmen with Monke Odon.

Richard de ponte fullons with Monke le fricke the younger.

Lucas de Nuvo Burgo with Olane the horse Monke of the Monastery

Tuchet Captayne of the Bowmen with Monke Osmund

Bigotte third sonne of Bigotte with Monke Edmund

Robert Marshall with Monke Renulphe.

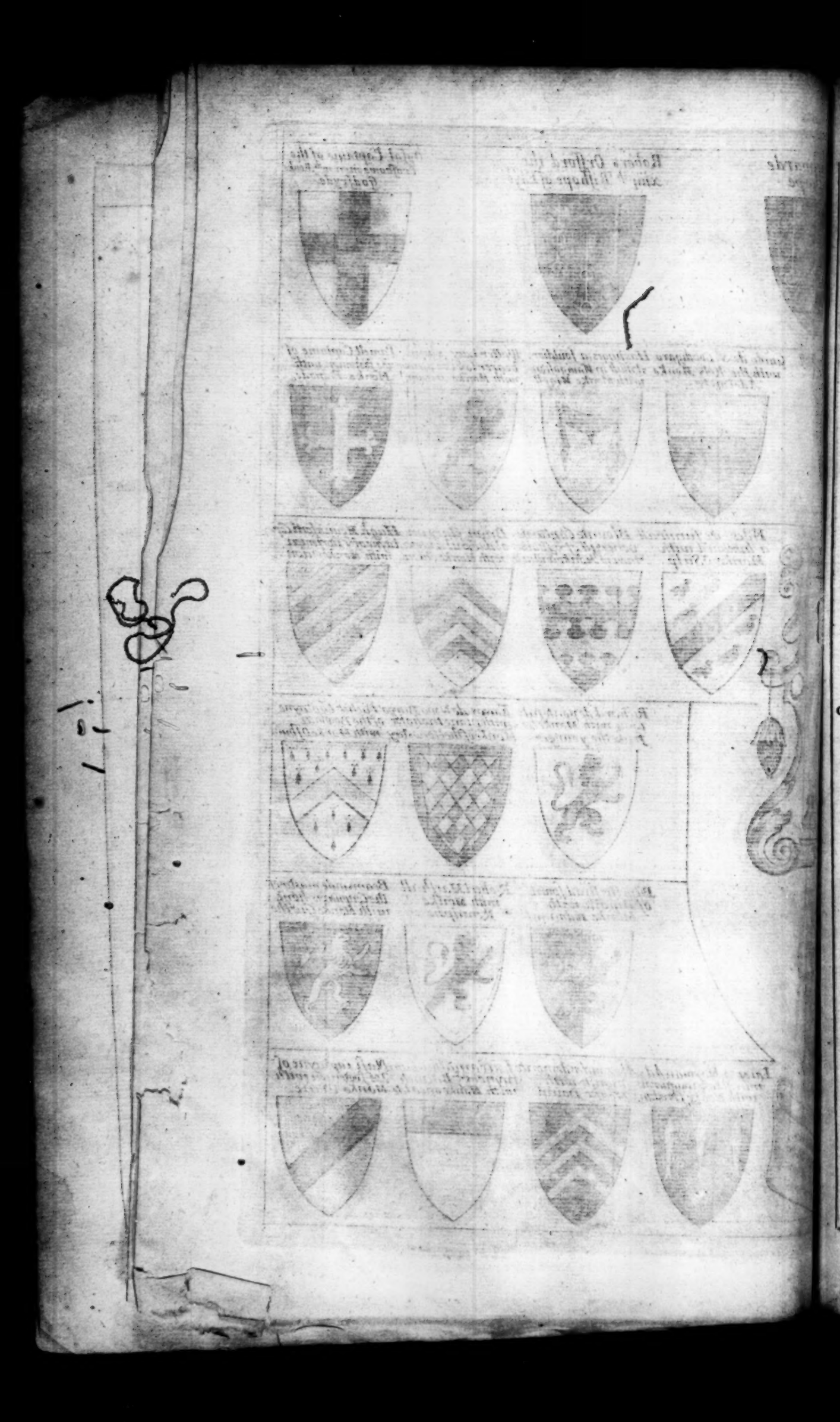
Beamunde master of the Conquerors horse with Monke Gurthe

Lucy a Norman Admirall to y[e] Conqueror with Monke Constan:

Alexander de monte bignito with Monke David

Lucar malus Captayne of y[e] Bildmen with Monke Ghealde

Nasi Captayne of 200 footmen with Monke Orme



Anno Regis Gul. Conq. 1. Anno Dom. 1067.

THE CHVRCH-HISTORY OF BRITAINE.

CENT. XI.

Octo. 14.

1. WIlliam Duke of *Normandy* being thus arrived, soon conquered *Harold* with an army of *Normans*, as far beneath the *English* in *Number* as above them in *temperance*: For the *English* being revelling before, had in the morning their brains *arrested*, for the *arrearages* of the indigested *fumes* of the former night, and were no better then *drunk* [a] when they came to fight. But these things belong to the *Historians* of the *State* to relate; whilest it is proper to us to observe, that *King William* to testifie his gratitude to God, for the victory, founded in that place, *Battel-Abby*, endowing it with revenues, and large immunities. The [b] *Abbot* whereof (being a *Baron* of *Parliament*) carried a pardon in his presence, who casually coming to the place of *Execution*, had power to save any *Malefactor*. The *Abbey-Church*, was a place of safety for any *Fellon* or *Murtherer*, though such *Popish sanctuaries* themselves, if accused as unlawful, can finde no *refuge* in *Scripture precepts*, or *presidents* for their justification, seeing the very *Horns* of the *Altar*, by divine *command*, did *push* away those wilful offenders which fled unto them: and *impunity* being the greatest motive to *impiety*, made their *Covent* the *Center* of sinners. Here the *Monks* flourished in all affluence, as the *Old world* in the dayes of *Noah*, *they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold*, would I might add, *they married wives and were given in marriage*, (for want whereof they did *worse*) till in the dayes of King *Henry* the eight they were all drowned in the general *Deluge* of the *Dissolution*.

2. Now it was proper to the place of *Stigand*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, to perform the Solemnities of King *Williams* Coronation; but he declined that

The drunken English conquered by the Normans, and foundeth Battle-Abbey.

a *Mane adhuc ebrii contra hostes incunctanter procedunt.*

b *Cambdens Brit. in Sussex.*

* *William* Crowned by the Arch-Bishop of *York*, whilest many of the English Clergie flie into *Scotland.*

imployment, pretending *Williams* unlawful title, and loath to pour the ſacred oyl on his *Head*, whoſe *Hands* had ſhed ſo much innocent bloud: The other accounting himſelf to have a better title to the *Crown*, by conqueſt, then the *Arch-Biſhop* had to his *Miter* by *Simony*, diſdained his ſervice, and accepted the Crown from the hands of *Aldred*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *York*; who firſt required an *Oath* of him, to defend the *Church*, miniſter juſtice, and (amongſt other things) to uſe *Engliſh-men* as favourably as *Normans*. Notwithſtanding which *Oath*, he made the *Normans* his *Darlings*, and the *Engliſh* his *Drudges*; inſomuch as many *Engliſh Biſhops* and *Abbots* unable to comport themſelves with his harſhneſs, and conceiving it more credit and ſafety, to go then to be driven away; fearing by degrees they ſhould all be quarrelled out of their places, unwillingly willing quitted their preferments, and fled into *Scotland*. Here King *Malcolme Canmore* (who had married *Margaret* Niece to *Edward* the Confeſſor) freely received them. He himſelf had formerly lived fourteen years in *England*; and now of a grateful *Gueſt*, became a bountiful *Hoſt*, and courteouſly harboured theſe *Exiles*. And as, at this time, *England* began to turn *France*, imitating the *language*, Garbe, and manners thereof; ſo *Scotland* began now to turn *England*: the Families tranſplanted thither, tranſporting the Engliſh cuſtomes, faſhions, and Civilities along with them.

Anno Dom. 1067 — Anno Regis Gul. Conq.

Dooms-day book made.

c *Ingulphi Hiſtoria*, fol. 516.

d *idem ibid.*

3. About this time *Doomes-day-book* was made, containing an exact ſurvey of all the houſes and land in the Kingdom, unpartially done with rigorous ſeverity. They omitted *Nec lucum, nec lacum,* c *nec locum*, ſo accurate they were in the very *fractions* of the *land*: and therefore it may ſeem a miracle, that the *Monks* of *Crowland* ſhould finde a courteſie peculiar to themſelves, (belike out of veneration to their Covent) that their lands were rated *nec ad ſpatium, nec ad* d *præſium*, neither ſo much in quantity, nor ſo high in value as indeed they were worth. This *book of the General Survey of England*, though now begun, did take up ſome years, c before it was compleated.

1068 — Octo. 2.

a *Florentius Wigornienſis & Higden* make it finiſhed Anno 1078.

Stigand depoſed in a councel at *Wincheſter*.

4. King *William* called a *Synod* of his *Biſhops* at *Wincheſter*, wherein he was perſonally preſent, with two *Cardinals* ſent thither from *Rome*. Here *Stigand Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* was depoſed, for ſeveral *uncanonical* exorbitances, and *Lanfrank* a lordly *Lombard* ſubſtituted in his room. *Stigand* liv'd ſome years after in a *Priſon*, and (which was worſe) a priſon liv'd in him, being *ſtreightned in his own bowels* towards himſelf. For pretending poverty, he denied himſelf neceſſaries, being afterwards diſcovered to carry a *Key* about his *Neck* which opened to infinite treaſure, ſo that none would laviſh pity on him, who ſtarv'd in ſtore, and was wilfully cruel to himſelf.

1070 — 4.

The Popes firſt uſurpation of the Crown of *England*.

f Sir *John Davys* in his Iriſh Report, caſe of Præmunire fol. 87, & 89.

5. A f learned lawyer hath obſerved, that *the firſt encroachment of the Biſhop of* Rome *upon the liberties of the Crown of* England, *was made in the time of King* William *the Conqueror. For the Conqueror came in with the Popes Banner, and under it won the battle, which got him the Garland; and therefore the Pope preſumed he might boldly pluck ſome flowers from it, being partly gain'd by his countenance and Bleſſing.* Indeed King *William* kindly entertained theſe *Legats*, ſent from *Rome*, ſo to ſweeten the *rank ſavor* of his coming in by the *ſword*, in the noſtrils of religious men, pretending what he had gotten by power, he would keep by a pious compliance with his *Holineſs*. But eſpecially he did ſerve the *Pope* to be ſerved by him; that ſo with more eaſe and leſs envie, he might ſuppreſs the *Engliſh Clergie*. But although this politick *Prince* was courteous in his complemental addreſſes to the *See Apoſtolick*, yet withall he was careſull of the main chance to keep the eſſentials of his *Crown*, as, amongſt others, by theſe four remarkable particulars may appear.

* Yet King *William* inveſted eccleſiaſtical perſons, g Annal. Eccl. *Lichfield* M. S. cited by Mr *Selden* in his notes on *Eadmerus* pag. 14.

6. Firſt he h retained the ancient *cuſtom* of the *Saxon Kings*, inveſting *Biſhops* and *Abbots*, by delivering them a *Ring* and a *Staff*, whereby without more ado, they were put into plenary poſſeſſion of the power and profit of their place. Yea, when *Arch-Biſhop Lanfrank*, one ſo prevalent, that he could perſwade King *William* to any thing, (provided that the King himſelf thought it

Anno Regis Gul. Conq. | Anno Dom. 1067.

it fitting) requested *William* to bestow on him the donation of the Abbey of Saint *Augustine* in *Canterbury*; the *King* refused, saying, *that he would keep all pastoral* h *Staves in his own hand.* Wiser herein then his successors, who parted with those *Staves*, wherewith they themselves were beaten afterward.

h *Gervasius Doroberaensis M. S.* cited *ibid.*

1078. 12. 7. Secondly being demanded to do *Fealty* for his *Crown of England*, to *Gregory* the seventh *Pope of Rome*, he returned an answer as followeth.

And refuseth to do Fealty to the Pope.

In English.

Excellentissimo i *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Pastori* Gregorio, *gratia Dei Anglorum rex, & dux* Normannorum Willielmus *salutem cum amicitia.* Hubertus *Legatus tuus Religiose Pater, ad me veniens ex tua parte me admonuit, quatenus tibi & successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, & de pecunia quam antecessores mei ad Romanam ecclesiam mitere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis, id fecisse comperio. Pecunia tribus fermè annis, in Galliis me agente, negligenter collecta est. Nunc vero, divina misericordia me in regnum meum reverso, quod collectum per præfatum Legatum mittitur; Et quod reliquum est per Legatos* Lanfranci, *Archiepiscopi fidelis nostri, cum opportunum fuerit, transmittetur. Orate pro nobis, & pro statu Regni nostri, quia antecessores vestros dileximus, & vos præ omnibus sincerè diligere & obedienter audire desideramus.*

TO *Gregory* the most excellent Pastor of the holy Church, *William* by the grace of God, King of the *English* & Duke of the *Normans*, wisheth health, and desireth k his friendship. Religious Father, your Legat *Hubert* coming unto me, admonished me, in your behalf, in asmuch as I should do fealty to you, and your successors, and that I should take better care, for the payment of the money, which my predecessors were wont to send to the Church of *Rome*. One thing I have granted, the other I have not granted. Fealty I would not do, nor will I, because I neither promised it, neither do I finde that my predecessors ever did it to your predecessors. The money for almost three years when I was abroad in *France*, hath been but negligently collected. But now seeing by divine mercy, I am returned into my Kingdom, what is gathered is sent by the aforesaid Legat; and the arrears which remain, shall be sent by the messengers of *Lanfrank*, our faithful Arch-Bishop, in time convenient. Pray for us, and for the good state of our Kingdom, because we have loved your predecessors, and do desire sincerely to love, and obediently to hear you, above all others.

i *MS codex epistolarum Lanfranci* cited by Sr *John Davys* in his Irish reports of *Præmunire fol.* 89.

k Or remembreth his love to him.

It is strange on what pretence of right the *Pope* required this *Fealty*; was it because he sent *King William* a consecrated *Banner*, that under the colour thereof he endeavoured to display his power over all *England*, as if the King must do him homage, as a *Banneret* of his creation, or because he had lately humbled *Henry* the *fourth*, the *German Emperour*, he thought that all *Kings* in like manner, must be *slaves* unto him, the *Pope* being then in his *Vertical height*, and *Dog-dayes* of the heat of his *Power*? But wee need no further inquiry into the cause of his *Ambition*, when we read him to be *Gregory* the seventh, otherwise *Hildebrand* that most active of all that sate in that Chair. Surely he sent this his demand rather with an intent to spie then hope to speed therein, so to sound the depth of *King William*, whom if he found shallow, he knew how to proceed accordingly; or else he meant to leave this demand dormant in the *Deck*, for his successors to make advantage thereof; who would claim for due, whatsoever they challenged before. However so bold an asker never met with a more bold denier. Soon did *King William* finde his spirits,

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who formerly had not loſt but hid them for his *private ends*. *England*'s *Conqueror* would not be *Romes Vaſſal*, and hee had *Brain* enough to deny, what the other had *Brow* to require, and yet in ſuch wary language, that he carried himſelf in a religious diſtance, yet politick parity with his *Holineſs*.

King *William* ordereth the power both of Pope and Arch-Biſhop in his own Dominion.

8. Thirdly, *King William* would in no wiſe ſuffer any one in his Dominion, to acknowledg the Biſhop of *Rome* for Apoſtolical without his [a] command, or to receive the Popes Letters, except firſt they had been ſhewed unto him. As for the Arch-Biſhop of CANTERBURY, *Primate* of *England*, though by his own authority he might congregate Councels of Biſhops, and ſit Preſident in them; yet the King permitted him to appoint, or prohibit nothing, but what was according to His own will and pleaſure, and what the King had [b] ordained before.

a *Eadmerus Hiſt. Nov. lib. 1. pag 6.*
b *Idem ibid.*

Barons not to be excommunicated without the Kings command.

9. Laſtly, *King William* ſuffered no Biſhop to excommunicate any of his *Barons*, or Officers, for adultery, inceſt, or any ſuch hainous crime, except by the Kings Command, firſt made acquainted with the ſame. Here the word *Baron* is not to be taken in that reſtrictive ſenſe, to which the modern acception hath confined it, onely for ſuch of the higher Nobility, which have place, and Votes in Parliament; but [c] generally for ſuch who by **Tenure en chef**, or in Capite (as they term it) held land immediately of the King. And an Engliſh [d] Poet (counted the *Virgil* of his age, and the Ennius in ours) expreſſeth as much in his Rythmes, which we here ſet down, with all the ruſt thereof, without rubbing it off, (remembring how one [e] *John Throkmorton* a Juſticer of *Cheſhire*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s dayes, for not exhibiting a *judicial Concord*, with all the defects of the ſame; but ſupplying, or filling up what was worn out of the Authentical Original, was fined for being over officious) and therefore take them with their faults, and all, as followeth.

c *J. Selden Spicilegium ad Eadmerum, pag. 168.*
d *Robert of Glocester.*
e *Camdens Elizabeth, Anno 1584.*

The berthe was that noe man that of the King huld ought
In Cheif or in ent Servise, to Wanling were ibrought
Bote the Wardeins of holy Chirch that brought him thereto
The King lede or his Baillifes wat he had miſdoe
And loued berſt were thei to amendment it bring
And bote hy wolde by their leve doe the Wanling.

f *Radulphus de diceto, ſub Anno 1163.*

And a grave [f] *Author* gives a good reaſon, why the King muſt be inform'd before any of his Barons be excommunicated, *leſt otherwiſe* (ſaith he) *the King not being certified thereof, ſhould out of ignorance unawares, communicate with perſons excommunicated, when ſuch Officers of His, ſhould come to kiſs His hand, be called to his Councel, or come to perform any perſonal attendance about Him.* Hitherto we have ſeen how careful the Conqueror was, in preſerving His own right in Church-matters. We will conclude all with the Syllogiſme, which the [g] *Oracle of the Common-Law* frameth in this manner,

g L. *Cooks* Reports, 8th part *de Jure Regis Eccleſiaſtico, fol.* 10.

It is agreed, that no man onely can make any appropriation of any Church, having cure of ſouls, being a thing Eccleſiaſtical, and to be made to ſome perſon Eccleſiaſtical, but he that hath Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

But William *the firſt of himſelf, without any other (as King of* England*) made appropriation of Churches, with cure to Eccleſiaſtical perſons, as by many inſtances may appear.*

Therefore it followeth, that He had Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

And ſo much concerning King *William*'s policy, in doing juſtice to His own power. Proceed we now to His bounty, confirming old, and conferring new favors upon the Church and Clergie.

10. Firſt,

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10. First, whereas before his time the Sheriff and Bishop joyntly kept their Courts together, (especially at the two solemn times, about *Easter* and *Michaelmas*) King *William*, in favour of the Clergie, assigned the Bishops, an [a] entire jurisdiction by themselves, wherein they should have cognizance of all causes, relating to Religion. I say *relating to Religion*, a latitude of a *cheverel* extension, adequate almost to the minde of him that will stretch it out, and few Ecclesiastical Judges would lose, what might be got by measuring. Now formerly, whilest the power of Sheriff, and Bishop went *hand in hand* together in the same Court, neither could much outstrip other: but but since they were severed, the Spiritual power far outwent its old mate, improving his own, by impairing the Secular Courts; and henceforward the Canon-law took the firmer footing in *England*; Date we from hence the *squint-eies* of the Clergie, whose sight (*single* before) was hereafter divided with double looks betwixt two objects at once; the *Pope* and the *King*, (to put him first whom they eyed most) acting hereafter more by forrain, then domestick interest.

Bishops jurisdictions first severed from the Sheriffs.

[a] See this cleared by Mr *Selden* in his notes on *Eadmerus*, pag. 167.

11. A learned pen makes a just complaint, that [b] *Courts which should distribute peace, do themselves practice duels, whilest it is counted the part of a resolute Judge to enlarge the priviledge of his Court.* A grievance most visible in contest, betwixt the *Common*, and the *Canon* Law; which, as if they were stars of so different an Horizon, that the elevation of the one necessitated the depression of the other, *lie at catch*, and wait advantages one against another. So that, whilest both might continue in a convenient and *healthful habitude*, if such envious corrivalitie were deposed, now alternately those Courts swell to a tympany, or waste to a consumption, as their Judges finde themselves, more, or less strength'ned with power, or befriended with favour. A mischief not to be remedied, till, either that mutual consent, or a predominant power to both, impartially state their jurisdictions, rightly seting down the land-marks thereof, and binding their proceedings not to exceed their bounds, which would both advance learning, and expedite the execution of Justice.

The contest betwixt Common and Canon Law, how onely to be reconciled.

[b] Lord *Bacon* in his advancement of Learning, pag. 463. Aphorisme 96.

12. To return to King *William*: As He conferred power on, so he confirmed profit to the Clergie. Witness his [c] Charter, granting them thorow-out *England*, tythes of calves, colts, lambs, milk, butter, cheese, woods, meadows, mills, &c. Which Charter is concluded ('tis the strong hem keeps all the cloth from raveling out) *Qui decimam detinuerit, per justitiam Episcopi, & Regis (si necesse fuerit) ad redditionem* [d] *arguatur: who shall detain his tythes, by the power of the Bishop, and King (if need be) let him be argued into the payment thereof.* And Kings arguments, we know, are unanswerable, as *ab authoritate*, carrying power and penalties with them. This Charter might seem to give the tenth loaf, of all the bread in the land, into the hands of the English Clergie. But the municipal laws, which were afterwards made, did so chip and pare *this loaf*, with their *Modus decimandi*, that in many places (Vicaridges especially) a small shiver of bread fals to the share of the Minister, not enough for his necessary maintenance.

King *William* his Charter to the Clergie.

[c] See it at large in Mr *Selden* of tythes, cap. 8. pag. 229.

[d] Others read it *adigatur*, Let him be compelled.

13. And here, to make a short, but needful digression, I finde in eminent Writers, two contrary characters of King *William*. Some make him an arrand Tyrant, ruling onely by the *Magna Charta* of his own will, oppressing all English without cause, or measure. No author need to be alledged for the avouching thereof, the thing being author for it self, being so notoriously known, and generally believed. Others make him to quit his title by Conquest, and hold the Crown, partly by *Bequest* from King *Edward* the Confessor, whose good laws he is said to confirm (*Leges bonæ Regis* Edvardi *quas* Gulielmus *bastardus postea* [e] *confirmavit*) and partly by compact with his people. Yea, the Chronicles of *Lichfield* make him to call a Parliament in effect; I mean, a Meeting of his Clergie and Nobility in a great Councel; where, as if he had turn'd perfect English-man, he conformed his practice to their ancient constitutions.

Two contrary characters of King *William*.

[e] See Mr *Selden*, *ut supra*.

14. Should

Our endeavours to compass the difference.

14. Should I interpose between these opposite parties, to reconcile them; probably the blows from both sides would fall heavy on my charitable indiscretion. Yet thus far I will be bold to say, such confirmation of King *Edward*'s law (if made by King *William*) probably was rather oral and verbal, then real and effectual. But if real, certainly it was not general, but limited to some particular place, as the Province of *Kent*, the English *land of Goshen*, which alone enjoyed the *light of liberty*, though rather gotten by them, then given unto them. But if any will contend, that this confirmation was general, they must confess it done in the later end of his Reign. King *William*, when yong, lov'd honor; when old, ease: when yong, to conquer; when old, to enjoy. Age will make all to stoop, as here it bowed him to a better compliance with his people. However, this his confirmation of King *Edward*'s Laws, was not such as either gave general content to, or begat assured confidence in the English: perchance, because but a personal act, and but partially done, and no whit obligatory of his posterity. This made the English press so importunately (though in vain) to *William Rufus*, the King's son, and successor, for a re-confirmation of King *Edward*'s Laws, which had been needless (as being the same with *actum agere*, or rather *datum petere*) had the former grant from King *William* his father been conceived sufficient for their security.

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King *William* his bounty to *Battle-Abby*.

15. As for King *William*'s particular bounty to *Battle-Abby* in *Sussex*, (which he founded) it bare better proportion to the dignity of the giver, then to the deserts of the receivers. For (besides those priviledges formerly [a] mentioned) he gave it all the land within a league of the site thereof. He ordered that no forreiner should be obtruded on their Abbey, but in every vacancy, one of their own Covent should be elected Abbot thereof; except (which heavens forbid) no fit person should be found therein for that preferment. Nor should the Abbot be forced to appear at any Synod, or meeting, except pleased of himself so to do. These, and many moe immunities he confirmed to that foundation, in such an imperious stile, as if therewith he meant to bluster all future Princes (and King *Henry* the eighth among the rest) into a perfect obedience unto his commands. Especially with that clause in his Charter, *Nullus Successorum meorum violare præsumat.* But dead King's Charters, though they have tongues to threaten, yet have no teeth to bite, especially when meeting with an equal after-power to rescind them.

15. 1081.

a In the first paragr. of this book.

His hard dealing with the Students at *Oxford*.

16. The more the pitty, that such drones, lazy Abby-lubbers went away with the honey, whilest the industrious Bees were almost starved. I mean, the Scholars of *Oxford*. For, at the coming in of the Conqueror, the Students in *University-College* (formerly founded by King *Alfred*) were maintained by pensions, yearly paid them out of the *King*'s *Exchequer*: which provision was then conceived, both most honourable, as immediately depending on the *Crown*, and less troublesome, issuing out in ready *coine*, free from vexatious suits, casualties of Tenants, and other incumbrances. But now King *William*, who loved that the *tide* of *wealth* should *flow* into, but not *ebb* out of his coffers, detained, and denied their [b] exhibitions. Yea, the King pick'd a quarrel with them, because they sought to preserve, and propagate the *English tongue*, which the King designed to suppress, and to reduce all to the *French Language*. And yet the *French speech* was so far from final prevailing in this Kingdom, that it was fain at last to come to a *composition* with the *English tongue*, mixed together, as they remain at this day. Save that in termes of *Law*, *Venarie*, and *Blazon*, the French seemeth soly to command. The Scholars, thus deprived of their pensions, liv'd on the charity of [c] such as lov'd the continuance of their *native tongue*. Their *Latin* was then maintained by their *English*: though surely it was no small disturbance to their studies, meerly to depend for their subsistence, on the arbitrary *alms* of others.

b Ex monumentis Collegii Universitatis.

c Br. Twine in Antiq. Academ. Oxon. pag. 215.

17. Pass

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17. Pass we now from King *William* unto *Lanckfranck* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, next the King, then the most considerable person in our Ecclesiastical History. To *Rome* he went with *Thomas*, elect of *York*, and *Remigius* of *Lincoln*, all three for confirmation from the Pope in their preferment. Pope *Alexander* treated *Lanckfranck* so civilly, that a stranger, if beholding the passages betwixt them, haply might have mistook *Lanckfranck* for the Pope, and the Pope for the Petitioner. His Highness honoured him as his Master, *cujus studio sumus in illis quæ scimus imbuti*; *by whose care* (said he) *we have been instructed in those things whereof we have knowledg.*

Lanckfranck most kindley treated by the Pope.

18. Then *Lanckfranck* charged *Thomas* in the presence of the Pope, as canonically uncapable of that Arch-Bishoprick, because the son of a Priest. And yet by *Lanckfrancks* leave, no *Canon* can be produced then in force, to debar Priests sons from preferment, though some few years after in the Councel of *Clermont* such a prohibition was made. And therefore [a] *Eadmerus*, speaking of *Lanckfranck*, *calumniatus est Thomam coram Papâ*, in the proper acception of his words, speaks more truth then he was aware of, or probably did intend. But *Lanckfranck*, being a *Privado* to the Popes projects, and as well to the intentions, as the actions of the Church of *Rome*; might by a Prolepsis antedate this objection against *Thomas*, using it for the present as a rub to retard him, which some years after was constituted a legal obstacle, to exclude any Priests son from promotion. But, even when that Canon some years after was made, the Pope was not so cruel, as thereby fully, and finally to exclude all Priests sons from Church dignity, but onely to shut them out for a time, that they might stand at the door and knock, (I mean with the *chink of their money*) and at last bee let in when they had paid dear for a dispensation.

His charge against *Thomas*, elect of *York*.

[a] *Novorum lib. 1. pag. 7.*

19. *Lanckfranck* likewise charged *Remigius*, elect of *Lincoln*, as irregular, because guilty of Simony. Yet he did not tax him with a penny of money, either paid or contracted for, onely charged him that *officio* [b] *emerat*, by *service*, *Simony* he had purchased the place of King *William*; so that his officiousness to comply with the Kings pleasure, had made him injurious, and vexatious unto the people. Here all things were referred to *Lanckfrancks* own arbitration; whom the Pope, of an accuser made a Judg; so far as either to admit or exclude the aforesaid Prelates; affirming, that if *any unworthiness crept into English preferment, he it charged on* Lanckfranck *his account, whom he made sole judg of mens merits to any promotion.*

And against *Remigius*, elect of *Lincoln*.

[b] *Eadmerus ibid.*

20. But all is well, that ends well; and so did this contest. *Lanckfranck*, having first given them a taste of his power, did afterwards give them a *cast* of his pitty, and favourably accepted them both into their places. Hence they all post homewards, where we leave *Lanckfranck* safely arrived, and soundly employed in variety of business.

Lanckfranck his return and imployment.

1. *In asserting the superiority of his See above* York.
2. *In defending his Tenants, in what Dioces soever, from the visitations of their respective Bishops, which gave the first original to Peculiars.*
3. *In repairing his Church of* Canterbury, *lately much defaced with fire.*
4. *In casting out* Secular Priests, *and substituting* Monks *in their room.*
5. *Lastly, in recovering lands long detained from his See.*

Nor was he affrighted with the heighth and greatness of *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux* (though half-brother to King *William*, and Earl of *Kent*) but wrestled a fair fall with him, in a legal trial, and cast him flat on his back, regaining many Lordships, which *Odo* had most unjustly invaded. Such as desire more of *Lanckfranck* his character, let them consult *Eadmerus*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, and

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and therefore prodigal in *Lanckfrancks* praise, an Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and great promoter of monastical life. Indeed there was a design, driven on by *Walkeline*, Bishop of *Winchester* (who had privately wrought the King to abet it) to reinduce Secular Priests into Monks places, till *Lanckfranck*, getting notice, defeated the plot; procuring, that all such Monks, whom he had first fastened in their Covents, were afterwards riveted therein by Papal authority.

Bishops Sees removed from villages to cities.

21. About this time a constitution was made, that Bishops should remove their Sees, from petty towns to populous places. This reason being rendred for their removal, *Ne vilescerent Episcopalis dignitas*, by their long living in so little villages. Such Bishops Churches could not properly be called *Cathedrals*, who sate not upon *chairs*, but *low stools*, so inconsiderably small were some places of their residences. A fair candle-stick, advantagiously set, in some sense may be said to give light to the candle it self; and Episcopal lustre will be the brighter, if placed in eminent Cities. Besides, Bishops having now gotten Canon-Law, and distinct Courts by themselves, much people repaired unto their Consistories, which conveniently could not be accommodated in little villages, but required bigger places for their better entertainment. In order to this command, the Bishop of *Dorchester*, near *Oxford*, removed to *Lincolne*; as somewhat before, *Selsey* was translated to *Chichester*; and *Sherborne* to *Sarisbury*; and, not long after, *Thetford* to *Norwich*. Now, as these Cities, to which they removed, being great before, grew greater afterwards: so those places which they left, *Dorchester* (and *Selsey* especially) decayed to contemptible villages, it faring with places, as with persons; the rich grow richer still, and the meaner are daily diminished,

Wolstans simplicity saveth his Bishoprick.

22. As these Bishops accounted themselves well busied, in removing their Bishopricks: so some, I am sure, were ill imployed in endeavouring to remove a good Bishop, I mean *Wolstan*, from his Church of *Worcester*. As the Poets faign of *Janus*, that he had two faces, because living before, and after the flood: so this *Wolstan* may be charactered accordingly, made Bishop before, but continuing his place long after the *Norman* inundation. But, in what sense soever he may be said to have two faces, he had but one heart, and that a single and sincere one to God, and all goodness; yet his adversaries heaved at him, to cast him out of his Bishoprick (because an Englishman of the old stamp) but he sate safe, right-poised therein, with his own gravity and integrity. And, being urged to resign his *staff and ring*, (ensignes of his Episcopacy) he refused to surrender them to any man alive, but willingly offered them up at the Tomb of *Edward* the Confessor, from whom he received them. This his gratitude to his dead Patron, and candid simplicity in neglecting the pomp of his place, procured him much favour, and occasioned his peaceable confirmation in his Bishoprick.

The original of *Secundum usum Sarum*.

23. At this time several Liturgies were used in *England*, which caused confusion, and much disturbed mens devotions. Yea, which was worse, a brawle, yea, a battel happ'ned betwixt the English Monks of *Glassenbury*, and *Thurstan*, their Norman Abbot, in their very Church, obtruding a *Service* upon them, which they dislik'd. Unfit persons to fight (being by their profession men of peace) and unfitter the place for a quarrel. * *Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?* saith S^t *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, *or despise ye the Church of God?* Was there no other room in their Covent, for them to fall out, and fight in, but their Church alone? Here was an *Holy war* indeed, when Church-forms, candle-sticks, and Crucifixes, were used for shields, by the Monks, against the Abbot's armed-men, brought in against them. Nor was *Holy-water* onely, but much bloud spilled in the place; eight Monks being wounded, and * two slain (or if you will sacrificed) near the steps of the High Altar. But this accident, ill in it self, was then conceived good in the event thereof, because occasioning a settlement, and uniformity of Liturgie

* 1 Cor. 11. 22.

* *Eulogium* an ancient, and authentick Chronicle, cited by Mr *Fox*, pag. 233.

all

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all over *England*. For hereupon *Osmund*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, devised that *Ordinary*, or form of Service, which hereafter was observed in the whole Realm: his Churches practice being a precedent, and the devotion therein a direction to all others. Hence forward the most ignorant Parish-Priest in *England* (though having no more Latin in all his treasury) yet understood the meaning of, *Secundum usum Sarum*, that all Service must be ordered, *According to the course and custome of* Salisbury *Church*.

24. I finde no Jews in *England* (no deviation I hope from Church-History, to touch at the Synagogue) before the Reign of the Conqueror, who [a] brought many from *Roan* in *Normandy*, and setled them in *London*, *Norwich*, *Cambridge*, *Northampton*, &c. In what capacity these Jews came over, I finde not; perchance as plunderers, to buy such oppressed English mens goods, which Christians would not meddle with. Sufficeth it us to know, that an invasion by Conquest (such as King *William* then made) is like an Inn entertaining all adventurers; and it may be these Jewish bankers assisted the Conquerour with their coin. These Jews (though forbidden to buy land in *England*) grew rich by usury (their consciences being so wide, that they were none at all) so that in the barest pasture (in which a Christian would starve) a Jew would grow fat, hee bites so close unto the ground. *And ever bow down their backs*, is part of Gods curse upon the Jews. And crook-back'd men, as they eye the earth, the center of wealth; so they quickly see (what straight persons pass by) and easily stoop to take up that they finde thereon; and therefore no wonder, if the Jewish nation, whose souls are bowed down with covetousness, quickly wax wealthy therewith. King *William* favoured them very much; and *Rufus*, his Son, much more; especially, if that speech reported of him be true, that he should swear by S^t *Luke*'s *face* (his common oath) *if* [b] *the Jews could overcom the Christians, he himself would become one of their sect.*

The first coming of the Jews into *England*.

[a] *Stows* Survey of *London*, in *Coleman* street Ward.

[b] *Stows* Survey of *London* pag. 288.

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25. Now was the time come of King *Williams* death, ending his dayes in *Normandy*. But see the unhappiness of all humane felicity; for, his breath, and his servants forsook him both together; the later leaving him, as if his body should bury it self. How many hundreds held land of him in *Knights-service*? whereas now, neither Knight, nor Esquire to attend him. At last, with much ado, his corps are brought in mean manner to be interred in *Cane*. As they were prepared for the earth, a private person forbids the burial, till satisfaction was made unto him, because the King had violently taken from him that ground, on which that Church was erected. Doth not *Solomon* say true, *A living dog is better then a dead lion*; when such a little curr durst snarle at the corps of a King, and a Conqueror? At last the Monks of *Cane* made a composition, and the body was buried. And, as it was long before this Kings corps could get *peaceable possession* of a grave: so since by a *firm ejection* he hath been outed of the same. When French souldiers [c] *Anno Domini* 1562. (amongst whom some English were mingled) under *Chattillion* conducting the remnant of those which escaped in the battel of *Dreux*, took the City of *Cane*, in his way (out of pretence, forsooth, to seek for some treasure supposed to be hid in his Tomb) most barbarously and cowardly brake up his coffin, and cast his bones out of the same.

The death of King *William*, with the difficulty of his burial.

[c] *Stows* Chron. at the death of King *William*.

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26. *William* the Conquerour left three sons, *Robert*, *William*, and *Henry*: and, because hereditary sir-names were not yet fixed in families, they were thus denominated, and distinguished;

The three sons of the Conqueror, how denominated.

1. The eldest from his *goods of fortune* (to which cloaths are reduced) *Robert Curthose*, from the *short hose* he wore; not onely for fancy, but sometime for need, *cutting his coat according to his cloath*: his means, all his life long, being scant and necessitous.
2. The second from the *goods of his body*, viz. a ruddy complexion, *William Rufus*, or, *Red*. But, whether a lovely, and amiable;

or ireful, and cholerick *Red*, the Reader on perusal of his life, is best able to decide. Anno Dom. 1087. Anno Regis Rul. 1.

3. The third from the *goods of his minde*, and his rich abilities of learning, *Henry Beauclerke*, or, the *good scholar*.

The middlemost of these, *William Rufus*, presuming on his brother *Roberts* absence in *Normandy*, and pretending his Father got the Crown by Conquest, which by will he bequeathed unto him (his eldest brother being then under a cloud of his Fathers displeasure) adventured to possess himself of the Kingdom.

King *William Rufus* crowned.

27. On the Twentie sixth of *September*, *Lanckfranck*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with good *Wolstan*, Bishop of *Worcester*, assisting him, Crowned *Rufus* King of *England*, though but his Fathers second son. And indeed, the known policy of the former, and the reputed piety of the latter, were the best supporters of his title. *Jacob*, we know (acted with a prophetical spirit) *guiding his* [a] *hands wittingly*, laid his right on *Ephraim* the yonger, and his left on *Manasseth* the elder brother: but, what warrant these Bishops had to invert, and transpose natures method, by preferring the yonger brother, before the elder, was best known to themselves. Under *Lanckfranck* he had his education, who [b] *made him a Knight*, though it had been more proper for his Tutors profession, yea, and more for his credit, and his Pupils profit, if he (as the instrument) had made him a good Christian.

[a] Gen. 48.14.

[b] *Mat. Paris* pag. 14.

His covetousness and inconstancy.

28. He began very bountifully, but on another mans cost; not as a *Donor*, but a *Dealer* thereof, and Executor of his Fathers Will. To some Churches he gave [c] ten mark, to others six, to every country village five shillings, besides an hundred pound to every County, to be distributed among the poor. But afterward he proved most parcimonious, though no man more prodigal of never performed promises. Indeed *Rehoboam*, though simple, was honest, speaking to his Subjects, though foolishly, yet truly according to his intent, that *his* [d] *finger should be heavier then his fathers loins*: Whereas *Rufus* was false in his proceedings, who, on the imminence of any danger or distress (principally to secure himself against the claim of his brother *Robert*) instantly to oblige the English, promised them the releasing of their taxes, and the restoring of the *English Laws*: but, on the sinking of the present danger, his performance sunk accordingly; no letter of the *English Laws* restored, or more mention thereof, till the returning of the like State-storme, occasioned the reviving of his promise; and alternately, the clearing up of the one, deaded the performance of the other. 1088 Sept. 2.

[c] *Chronicon Johannis Brom.* in, pag. 983.

[d] 1 King. 12. 11.

His enriching himself by Church-livings.

29. This year died *Lanckfranck*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: after whose death, the King seised the profits of that See, into his own hand, and kept the Church vacant for some years; knowing, the emptiness of Bishopricks caused the fulness of his coffers. Thus Arch-Bishop *Rufus*, Bishop *Rufus*, Abbot *Rufus* (for so may he be called, as well as King *Rufus*; keeping at the same time the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester*, and *Durham*, and thirteen Abbies in his hand) brought a mass of money into his Exchequer. All places which he parted with, was upon present payment. *Simon* [e] *Magus* with his hands ful of money, would carry any thing from *Simon Peter*, with his [f] *Silver and gold have I none*. Yea, *John* Bishop of *Wells*, could not remove his seat to *Bath*, *nisi* [g] *alto unguento manibus Regis delibatis*, *unless he had moist'ned the Kings hands with white ointment*; though a less proportion, of a *yellow colour*, would have been more soveraign to the same use. And picking a quarrel with *Remigius*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, about the founding of his Cathedral, he forced him to buy his peace, at the price of a thousand marks. 1089. 3.

[e] Acts 8.18.

[f] Acts 3.6.

[g] *Mat. Paris* pag. 17.

30. But

Anno Regis Gul. Ruf. 1. Anno Dom. 1093.

30. But in the mid'st of his mirth, King *Rufus*, coming to *Gloceſter*, fell deſperately ſick, and began to bethink himſelf of his ill-led life. As all aches, and wounds prick, and pain moſt the nearer it draweth to night; ſo, a guilty conſcience is moſt active to torment men, the nearer they conceive themſelves approaching to their death. Hereupon he reſolveth to reſtore all ill-gotten goods, releaſe all perſons unjuſtly impriſoned, and ſupply all empty places with able Paſtors. In purſuance hereof, he made *Anſelme* (the Abbot of *Beck* in *Normandy*) one of eminent learning, and holineſs of life, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; which place he was hardly perſwaded, with much importunity, to accept. The firſt eminent act, of his Archiepiſcopal office, which we finde, was, when preaching at the Court on Aſh-wedneſday, he denied [a] *Aſhes and Abſolution* to all thoſe Courtiers, who affected effeminateneſs in their behaviour; eſpecially, in wearing their hair long, and kemb'd like women. A ſin, no doubt; for, whereas *Tertullian* calls the length of womens hair, *Sarcinam ſuæ humilitatis*, the ſame in men (ſo promiſcuouſly worn) may be called, *Sarcina ſuæ ſuperbiæ*.

His ſickneſs & reſolution of amendment.

[a] *Eadmerus Novorum*, lib. 1 pag. 23.

31. There paſſeth a memorable expreſſion of *Anſelme*'s, cried up, and commended by ſome, for a maſter-piece of devotion; namely, *That he had rather be in hell without ſin, then in heaven with ſin*; which [b] others condemn as an unſavoury ſpeech, *not according to Scripture-phraſe, as from one not ſufficiently acquainted with the juſtification of a Chriſtian man*. Indeed, ſome high-flown expreſſions often knock at *the door of blaſphemy*, but yet not with any intention to enter in thereat; in which we are more to minde the ſenſe, then the ſound of the words. Amongſt thoſe may this of *Anſelme*'s be ranked, uttered no doubt in a zealous deteſtation of ſin; yea, which charitably may be defended in the very letter thereof. For, *Adam* (we know) was ſome [c] while in Paradiſe (Heavens ſuburbs) after the eating of the forbidden-fruit, yet was ſenſible of no pleaſure therein, which made him hide himſelf, as proſecuted by his guilty conſcience: and ſome of the Ancients conceive, that Chriſt went locally to hell, yet no pain did ſeiſe on him there, ſeeing ſorrow can arreſt none, but at the ſuit of ſin going before.

Anſelmes expreſion queſtioned.

[b] Mr *Fox* Acts and Monum. vol. 1. pag. 240

[c] Gen. 3.

32. But, to leave *Anſelme*'s words, let us come to his deeds. Who was ſcarce warm in his Arch-Biſhoprick, when the King ſent to him for a thouſand pound; which ſum, being ſo ſmall in it ſelf (*Rufus* uſually demanding more of leſs Biſhopricks) and that after his entrance on his See, free from any precontract, might have paſſed without the ſuſpicion of Simony, under the notion of a meer gratuity. However, *Anſelme* refuſed to pay it, becauſe he would avoid *the appearance of evil*. Others [d] ſay, that he freely ſent the King five hundred pounds, with this complement; that, though it was the firſt, it ſhould not be the laſt he would preſent to his Majeſty: which the King in choler refuſed, becauſe ſhort to the ſum he expected. Indeed, *Rufus* onely retained this, of all his Archiepiſcopal education (being bred under *Lanckfranck*, as is aforeſaid) that thereby he experimentally knew the ſweetneſs of Church-preferments; and in his bargain and ſale, ſet a rate upon them accordingly, being after his recovery from his ſickneſs, far more ſordid, and ſacrilegious then before.

Anſelme refuſeth to ſend King *Rufus* 1000. l.

[d] *Eadmerus Novorum*, lib. 1. pag. 22.

8. 1094

33. Amongſt the many Simoniacal Prelates that ſwarmed in the land, *Herbert* Biſhop of *Thetford*, muſt not be forgottten; nick-named (or ſirnamed ſhall I ſay?) *Loſeng*, that is, *the Flatterer*; our old Engliſh word *leaſing*, for lying, retaines ſome affinity thereunto, and at this day we call an inſinuating fellow, a *Glozing companion*. Though the beſt perſwaſiveneſs of his flattery, conſiſted in down-right arguments of gold, and ſilver. For, guilty of the hereditary ſin of Simony (his father formerly having bought the Abby of *Ramſey*) he purchaſed the Biſhoprick of *Thetford* of the King. But afterward he poſted to *Rome*, confeſſed his fault, and was abſolved from the guilt thereof. Thus, as the leproſie of *Naaman* was waſhed away in *Jordan*, ſo that [e] *his fleſh came again as the fleſh of a little childe, and he was clean*: ſo this

Herbert Biſhop of *Thetford* his Simoniacal flattery.

[e] 2 Kings 5. 14.

Anno Dom. 1095 | Anno Regis Gul. Ruf. 9.

Biſhop was perſwaded, that all his Simoniacal corruption was cleanſed, in this his holy pilgrimage, conceiving himſelf henceforward to begin on a new account of integrity, eſpecially having, after his return, removed his Epiſcopal Seat from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, where he firſt founded the Cathedral.

Wolſtan Biſhop of *Worceſter* dieth.

34. *Wolſtan*, the venerable Biſhop of *Worceſter*, left this life. A Biſhop of the old *edition*, unacquainted with *Lanckfranck's* Italian additions; not faulty in his *converſation*, but *Countrey*, becauſe an Engliſhman borne. It was laid to his charge, that he could not ſpeak French (no eſſential quality in a Biſhop, as S^t *Paul* deſcribes him) ſure I am, he could ſpeak the *language of Canaan*, humble, holy, heavenly diſcourſe. A mortified man much macerating his body with faſting, and watching, if not overacting his part, and ſomewhat guilty of will-worſhip therein.

1 *Tim.* 3. 2. *&c.* 2 *Tit.* 1. 6. *&c.*

Duke *Robert* prepares for the Holy War.

35. About this time began the Holy War, which here we will not repeat, having formerly made an entire work thereof. *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, to fit himſelf for that voyage, ſold his Dukedom to King *William Rufus* for ten thouſand mark, ſay ſome; for ſix thouſand, ſix hundred, ſixty ſix pounds, that is, one mark leſs, ſay others; happly, abating the odd mark, to make up the rotundity of ſo facred, and myſtical a number. To pay this money, King *Rufus* laid a general, and grievous tax over all the Realm, extorting it with ſuch ſeverity, that the Monks were fain to ſell the Church-plate, and very Chalices, for diſcharging thereof. Wonder not, that the whole land ſhould bee impoveriſhed with the paying of ſo ſmall a ſum; for, a little wool is a great deal, when it muſt be taken from a new-ſhorne ſheep: ſo pilled and polled were all people before, with conſtant exactions. Such, whom his hard uſage forced beyond the ſeas, were recalled by his Proclamation; So that his heavy leavies would not ſuffer them to live here, and his hard Laws would not permit them to depart hence. And, when the Clergy complain'd unto him, to be eaſed of their burdens; *I beſeech you* (ſaid he) *have ye not coffins of gold and ſilver for dead mens bones?* intimating that the ſame treaſure might otherwiſe be better imployed.

Variance between the King and *Anſelme*.

36. The ſtreams of diſcord began now to ſwell high, betwixt the King and Arch-Biſhop *Anſelme*; flowing principally from this occaſion. At this time there were two Popes together, ſo that the *Eagle with two heads*, the Arms of the Empire, might now as properly have fitted the Papacy for the preſent. Of theſe, the one [*Guibertus*] I may call the *Lay-Pope*, becauſe made by *Henry* the Emperor; the other [*Urban*] the *Clergy-Pope*, choſen by the Conclave of Cardinals. Now, becauſe *like unto like*, King *William* ſided with the former, whileſt *Anſelme* as earneſtly adhered to *Urban*, in his affections, deſiring to receive his *Pall* from him, which the King refuſed to permit. Hereupon *Anſelme* appealed to his Pope, whereat King *William* was highly offended.

Their ſeveral pleadings, and preſent reconcilement.

37. But, becauſe none are able ſo emphatically to tell their ſtories, and plead their cauſes, as themſelves, take them in their own words;

The King Objected.

The cuſtome from my Father's time, hath been in *England*, that no perſon ſhould appeal to the Pope, without the Kings licenſe. He that breaketh the cuſtoms of my Realm, violateth the power, and Crown of my Kingdom. He that violateth, and taketh away my Crown, is a Traytor, and enemy againſt me.

Anſelme *Anſwered.*

The Lord hath diſcuſſed this queſtion. Give unto Ceſar the things that are Ceſars, and unto God the things that are Gods. In ſuch things as belong to the terrene dignities of temporal Princes, I will pay my obedience; but Chriſt ſaid, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, &c. Whoſe Vicar he ought to obey in ſpiritual matters, and the fetching of his Pall was of that nature.

At

Anno Regis Gul. Ruf. | Anno Dom. 1095

At laſt an expedient was found out, that *Anſelme* ſhould not want his *Pall*, nor fetch it himſelf from *Rome*, being by the King's conſent brought to him by *Gualter*, Pope *Urban*'s Legate (whom the King at laſt was fain to acknowledg) and ſo all things for the preſent reconciled.

38. But the wound betwixt them was rather skinned over, then perfectly healed; and afterwards brake out again, the King taking occaſion of diſpleaſure at *Anſelmes* backwardneſs to aſſiſt him, in his expedition into *Wales*. Whereupon *Anſelme* deſired a ſecond journey to *Rome*, there to bemoan, and probably, to relieve himſelf by complaint to the Pope. But the King ſtopt his voyage; affirming, that *Anſelme* had led ſo pious a life, he need crave no abſolution at *Rome*; and was ſo well ſtored with learning, that he needed not to borrow any counſel there. Yea, ſaid the King, *Urban had rather give place to the wiſdom of* Anſelme, *then* Anſelme *have need of* Urban. In fine, after much conteſting, *Anſelme* ſecretly ſtole out of the Realm, and the King ſeized all his goods, and lands into his own coffers. Three years was he in exile, ſomtimes at *Lions*, ſometimes at *Rome*; welcome whereſoever he came, and very ſerviceable to the Church by his pious living, painfull preaching, learned writing, and ſolid diſputing, eſpecially in the general Councel of *Bar*, where he was very uſeful in confuting, and condemning the errours of the Greek-Church, about the Proceſſion of the Holy Spirit.

They diſagree again.

14. Ang. 2. | 1100

39. King *Rufus* was a hunting in *New-Foreſt*, which was made by King *William*, his Father; not ſo much out of pleaſure, or love of the game; as policy to clear, and ſecure to himſelf, a fair and large landing-place, for his forces out of *Normandy*, if occaſion did require. Here then was a great devaſtation of Towns, and Temples; the place being turned into a wilderneſs for Men, to make a Paradiſe for Deer. God ſeemed diſpleaſed hereat, for (amongſt other Tragedies of the Conquerors family, acted in this place) *Rufus* was here ſlain, by the glancing of an arrow ſhot by S^r *Walter Tirrel*. An unhappy name to the Kings of *England*; this man caſually, and another wilfully (S^r *James Tirrel* employed in the murthering of King *Edward* the fifth) having their hands in royal bloud. Now it is ſeaſonably remembred, that ſome yeers ſince, this King *William* had a deſperate diſeaſe, whereof he made but bad uſe, after his recovery; and therefore now, Divine Juſtice would not the ſecond time, ſend him the ſummons of a ſolemn viſitation by ſickneſs, but even ſurprized him by a ſudden, and unexpected death.

King *Rufus* his death.

40. Thus died King *William Rufus*, leaving no iſſue, and was buried (ſaith my [a] Author) at *Wincheſter*, *multorum Procerum conventu*, *paucorum verò planctu*; many Noble-men meeting, but few mourning at his funerals. Yet ſome, who grieved not for his death, grieved at the manner thereof; and of all mourners *Anſelme*, though in exile in *France*, expreſſed moſt cordial ſorrow at the news of his death. A valiant and proſperous Prince, but condemn'd by Hiſtorians for covetouſneſs, cruelty, and wantonneſs, though no woman by name is mentioned for his Concubine; probably, becauſe thrifty in his luſt, with mean, and obſcure perſons. But, let it be taken into ſerious conſideration, that no *pen* hath originally written the life of this King, but what was made by a Monkiſh pen-knife; and no wonder, if his picture ſeem bad, which was drawn by his enemy. And he may be ſuppoſed to fare the worſe, for his oppoſition to the Romiſh uſurpation; having this good quality, to ſuffer none but himſelf, to abuſe his Subjects, ſtoutly reſiſting all payments of the Popes impoſing. Yea, (as great an enemy as he was conceiv'd to the Church) he gave to the Monks called *De Charitate*, the great new Church of S^t *Saviours* in *Bermondſey*, with the Manor thereof, as alſo of *Charlton* in *Kent*.

His burial, and character. [a] *John Brompton*, pag. 997.

41. *Henry Beauclarke*, his brother, ſucceeded him in the Throne, one that croſſed the common Proverb, *The greateſt Clerks are not the wiſeſt men*, being one of the moſt profoundeſt Scholars, and moſt politick Princes in his generation. He was Crowned about four dayes after his brothers death.

Henry the firſt ſucceedeth *Rufus*, and is crowned.

death. At that time, the preſent providing of good ſwords, was accounted more eſſential to a Kings Coronation, then the long preparing of gay clothes. Such preparatory pomp as was uſed in after-ages at this Ceremony, was now conceived, not onely uſeleſs, but dangerous, ſpeed being ſafeſt to ſupply the vacancy of the Throne. To ingratiate himſelf to the Engliſh, he inſtantly, and actually repealed (for his brother *William* had put all the Land out of love, and liking of fair promiſes) the cruel *Norman Laws*. Laws written in bloud, made more in favour of Deer, then of Men; more to manifeſt the power, and pleaſure of the impoſer, then for the good, and protection of the Subject; wherein, ſometimes, mens miſchances were puniſhed, for their miſdeeds. Yea, in a manner King *Henry* gave eyes to the blind in winter-nights; I mean, light to them who formerly lived (though in their own houſes) in uncomfortable darkneſs, after eight a clock; when heretofore the *Curfeu-bell* did ring the knell of all the fire, and candle-light in Engliſh families. But now theſe rigorous Edicts were totally repealed; the good, and gentle Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſor generally revived; the late Kings extorting Publicanes (whereof *Ranulf Flambard*, Biſhop of *Durham*, the principal) cloſely impriſoned; the Court-corruption, by the Kings command, ſtudiouſly reformed; adultery (then grown common) with the loſs of virility, ſeverely puniſhed; *Anſelme* from exile ſpeedily recalled; after his return, by the King heartily welcomed; by the Clergie, ſolemnly and ceremoniouſly received; he to his Church; his lands, and goods to him fully reſtored; *Engliſh* and *Normans* lovingly reconciled; all intereſts, and perſons ſeemingly pleaſed; *Robert*, the Kings elder brother (though abſent in the Holy-Land) yet ſcarcely miſſed; and ſo this Century, with the firſt year of King *Henrie*'s reign, ſeaſonably concluded.

Anno Dom. 1100. Anno Regni Hen. 1.

The end of the eleventh Century.

CENT.

Anno Regis Hen. I. 3 | Anno Dom. 1101.

CENT. XII.

JOHANNI FITZ-JAMES
DE LEUSTON,
In Com. Dorſet. ARMIG.

NOn deſunt in hoc noſtro ſæculo, qui Librorum Dedicationes penè ducunt ſuperſtitioſum, planè ſuperfluum; ſic enim argutuli ratiocinantur. Liber, ſi bonus, Patronò non indiget, ſuo Marte pergat; ſin malus, Patrono ne ſit dedecori, ſuo merito pereat.

Habeo tamen quod huic dilemmati poſſim regerere. Liber Meus, nec bonus nec malus, ſed quiddam medium inter utrumque. Bonum, ipſe non auſum pronuntiare, cum plurimis Mendis Laboret: Malum, alii [ſpero] non dijudicent; cum Legentibus poſſit eſſe uſui.

Sub hác dubiâ Conditione, *vel Adverſariis noſtris Judicibus, opus hoc noſtrum, Patronum ſibi aſciſcere, & poteſt & debet; Et ſub alis Clientelæ tuæ qui tam* MARTE *præſtas quàm* MERCURIO, *foveri ſerò triumphat.*

Hen. I. 2. 1101

I. GRave *Anſelme* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, eſpouſed and married *Maud* (daughter of *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, and S^t *Margaret* his wife) to *Henry* King of *England*. Shee had been a profeſſed *Votary*, and was preſſed by the importunity of her parents and friends, for Politick ends, to this marriage; inſomuch as in the bitterneſs of her ſoul, (able to appale the writer hereof, ſeeing his ink out-black'd with her expreſsion) ſhe *devoted the fruit of her body to the Devil*, becauſe they would not permit her to perform her promiſe of Virginity. Thus [a] *Matthew Paris*. But the Reader reſerveth his other ear for the relation of *Eadmerus*, reporting this ſtory after a different, yea contrary manner, as followeth.

The Helliſh imprecation of *Maud* when married to King *Henry*.

[a] Hiſt Aug. in *Hen.* 1. anno 1101.

2. The aforeſaid *Maud*, when a Girle, lived under the tuition and correction of *Chriſtian* her *Aunt*, and *Abbeſs* of *Wilton*, at what time the *Norman* ſouldiers conquering the Kingdom, did much deſtroy, and more endanger virgins by their violence. *Chriſtian* therefore to preſerve this her *Neece*, clapt

The ſtory otherwiſe told by *Eadmerus* an eye and ear witneſs.

clapt a black *cloath* on her head, in imitation of a *Nuns vail*, which she unwillingly ware in the presence of her *Aunt*, but in her absence off it went, from above her *head*, to under her *heels*, so that in despightful manner, she used to tread and trample upon it. Yea, if *Malcolme* her father, chanced to behold her, wearing that *mock-vail*, with rage he would rend it off, cursing the causers of it, and avowing, that he intended her no *votary*, but a wife to *Count Alan*. Besides, two grave *Arch-Deacons*, sent down to *Wilton* to enquire into the matter reported, that for ought they could learn from the *Nuns* there, this *Maud* was never solemnly entered into their order. Hereupon a Councel was called of the English Clergy, wherein some grave men attested of their own knowledg, that at the *Norman conquest*, to avoid the fury of the souldiery, many maids out of fear, not affection; for protection, not piety; made a Cloyster their refuge, not their choice; were Nuns *in their own defence*, running their *heads*, (but without their *hearts*) into a *vail*. And in this case it was resolved by learned *Lanckfranck*, that such virgins were bound, by an extraordinary obligation above other women

Anno Dom. 1101 | Anno Reg. Hen. 2.

b *Eadmerus Novorum*, lib. 5. pag. 57, & 58.

b *Debitam castitati reverentiam exhibere,*
Nullam Religionis continentiam servare.

which is in effect, that they must be chaste wives, though they need not be constant maids. These things alledg'd and prov'd, *Anselme* pronounced the *Nunship* of *Maud* of none effect, and solemnly married her to King *Henry*. However, some infer the unlawfulness of this *match*, from the unhappiness of their children, all their *issue male* coming to untimely deaths. But sad events may sometimes be improved by mens censures, further then they were intended by Gods Justice; and it is more wisdom, seriously to observe them to the instructing of our selves, then rigidly to apply them to the condemning of others. The rather, because *Maud* the *Empress*, their sole surviving childe, seemed by her happiness to make reparation for the infelicity of all the rest.

A grand Synod of the Clergy and Laytie with the Constitutions thereof.

3. Next year a more solemn Synod was summoned by *Anselme*, with the Kings consent, held at *Westminster*; whereat, besides Bishops, were present at *Anselmes* request, from the King, the chief Lay-Lords of the Land; and this Reason rendred. *Forasmuch as that whatsoever should be determined by the Authority of the said Councel, might be ratified, and observed by the joynt care and solicitousness of both estates.* But whether the Lords were present, as bare spectators and witnesses to attest the fair Transaction of matters, (which some will conceive too little) or whether they had a power to vote therein (which others will adjudg too much) is not clearly delivered. Here we insert the constitutions of this Synod. And let none say, that it is vain to look after the Cobwebs, when the besom of Reformation hath swept them away; seeing the knowledg of them conduce much to the understanding of that Age. 1102 3.

c *Eadmerus Hist. Novorum* lib. 3. pag. 67. & 68.

1. That the [a] Heresie of Symony be severely punished, for which several Abbots were then and there deposed.
2. That Bishops undertake not the Office of secular Pleas, wearing an habit beseeming Religious Persons, and not be like Lay-men in their Garments; and that alwayes, and every where, they have honest persons witnesses of their Conversation.
3. That no Arch-Deaconries be let out to farm.
4. That all Arch-Deacons be Deacons.
5. That no Arch-Deacon, Priest, Deacon, or * Canon marry a wife, or retain one being married unto him: and that every sub-Deacon, who is not a Canon, if he have married after his Profession made of Chastity, be bound by the same Rule.

* *Alter* being Canonical.

Here

Anno Regis Hen. 1 3. Anno Dom. 1102.

Here what a grave Author, almost of the same Age, saith of this Constitution. [a] Hoc quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum, nè dum munditias viribus majores Sacerdotes appeterent, in immunditias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent. *And as* Jordan *wanting a Vent or Influx, (like other Rivers) into the Ocean, loseth its Current at last in a filthy lake, or dead sea of its own making: So it was to be feared, that these men, now debarr'd that remedy for their weakness, which God, who best knew the Constitution of his own Creatures, hath Provided, setled themselves in some unclean ways, and most mortal filthiness occasion by this prohibition.*

a *Henricus Huntingdon Historiarum* lib. 7. pag. 217.

6. That a Priest so long as he keeps unlawful Conversation with a Woman, (understand his own Wife) is not legal, nor rightly celebrateth the Mass; nor is his Mass to be heard if he celebrate it.
7. That none be admitted to the Order of Sub-Deacon, or upwards, without the profession of Chastity.
8. That the Sons of Priests be not made heirs to the Church of their Fathers.
9. That no Clerks be Provosts or Proctors of Secular matters, or JUDGES IN BLOUD.

This is the reason saith the Appendix to [b] Harpsfield (*reporting it no approving of his judgment*) *why Bishops being arraigned for their Lives, are not to be tried by their Peers, but by a jury of ordinary men; because debarred by their Canons to be Judges of Lay-Peers in like cases, and therefore it was conceiv'd unfitting that they should receive that hondur, which they could not return.*

b Pag. 746. in *Catalogo Religiosarum Ædium.*

10. That Priests should not go to Publick Drinkings, *nec ad* * *pinnas bibant*, nor drink at *Pins*.

* Hence probably the Proverb. *He is in a merry Pin.*

This was a Dutch trick (*but now used in* England) *of* Artificial Drunkenness, *out of a Cup marked with* certain Pins, *and he accounted the* Man, *who could* nick the Pin, *drinking* even unto it; *whereas to go* above *or* beneath *it, was a forfeiture.*

11. That the Garments of Clergie-men be of one colour, and their Shooes according to order.
12. That Monks and Clerks that have cast off their Order, either return thereto or be excommunicated.
13. That Clerks have CROWNS PATENT, so that their shaving be conspicuous to the beholder.
14. That Tythes be given to none but to Churches.
15. That Churches or Prebends be not bought.
16. That new Chappels be not made without the consent of the Bishop.
17. That no Church be Consecrated, until necessaries be provided for the Priest and Church.
18. That Abbots make no Knights, and that they eat and sleep in the same house with their Monks, except some necessity forbid.

It appeareth it was the Ancient Custom of Abbots in this Age to make Knights. Thus [c] Brando *the Abbot of* St Edmunds-bury, *Knighted* Heward *his Nephew, having first confessed his sins, and received absolution. Indeed in those dayes mens mindes were so possessed, that they thought nothing well and fortunately done, but what came from Church-men. Whereupon he that was to be made a Knight, first offered his sword upon the Altar, and after the Gospel read, the Priest put the sword first hallowed, upon the Knights neck with his* [d] Benedictum, *and so having heard Mass again, and received the Sacrament, he became a lawful Knight. And seeing the* HOLY

c *Ingulfus*, pag. 512. Edit. Londin.

d *Camdens* Brit. pag. 173.

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WAR now was begun, no wonder if Church-men made Knights: And that Age conceived that a Knights Sword dipt in Holy water was well tempered, and became true metal indeed: why Abbots were now prohibited to confer this honor, the cause is not rendred; whether because it made KNIGHT-WOOD *too common, or that this Priviledg was reserved only for higher Prelates, such as Bishops and Arch-Bishops were, or that it was an incroachment upon the Royal dignity, it being as proper for Kings to ordain Priests, as for Abbots to dub Knights. This is most sure, that notwithstanding this Canon,* [a] *King Henry the first, some years after granted, and King* John *confirmed to the Abbot of* Reading, *the power of Knighting persons, with some cautions of their behaviour therein.*

a J. Selden ad Eadmer. Speciligium, pag. 207.

12. That Monks enjoyn no Pennance to any, without permission of their Abbot, and that onely to such persons, whereof they have cure of Souls.

20. That Monks and Nuns be not God-fathers or God-mothers.

21. That Monks hold no Lands in Farm.

22. That Monks take no Churches by the Bishops, and that they spoyl not such as are given unto them of the Revenues, but so that the Priests serving in those Cures, and the Churches might be provided with necessaries.

23. That Faith in way of marriage, pledged secretly and without witness, betwixt man and woman, be of no effect if either party do deny it.

24. That *Criniti*, such as wear long hair be so shaven, that part of their Ears may appear, and their Eyes not be covered.

Criniti *are opposed to* Tonsi, *extended to all Lay-persons. If any demand how it came within the cognizance of the Church to provide about their trimming, (which might well have been left to the parties pleasure, and his Barbars skill) know this Canon was built on the Apostles words,* [b] doth not even nature it self teach you, that if a man have long hair it is a shame unto him. *And the Church forbad whatsoever was a Trespass against Christian decency.* [c] Gildas *giveth this Character of the Picts:* Furciferos magis vultus pilos quam Corporum pudenda vestibus tegentes, *that they covered rather their Thievish Eyes with their hair, then their shame with Cloaths: which Ruffin-like custom of long hair now used by the Normans, was here justly restrained.*

b 1 Cor. 11. 14.

c De excid. Brican. fol. 6.

25. That parties akin to the Seventh Generation be not coupled in marriage; and that persons so coupled remain not in Marriage; and if any be privy to this Incest, and not declare it, let him know himself to be guilty of the same crime.

This brought much Grist to the Popes Mill for Dispensations. As secular Princes used to stop travellers on common Bridges, or at the entrance of Gates, not with intent finally to forbid their going further, but to receive Tole or Custom for their passing by: So the Pope prohibited these degrees in marriage, not absolutely to hinder such matches, but to receive large summes of money for his leave; after whose faculties obtained, if such marriage were against the Law of God, men did sin not with less guiltiness, but more Expences.

26. That the Bodies of the Dead be not carried to be buried out of their own Parishes, so that the Parish Priest should lose his due unto him.

27. That none out of a rash novelty, (which we know to have happened) exhibit reverence of Holiness to any Bodies of the Dead, fountains or other things, without Authority from the Bishop.

28. That

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28. That none presume hereafter (what hitherto men used in *England*) to sell Men like bruite Beasts.

This Constitution, as all others, which concerned the Subjects Civil right, found not general obedience in the Kingdom. For the proceedings of the Canon Law were never wholly received into practice in the Land; but so as made subject in whatsoever touched temporals, to secular Laws and national Customs. And the Laytie, at pleasure, limited Canons in this behalf. Nor were such sales of servants, being mens proper goods, so [a] *weakned with this prohibition, but that long after they remained legal according to the Laws of the Land.*

a See Mr *Selden, Spicileg. ad Eadmerum, pag.* 208.

29. That the sin of Sodometry, both in Clergie and Laytie, should be punished with heavy Censures.

Remarkable that the same Synod which forbad Priests Marriage, found it needful to punish Sodometry, an Italian Vice, beginning now to be naturaliz'd in England. *For those who endeavour to make the way to heaven narrower then God hath made it, by prohibiting what he permits, do in event make the way to hell wider, occasioning the committing of such sins, which God hath forbidden. We may further observe, that the plaister now applied to the rotten sore of Sodometry, was too gentle, too narrow, and too little time laid on. Too gentle; for whereas the sin is conceived to deserve death, it was onely slubber'd over, that the party convict of this wickedness, if in Orders was admitted to no higher honour, and deposed from what he had, till restored again on his repentance. Too narrow, if it be true what one observes, that* [b] *MONKS (as neither meerly Lay nor Priests) were not threatned with this Curse, where all was hidden in Cloysters. Lastly, too little time laid on; for whereas at first it was constituted, that such Excommunication of Sodomites convicted, should solemnly be renewed every Lords Day; this short-liv'd Canon did die in the birth thereof, and* Anselme *himself* [c] *postponi concessit, suffered it to be omitted, on pretence that it put beastly thoughts into many mens mindes, whose corruption abused the punishment of sin in the provocation thereof; whilest others conceive this relaxation indulged, in favour to some great offenders, who hardened in Conscience, but tender in Credit, could not endure to be so solemnly, publickly, and frequently grated with the shame of the sin they had committed.*

b Bale in the Acts of English Votaries, second part. chap. 74.

c *Eadmerus ut prius.*

So much for the Constitutions of that Synod, wherein though Canons were provided for Priests, *Cap a Pe*, from the *shavnig* to the *shoes*, yet not a syllable of their instructing the people and preaching Gods word unto them. We must not forget, that men guilty of *Simony* in the first Canon, are not taken in the Vulgar acception, for such as were promoted to their places by money, but in a new coyned sence of that word; for those who were advanced to their Dignities by investiture from the King, which gave occasion to the long and hot Broil, happening betwixt King *Henry*, and *Anselme*, which now we come to relate.

4 | 1103 | 4. The King commanded him to Consecrate such Bishops, as he lately had invested; namely, *William* of *Winchester*, *Roger* of *Hereford*, &c. which *Anselme* refused, because flatly against the Canon newly made in the Councel of *Rome*, by Pope *Urban*, that any who had their entrance, by the Authority of temporal Princes should be admitted to Bishopricks. Hereupon the King enjoyned *Gerard* Arch-Bishop of *York* to Consecrate them; who out of opposition to *Anselme* his Competitour, was as officious to comply with the

Anselme refuseth to consecrate the Kings Bishops.

King, as the other was backward, hoping thereby to hitch his Church a degree the higher, by help of his Royal Favour. Here happened an unexpected accident: For *William*, Bishop of *Winchester*, refused Consecration from the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and resigned his staff and ring, back again to the King, as illegally from him. This discomposed all the rest. For whereas more then the moity of Ecclesiastical persons in *England*, were all in the same condemnation, as invested by the King, the very multitude of offenders would have excused the offence, if loyal to their own cause. Whereas now this defection of the Bishop of *Winchester*, so broke the ranks, and maimed their entireness, that their cause thereby was cast by their own confession, and so a party raised among them against themselves.

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Anselme sent to Rome.

5. Soon after, the King was contented that *Anselme* should go to *Rome*, to know the Popes pleasure herein. But one, none of the *Conclave*, without a propherical spirit, might easily have foretold the resolution of his Holiness herein: never to part with power, wherein (how injuriously soever) though but pretendedly possessed. *Anselme*, for his complyance with the Pope herein, is forbidden to return into *England*, while the King seiseth on his temporalities.

The King parts with his investing of Bishops.

6. However, not long after, by mediation of friends, they are reconciled; the King disclaiming his right of Investitures, a weak and emerous act, of so wise and valiant a Prince; whose Predecessors before the Conquest held this power (though some time loosely) in their own hands; and his Predecessors since the Conquest grasp'd it fast in their fist, in defiance of such Popes as would finger it from them. Whereas now he let it go out of his hand, whilest his Successors in vain, though with a long arme, reach't after it to recover it. And now *Anselme*, who formerly refused, consecrated all the Bishops of vacant Sees; amongst whom, *Roger* of *Sarisbury* was a prime person, first preferred to the Kings notice, because *he began prayers quickly, and ended them speedily*; for which quality he was commended as fittest for a Chaplain in the *Camp*, and was not unwelcome to the *Court* on the same account. 1106. 7.

Anselme forbids Priests marriage.

7. *Anselme* having devested the King of investing Bishops (one of the fairest *robes* in his *ward-robe*) did soon after deprive the Clergie of *one half of themselves*. For, in a solemn Synod he forbad Priests Marriage; wherein, as charitably we believe, his intentions pious and commendable, and patiently behold his pretences, specious and plausible: so we can not but pronounce his performance for the present, injurious and culpable, and the effects thereof for the future pernicious, and damnable. And here we will a little enlarge our selves on this subject of so high concernment. 1107 8.

Onely by a Church-Constitution.

a *In* 2 2^{dæ} quæst. 88. art. 11.

b *Lib.* 7. *de Justitia quæst.* 6. *artic.* 2^{do}.

8. It is confessed on all sides, that there is no *expres* in Scripture to prohibit Priests Marrriage. [a] *Thomas*, and [b] *Scotus* commonly cross (as if reason enough for the later to deny, because the former affirmed it) do both (such the strength of truth) agree herein. Onely Ecclesiastical Constitutions forbid them Marriage. And, though many Popes tampered hereat, none effectually did drive the nail to the head, till *Hildebrand*, alias *Gregory* the seventh (the better man the better deed) finally interdicted Priests Marriage. However his Constitutions, though observed in *Italy* and *France*, were not generally obeyed in *England*; till *Anselme* at last forbad Married Priests to officiate, or any Lay-people, under pain of censure, to be present at their Church-service.

Grounded on a double error.

9. Herein he proceeded on two erroneous principles. One, that all men have, or may have (if using the means) *the gift of Continencie*. Wherein they do not distinguish betwixt,

1. *Common gifts*, which God bestoweth on all his servants, *Jude v.* 3. *Common salvation.*

c 1 Cor. 7. 7. 2. *Proper gifts*, thus the [c] Apostle, when he had wished all like himself

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himself (that is, able to contain) he immediately addeth, *But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.*

His other false supposition is, That Marriage is either inconsistent with, or at least impeditive to the purity of Priestly profession.

10. The falsness whereof appeareth by the precedent of *Henoch*, in whom met the threefold capacity of King, Priest, and Prophet. Yet his Marriage remitted not the reins of his Princely power, hindered not the performance of his Sacerdotal function, rebated not the edg of his Prophetical spirit; for, [a] *He walked with God, and begat sons and daughters.* He made not a prayer the less for having a childe the more: and let us be but alike holy with *Enoch*, and let others be more holy with *Anselme*.

Paramount holiness in a married person.

a Gen. 5. 22.

11. Wherefore when the [b] Apostle saith, *He that is married careth for the things which are of this world, how he may please his wife*, therein he describeth not that height of *God-pleasing*, which Marriage ought, and in it self may, and by *Enoch* was improved; but expresseth such faults which through humane corruption too commonly come to pass. Which are *vita mariti, non matrimonii; uxoris, non uxoratus*, flowing neither from the *essence*, nor from the *exercise* of Marriage, but onely from the depraved use thereof, which by Gods assistance, and mans best endeavours, may be rectified and amended.

St *Paul* expounded.

b 1 Cor. 7. 33.

12. It is therefore falsly charged on Marriage, *quâ* Marriage, that it is an hinderance to Hospitality; starving the poor to feed a family. It is confessed it would *break Marriage*, if *cæteris paribus*, she should offer to vie bounty with Virginity; onely she may equal Virginity in *cheerfulness of her giving*, and in the discreet choise of fit objects, whereon to bestow it. Yet give me leave to say, in a married family there be commonly most mouthes, and where most mouthes, there probably most bread is eaten, and where most bread is eaten, there certainly most crums fall beneath the table, so that the poor are feasted by those fragments. If any rejoyn, that single folke bestow their almes, not by crums, but whole loaves; the worst I wish is, that poor people may finde the truth thereof. Nor doth the having of children *quâ* children make men covetous, seeing *Solomon* saw a man, [c] *who had neither childe nor brother, yet his eye was not satisfied with riches.* On the other side, I finde two in one and the same [d] Chapter, professing they had *enough*, viz. *Esau* and *Jacob*, both of them married, both of them parents of many children.

And marriage defended.

c Eccles. 4. 8.

d Gen. 33. 9. 11.

13. And here well may we wonder at the partiality of the Papists, over-exalting Marriage in the Laity, to a Sacrament; and too much depressing the same in Priests, as no better then *refined fornication*. Yea, some have made *Virginity* the *corn*, and *Marriage* the *cockle*: which is a wonder that they should be of several kindes, seeing Virginity is but the *fruit*, and Marriage the *root* thereof. But, amongst all the foul mouthes belibelling Marriage, one rayling Rythmer, of *Anselmes* age, bore away the bell (drinking surely of *Styx* instead of *Helicon*) and I am confident my translation is good enough for his bald verses.

A Monks verses, as bald as his crown.

[e] *O malè viventes, versus audite sequentes;*
Uxores vestras, quas odit summa potestas,
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte tropheum.
Quod si non facitis, inferni claustra petetis:
Christi Sponsa jubet, nè Presbyter ille ministret,
Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem.
Contradicentes fore dicimus insipientes,
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potius sed amore.

e Found in *Ramsey* Abbey, in a Treatise *De Monicatu*, cited by *John Bale*.

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O ye that ill live, attention give, unto my following rhythmes;
Your wives, those dear mates, whom the highest power hates, see that ye leave them betimes.
Leave them for his sake, who a conquest did make, and a crown and a cross did acquire,
If any say no, I give them to know, they must all unto Hell for their hire.
The Spouse of Christ forbids that Priest his ministerial function,
Because he did part with Christ in his heart, at his marriage-conjunction.
We count them all mad (if any so bad) as daring herein to contest;
Nor is it of spight, that this I indite, but out of pure love, I protest.

Where did this rayling Monk ever read, that God hated the wives of Priests? And, did not the Church of *Rome*, at this time, come under the character of that defection, described by the [a] Apostle? *That in the latter times some should depart from the faith, forbidding to marry, &c.*

[a] 1 Tim. 4. 1.

An ill evasion.

14. These endeavour (as they are deeply concerned) to wipe off from themselves this badge of Antichrist, by pleading that,

1. They forbid Marriage to } no man.
2. They force Priesthood on }

Onely they require of those who freely will enter into the Priesthood, to vow virginity, and command such to part with their wives, who were formerly entered into Orders.

Well stopped up.

15. All which is alledged by them but in vain, seeing marriage may be forbidden, either *directly*, or *consequentially*. For the first, none, well in their wits, consulting their credit, did ever *point-blank* forbid marriage to all people. Such would be held as, *hostes humani generis, enemies of man-kinde*, in their destructive doctrines. Nor did any ever absolutely (as it followeth in the same text) *command all to abstain from meats*. This were the way to empty the world of men, as the simple forbidding of marriage would fill it with bastards. And, although some silly Hereticks, as *Tatian*, *Marcion*, and *Manichem*, are said absolutely to forbid marriage, yet they never mounted high, nor spread broad, nor lasted long. Surely some more considerable mark is the aim of the Apostles reproof, even the Church of *Rome*, who by an oblique line, and consequentially, prohibit marriage to the Priests, a most considerable proportion of men within the pale of the Church.

Marriage-Bed may be forborn for a time, not totally forbidden.

[b] Joel 2. 11.

16. Notwithstanding the premisses, it is fit that the embraces of marriage should on some occasion for a time be forborn, for the advance of Piety; first, when private dalliance is to yield to publick dolefulness. [b] *Let the Bridegroom go out of his chamber, and the Bride out of her closet.* For though by the Levitical Law, one might not be forced to fight in the *first year* of his marriage, yet might he on just occasion, be pressed to fast on the first day thereof. It is not said, *Let the Bridegroom go out of his Bridegroom-ship*, but onely *out of his Chamber*; and that also with *intention to return*, when the *solemnity of sorrow* is over-past. Secondly, when such absence is bewixt them mutually agreed on, [c] *Defraud ye not one another, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give your selves to fasting and prayer, and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency.* Here indeed is an Interdiction of the marriage Bed, but it is *Voluntary*, by *mutual consent* of the parties; and *Temporary*, onely *durante eorum beneplacito*, not as the Popish Prohibition, *Impulsive*, by the power of others, and *perpetual*, to continue during their lives.

[c] 1 Cor. 7.

H. Huntington his Censure of Anselme.

17. Hear what *Henry* of *Huntington* expressly saith of *Anselmes* carriage herein. *He prohibited English Priests to have wives, who before time were not prohibited; which as some thought to be a matter of greatest purity, so others again took it to be most perilous, lest while by this means they aimed at cleanliness above their*

power,

Anno Regis Hen. I. 9. | Anno Dom. 1108

power, they ſhould fall into horrible uncleanneſs, to the exceeding great ſhame of Chriſtianity.

18. But *Anſelme* died, before he could finiſh his project of *Prieſts Divorces*, who had he deceaſed before he began it, his *memory* had been left leſs *ſtain'd* to *Poſterity*. His two next *Succeſſors*, *Radulphus*, and *William Corbel* went on vigorouſly with the Deſign, but met with many and great Obſtructions. Other *Biſhops* found the like oppoſition, but chiefly the *Biſhop* of *Norwich*, whoſe obſtinate *Clergie* would keep their *Wives*, in defiance of his endeavours againſt them.

Anſelme dieth *re infecta* of Prieſts Divor.

19. Indeed *Norfolk-men* are characted *in jure municipali verſatiſſimi*, and are not eaſily ejected out of that whereof they had long preſcription, and preſent poſſeſſion; No wonder therefore if they ſtickled for their *wives*, and would not let go a *moytie* of themſelves. Beſides, *Herbert Loſing* of *Norwich* needed not to be ſo fierce and furious againſt them, if remembring his own *extraction*, being the *Son* of an *Abbot*. Theſe *married Prieſts* traverſed their *cauſe* with *Scripture* and *Reaſon*, and deſired but *Juſtice* to be done unto *them*. But *Juſtice* made more uſe of her *ſword*, then of her *Ballance* in this caſe, not *weighing* their *Arguments*, but peremptorily and powerfully enjoyning them to *forgo* their *wives*, notwithſtanding that there were in *England*, at this time, many *married Prieſts*, ſignal for Sanctity and Abilities.

The ſtoutneſs of *Norwich Clergy*.

26. 1125. 20. Amongſt the many eminent married *Prieſts*, flouriſhing for *Learning* and *Piety*, one *Ealphegus* was now living, or but newly dead. His Reſidence was at *Plymouth* in *Devonſhire*. [a] Mr *Cambden* ſaith he was *eruditus & conjugatus*, but the Word *conjugatus* is by the [b] *Index Expurgatorius* commanded to be deleted.

Learned married *Ealphegus*.

a *Brit. in Devon.*

b Printed *Anno* 1612. *pag.* 383.

21. To order the Refractory married *Clergie*, the Biſhops were fain to call in the aid of the *Pope*. *John de Crema* an *Italian Cardinal*, jolly with his youthfull Bloud, and Gallant Equipage, came over into *England* with his Bigneſs and Bravery to Bluſter the *Clergie* out of their *wives*. He made a moſt Gawdy *Oration* in the Commendation of *Virginity*, as one who in his Own Perſon knew well how to valew ſuch a Jewel, by the loſs thereof. Moſt true it is that the ſame night at *London*, he was caught a Bed with an [c] Harlot, whereat he may be preſumed to bluſh as red as his *Cardinals Hat*, if any remorſe of Conſcience remained in him. What ſaith [d] *Deborah*, *In the dayes of Shamgar, when the high-wayes were unimployed* (obſtructed by the *Philiſtims*) *travellers walked thorow by-paths*. The ſtopping the Way of marriage, Gods Ordinances, make them frequent ſuch baſe *by-paths*, that my Pen is both afraid and aſham'd to follow them. *Cardinal Crema* his *miſchance* (or rather *miſdeed*) not a little advantaged the Reputation of married *Prieſts*.

A Virgin-Lecher unmasked

c *Roger Hoveden* and *Hen. Huntington.*

d Judg. 5. 6.

27. 1126. 22. *Biſhops*, *Arch-Biſhops*, and *Cardinal*, all of them almoſt tired out with the ſtubbornneſs of the Recuſant *Clergie*; the King at laſt took his turn to reduce them. *William Corbel* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* willingly reſigned the work into the Kings hand, hoping he would uſe ſome Exemplary ſeverity againſt them; but all ended in a *money* matter; the King taking a *Fine* of married *Prieſts*, permitted them to *enjoy* their *wives*, as well they might, who *bought* that which was their *own* before.

Prieſts buy their own Wives.

23. About this time the old *Abby* of *Ely* was advanced into a new *Biſhoprick*, and *Cambridg-ſhire* aſſigned for its *Dioceſs*, taken from the *Biſhoprick* of *Lincoln*; Out of which *Henry* the firſt carved *one* [*Ely*,] and *Henry* the laſt *two* [*Oxford and Peterborough*] *Biſhopricks*, and yet left *Lincoln* the largeſt *Dioceſs* in *England*. *Spaldwick Manor* in *Huntington-ſhire* was given to *Lincoln*, in Reparation of the Juriſdiction taken from it, and beſtowed on *Ely*.

Ely-Abbey made a Biſhoptick.

24. One *Herveyus* was made firſt *Biſhop* of *Ely*: One who had been undone, if not undone, baniſhed by the Tumultuous *Welſh*, from the Beggerly *Biſhoprick* of *Bangor*; and now (in Pitty to his Poverty and Patience) made the rich *Biſhop* of *Ely*. It is given to *Parents* to be moſt fond of, and indulgent to their *youngeſt*, which ſome perchance may render as a Reaſon, why this

And inriched with Royalties.

this *Bishoprick*, as last born, was best beloved by the King. Surely he bestowed upon it vast priviledges; and his *Successors* cockering this *See* for their *Darling*, conferred some of their own *Royalties* thereon. Anno Dom. 1126. Anno Regni Hen. 27.

St. Davids contest with Canterbury.

25. *Bernard*, *Chaplain* to the *King*, and *Chancellor* to the *Queen* was the first *Norman* made *Bishop* of S^t *Davids*. Presuming on his masters favour, and his own merit, he denyed subjection to *Canterbury*, and would be, (as anciently had been) an absolute *Arch-Bishop* of himself. Indeed S^t *Davids* was *Christian* some hundred of years, whilest *Canterbury* was yet *Pagan*; and could shew good *Cards* (if but permitted fairly to *play* them) for *Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction*, even in some respect Equal to *Rome* it self. Witness the ancient rinning verse, about the proportions of *Pardons* given to *Pilgrims* for their visiting *Religious places*,

Roma semel quantum bis dat Menevia tantum.

Not that S^t *Davids* gives *a peck of Pardons* where *Rome* gives but a *gallon* (as the words at the first blush may seen to import) but that two *Pilgrimages* to S^t *Davids*, should be equal in merit to one *Pilgrimage* to *Rome*, such was the conceived *Holiness* of that place.

Imper Congressus.

26. *Giraldus Cambrensis* states the Case truly and briefly. That *Canterbury* hath long prescription, plenty of Lawyers to plead her *Title*, and store of money to pay them. Whereas S^t *Davids* is poor, remote out of the road of preferment; intimating no less, that if equally accommodated she could set on foot as good an *Archiepiscopal Title*, as *Canterbury* it self. But he addeth, that *except some great alteration happeneth* (understand him, except *Wales* recover again into an absolute *Principality*) S^t *Davids* is not likely to regain her ancient Dignity. *William*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, aided by the *Pope*, at last humbled the Bishop of S^t *Davids* into a *submission*; Who vexed hereat, wreckt his spleen on the *Welsh Clergie*; furiously forcing them to *forgo* their *Wives*. The successors of this *Bishop* would have been more Thankful to his Memory had he laboured less for the honor, and more preserved the profits of his *See*, whose lands he dilapidated with this his expensive suit, and on other designs for his own preferment. 1119 30.

King *Henry* his death. a *Mat. Paris* pag. 73.

27. King *Henry* died in *Normandy* of a surfeit by eating a Lampreys. 1135. 36. An unwholsom fish, insomuch, that *Galen*, speaking of *Eels* in general (whereto *Lampreys* may be reduced) expostulates with the gods, for giving them so delicious a taste, and so malignant, and dangerous an operation. But, grant them never so good, *excess* is a venemous string, in the most wholsome flesh, fish, and fowl, and it was too great a quantity caused his surfeit. I finde him generally commended for temperance in his diet; onely his palat (his servant in all other meats) was commonly his master in this dish. He was buried at *Reading*, leaving but one daughter (the Sea having swallowed his Sons) surviving him.

Stephen usurpeth the Crown on a silly title.

28. *Stephen*, Earl of *Bologn*, hearing of *Henry* his death; hasteth over into *England*, and seizeth on the Crown. All his title unto it was this; First, *Maud*, the true heir thereof, was a female. Secondly, absent beyond the Seas. Thirdly, married to a forreiner. Fourthly, no very potent Prince, viz. *Geffery Plantagenet* Earl of *Angeou*, whose land-lock-situation rendred him less formidable for any effectual impression on this Island. Lastly, he was Son to *Adela*, Daughter to King *William* the Conqueror (though a *Male* deriving his title from a *Female*) conceiving himself the *Daughters Son*, to be preferr'd before *Maud*, the *Sons Daughter*. Indeed *Stephen* had an elder Brother, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, but he chose a quiet County, before a cumbersom Kingdom; the enjoyment of his own, rather then invasion of anothers inheritance, seeing *Maud* was the undoubted heir of the English Crown. Steph. 1. Dec. 2.

29. This

Anno Regis Hen. 1 36. Anno Dom. 1135.

28. This *Maud*, I may call, *Maud* the fourth; yea, *England* had no Queen of another name since the Conquest;

1. *Maud* the first, Wife to King *William* the Conqueror.	3. *Maud* the third, Wife to King *Stephen*.
2. *Maud* the second, (Daughter to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*) Wife to King *Henry* the first.	4. *Maud* the fourth, Daughter to King *Henry* the first, and in right Queen of *England*.

Maud the fourth.

This last *Maud* was first married to *Henry* the fourth, Emperor of *Germany*, and after his death was constantly called *The Empress*, by the *courtesie of Christendom*, though married to Earl *Geffery*, her second husband. To her, all the Clergie, and Nobility had sworn fealty, in her father's life time.

Dec. 25. 29. *William*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, notwithstanding his oath to *Maud*, solemnly crowned *Stephen*, and in the same act, shewed himself perjured to his God, disloyal to his Princess, and ingrateful to his Patroness, by whose special favour he had been preferred. The rest of the Bishops, to their shame, followed his example; dealing with oaths, as *sea-men* with the *points* in the *Compass*, saying them *forwards and backwards*. Indeed covetousness and pride prompted this disloyalty unto them, hoping to obtain of an Usurper, what they despaired to get from a lawful King. For, their modestie (and that little enough) in asking, was all *Stephens* measure in giving; resolving with himself for the present, to grant what should please them, and at leasure to perform what should please himself. Let him now get but the stump of a Crown, and with wise watering thereof, it would sprout afterwards. Hence was it that he granted the Bishops liberty to build, and hold many Castles; freedom in forests; investiture from the Pope; with many other immunities, which hitherto the Clergy never obtained. All things thus seemingly setled, yet great was the difference of judgments in the English, concerning King *Stephen*, which afterwards discovered themselves in the variety of mens practices.

The perjury of the Clergy.

30. Some acted vigorously for *Stephen*, conceiving possession of a Crown createth a right unto it. Where shall private persons (unable of themselves to trace the intricacies of Princes titles) fix their loyalty more safely, then on him whom success tendereth unto them for their Soveraign? God doth not now (as anciently) visibly, or audibly discover himself; we must therefore now only look, and listen, to what he sheweth, and saith by his voice, in the success of things, whereby alone he expresseth his pleasure, what he owneth or disclaimeth. This their judgment was crossed by others, who distinguished betwixt Heavens *permission*, and *consent*; God sometimes suffering them to have *power to compel*, to whom he never gave *authority to command*.

Variety of peoples opinions.

31. But some urged, that *Stephen* was declared lawful King by popular consent, which, at this time, could alone forme a Legal right to any in this Island. For *Maud*, *Stephen*'s corrival, in vain pretended succession, seeing the Crown, since the Conquest, never observed a regular, but an uncertain and desultory motion. Nor was it directed to go on by the straight line of primogeniture, which leapt over the Conquerors eldest, to his second Son: Then, taking a new *rise*, from the eldest still surviving, to *Henry* his third Son. Here no *chain of succession* could be pleaded, where no *two links* followed in order. But others answered, that such popular election of *Stephen* had been of validity, if the electors had been at liberty; whereas they being pre-ingaged to *Maud* by a former oath, could not again dispose of those their votes, which formerly they had passed away.

Pro and *Con* for King *Stephen*.

A fadtid party with their oppofers.

32. Others conceived that the ſtain of *Stephen* his uſurpation in getting the Crown, was afterward ſcoured clean out by his long (more then eighteen years) enjoying thereof. For, ſuppoſe Providence for a time may winke, and connive, yet it cannot be conceived in ſo long a ſlumber; yea, aſleep; yea, a lethargie, as to permit one peaceably ſo long to poſſeſs a Throne, except heaven had particularly deſigned him for the ſame. To this others anſwered, that *Stephen* all that time rather poſſeſſed, then enjoyed the Crown (alarum'd all his life long by *Maud*, and her Son) ſo that he had as little quiet in, as right to the Kingdom. But, grant his poſſeſſion thereof never ſo peaceable, what at firſt was foundered in the *foundation*, could not be made firm by any height of *ſuperſtructure* thereupon. An *error* by continuance of time can never become a *truth*, but the more *inveterate error*.

A third with their's.

33. A third ſort maintained, that Subjects Loyaltie is founded on their Soveraigns protection, ſo that both ſinke together. Seeing therefore *Maud* was unable to afford her people protection, her people were bound to no longer allegiance. But this poſition was diſproved by ſuch, who borrowing allegiance onely on conſcience, make protection but the encouragement, not the cauſe thereof. They diſtinguiſhed alſo betwixt a Princes wilful deſerting his people, and his inability to protect them; not through his own default, but the forcible prevailing of others. Thus the conjugal tie is onely diſſolved by the parties voluntary uncleanneſs, and not by his, or her adventitious impotency to render *due benevolence*.

A fourth with their's.

34. A fourth party avouched, that *Maud* (though not actually, and openly, yet) tacitly, and interpretatively releaſed the Engliſh from their allegiance unto her. For what Prince can be preſumed ſo tyrannical, as to tie up people to the ſtrict termes of Loyaltie unto him, when the ſame is apparently deſtructive unto them, and no whit advantagious to himſelf? But others diſliked this poſition; for, where did any ſuch relaxation appear? It cancelleth not the obligation of a debtor, to fancy to himſelf an acquittance from his creditor, which cannot be produced.

Some act at, not for King *Stephens* commands.

35. Some acted at the commands, though not for the commands of King *Stephen*, namely in ſuch things wherein his injunctions concurred with equity, charity, and order, conſiſtent with the principles of publike utility, and ſelf-preſervation. Theſe, having the happineſs to be commanded by an Uſurper, to do that, which otherwiſe they would have done of themſelves, did not diſcover themſelves to act out of their own inclinations, whileſt it paſſed unſuſpected in the notion of their obedience to King *Stephen*. Thus many thouſands under the happy conduct (or at leaſtwiſe contrivance) of *Thurſten*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, though in their hearts well affected to *Maud* her title, unanimouſly reſiſted *David* King of Scots, though he pretended *recuperative armes* in Queen *Maud* her behalf; under which ſpecious title, he barbarouſly committed abominable cruelties, till nettled therewith, both *Stephaniſts*, and *Maudiſts* joyntly bad him battle, and overthrew him, nigh *Alerton* in *York-ſhire*.

Politick patiences.

36. All generally bare the burdens, and no leſs politickly, then patiently, paied all taxes impoſed upon them. Recuſancy in this kinde had but armed King *Stephen* with a ſpecious pretence to take all from them, for refuſing to give a part. Nor ſcrupled they hereat, becauſe thereby they ſtrengthened his uſurpation againſt the rightful heir, becauſe done againſt their wills, and to prevent a greater miſchief; Mean time they had a reſervation of their loyaltie, and, erecting a throne in their hearts, with their prayers, and teares, mounted Queen *Maud* on the ſame.

Robert Earl of Gloceſter ſingular, a *Mat. Paris* pag. 75.

37. *Robert*, Earl of *Gloceſter* (the Queens half-brother) may even make up a *forme* by himſelf, finding none other before, or after him of the ſame opinion. Who conditionally did homage to King *Stephen*, *ſcilicet*, *ſi dignitatem ſuam ſibi ſervaret illibatam*, namely, *So long as he preſerved this* Roberts *dignity* (for ſo I underſtand the Pronoune's reciprocation) *to be inviolated*.

Anno Dom. 1135.

Anno Regis Steph. | Anno Dom.

38. A few there were, whose reluctting consciences remonstrated against the least compliance with King *Stephen*; whose high loyalty to *Maud*, interpreted all *passiveness* under an Usurper, to be *activity* against the right heir. These even quitted their Lands in *England* to the tempest of times; and secretly conveyed themselves, with the most incorporeal of their estates (as occuping in the least room in their wastage over) into *Normandy*. Highly conscientious.

2. 1136. 39. The Clergie, perceiving that King *Stephen* performed little of his large promises unto them, were not formerly so forward in setting him up, but now more fierce in plucking him down, and sided effectually with *Maud* against him. An act, which the judicious behold, not as a *crooked* deed, *bowing* them from their last, but as an *upright* one, streightning them to their first, and best oath, made to this *Maud* in the life time of her father. But *Stephen* (resolved to hold with a strong, what he had got with a wrong hand) fell violently on the Bishops, who then were most powerful in the land (every prime one having, as a Cathedral for his devotion; so many manors for his profit, parks for his pleasure, and castles for his protection) and he *uncastled Roger* of *Sarisbury*, *Alexander* of *Lincoln*, and *Nigellus* of *Ely*, taking also a great mass of treasure from them. An honest revolt of the Clergie.

40. Most fiercely fell the fury of King *Stephen* on the Dean, and Canons of *Pauls*, for crossing him in the choice of their Bishop. For, he sent, and took their [a] *Focarias*, and cast them into *London*-Tower; where they continued many dayes, not without much scorn, and disgrace, till at last those Canons ransomed their liberty at a great rate. Canons of *Pauls* soundly paid.

[a] *Rad. de Diceto in hunc annum.*

41. What these *Focariæ* were, we conceive it no disgrace to confess our ignorance, the word not appearing in any *Classical Author*, and we must by degrees screw our selves into the sense thereof: What *Focariæ* were.

1. It signifieth some female persons, the gender of the word discovering so much.
2. They were near to the Canons, who had an high courtesie for them, as appears by procuring their liberty at so dear a price.
3. Yet the word speaks not the least relation of affinity, or consanguinity unto them.
4. All the light we can get in this *Focariæ*, is from *some sparks of fire* which we behold in the word, so as if these *Jhees* were *nymphs of the chimney*, or *fire-makers* to these *Canons*.

If so, surely they had their Holiday-clothes on, when sent to the Tower (*Kitchin-stuff* doth not use to be *tried* in that place) and were considerable (if not in themselves) in the affections of others. And now, well fare the heart of [b] *Roger Hoveden*, who plainly tels us, that these *Focariæ* were these *Canons Concubines*. See here the fruit of forbidding marriage to the Clergy, against the Law of God, and nature. What saith the Apostle? [c] *It is better to marry then to burn*; or, which is the same in effect, It is better to have a *wife* then a *fire-maker*.

[b] In *Anno* 1191.

[c] 1 *Cor.* 7. 9.

4. Dec. 13. 1138 42. *Albericus*, Bishop of *Hostia*, came post from *Rome*, sent by Pope *Innocent* the second into *England*; called a Synod at *Westminster*, where eighteen Bishops and thirty Abbots met together. Here was concluded; That no Priest, Deacon, or sub-Deacon should hold a wife, or woman, within his house, under pain of degrading from his Christendom, and plain sending to hell. That no Priests son should claim any spiritual living by heritage. That none should take a *Benefice* of any Lay-man. That none were admitted to *Cure* which had not the letters of his *Orders*. That Priests should do no bodily labour: And, that their transubstantiated God should dwell but eight dayes in the box, for fear of worm-eating, moulding or stinking; with such like. A Synod at *Westminster*.

like. In this Synod, *Theobald*, Abbot of *Becco*, was chosen Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, in the place of *William* lately deceased. Anno Dom. 1138 Anno Regni Step. 7.

Henry of *Winchester* *Englands* Arch-Prelate.

43. The most considerable Clergy-man of *England* in this age, for birth, wealth, and learning, was *Henry* of *Blois*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Brother to King *Stephen*. He was by the Pope made his Legate for *Britaine*, and outshined *Theobald* the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. For, although *Theobald* just at this time was augmented with the title of *Legatus natus* (which from him was entailed on his successors in that See) yet this *Henry* of *Blois*, being for the present, *Legatus factus*, out-lustred the other as far, as an *extraordinary Ambassador* doth a *Leger* of the same Nation. In this *Henry*, two interests did meet, and contend; that of a *Brother*, and that of a *Bishop*; but the later clearly got the conquest, as may appear by the Councel he called at *Winchester*, wherein the King himself was summoned to appear. Yea, some make *Stephen* personally appearing therein (a dangerous president to plead *the cause of the Crown*, before a conventicle of his own subjects) so that to secure *Rome* of *Supremacy in appeals*, he suffered a *Recovery* thereof against his *own person* in a *Court of Record* looling of himself to save the Crown thereby unto himself. But *William* of *Malmesbury* present at the Councel (and therefore his testimony is to be preferred before others) mentions onely three parties in the place present there with their attendance: 1139. 5.

1.	2.	3.
Roger of *Sarisbury* with the rest of the Bishops, grievously complaining of their Castles taken from them.	*Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, & President of the Councel; With *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* pretending to umpire matters in a moderate way.	*Hugh* Arch-Bishop of *Rhaus*, and *Aubery de Vere* (ancester to the Ear of *Oxford*) as Advocate for King *Stephen*.

This *Aubery de Vere* seems learned in the Laws, being charactered by my[a] Author, *homo causarum varietatibus exercitatus, a man well versed in the windings of causes*.

a *William Malmsbury* hist. novel. lib. 2. pag. 182.

44. In this Synod, first the commission of Pope *Innocent* the second was read, impowring the said *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, with a Legative authority. Then the Legate made a Sermon; *Latiariter*, which is, as I conceive, *in the Latin tongue*. We finde not his text; But know this was the subject of his discourse, to inveigh against King *Stephen* depriving those Bishops of their Castles. Sermon ended, the Kings advocates or true subjects rather (many making them to speak only out of the dictates of their own Loyalty, & not to plead by deputation from the King) made his defence, that Bishops could not canonically hold Castles, and that the King had dispoyled them of their treasure, not as Episcopal persons, but as they were his Lay-offices, advised thereto by his own security. The Bishops returned much for themselves, and in fine, the Synod brake up without any extraordinary matter effected. For soon after came Queen *Maud* with her Navie and Armie out of *Normandy*, which turned debates into deeds, and consultations into actions. But we leave the readers to be satisfied about the alternation of success betwixt King *Stephen* and *Maud* to the Historians of our State. There may they read of *Mauds* hair strange escapes, when avoiding death by being believed dead (otherwise she had proved in her *grave*, if not pretended in a *Coffin*) when getting out in white Lynen, under the protection of Snow: I say, how afterwards both King *Stephen* and *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, were taken prisoners, and given in *Exchange*, the one for the 1140. 6. 1141. 7.

The ill-luck issue of the Synod at *Winchester*.

Anno Regni Steph. 7. Anno Dom. 1141

the liberty of the other; with many such memorable passages, the reader may stock himself from the pens of the civil Historians, the proper relators thereof.

45. It is strange to conceive how men could be at leasure in the troublesome Reign of King *Stephen* to build and endow so many Religious foundations. Except any will say, that men being (as mortal in peace) most dying in War, the devotions of those dayes (maintaining such deeds meritorious for their souls) made all in that Martial age most active in such employments. Not to speak of the Monastery of *St Mary de pratis*, founded by *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, and many others of this time; the goodly Hospital of *St Katharines* nigh *London*, was founded by *Maud*, wife to King *Stephen*, though others assign the same to *Ro.* Bishop of *Lincoln*, as founder thereof. So stately was the Quire of this Hospital, that it was not much [a] inferiour to that of *St Pauls* in *London*, when taken down in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, by Doctor *Thomas Wilson* the Master thereof, and Secretary of State.

Why plenty of Religious foundations in these Martiall dayes.

a *Stows* Survey of *London* pag. 117.

46. Yea, King *Stephen* himself was a very great founder. *St Stephen* was his tutelary Saint (though he never learned his *usurpation* from the patient example of that *Martyr*) whose name he bore, on whose day he was Crowned, to whose honor he erected *St Stephens* Chappel in *Westminster*, near the place where lately the *Court of Request* was kept. He built also the *Cistertians Monastery* in *Feversham*; with an Hospital near the *West-gate* in *York*. And, whereas formerly there were paid out of every *plough-land* in *England*, betwixt *Trent* and *Edenburgh-frith*, twenty four [b] Oat-sheaves for the Kings Hounds; *Stephen* converted this rent-charge to his new-built Hospital in *York*. A good deed no doubt; for, though it be unlawful *to take the* [c] *childrens bread and to cast it unto the dogs*; it is lawful to take the dogs bread, and to give it unto the children.

Religious houses founded by King *Stephen*.

b *Stow* in the end of K. *Stephens* life.

c *Mark* 7. 27.

16. 1150. 47. The King, being desirous to settle Soveraignty on his Son *Eustace*, earnestly urged *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to Crown him. For, *Stephen* saw that fealty, barely sworn to *Maud* in her Fathers life time, was afterwards broken: and therefore (his own guilt making him the more suspicious) for the better assurance of his Sons succession, he would go one step farther, endeavouring to make him actual King in his own life time. But the Arch-Bishop stoutly refused, though proscribed for the same, and forced to flie the land, till after some time he was reconciled to the King.

The constancy of *Theobald* Arch. Bishop of *Canterbury*.

19. 1153. 48. *Eustace* the Kings Son died of a frenzie, as going to plunder the lands of *Bury* [d] Abby. A death untimely in reference to his youthful years, but timely and seasonably in relation to the good of the Land. If conjecture may be made from his turbulent spirit, coming to the Crown he would have added tyrannie to his usurpation. His Father *Stephen* begins now to consider, how he himself was old, his Son deceased, his Subjects wearied, his Land wasted with War: which considerations, improved by the endeavours of *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Gods blessing on both, produced an agreement between King *Stephen* and *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, the former holding the Crown for his life, and after his death settling the same on *Henry*, his adopted Son and Successor.

The seasonable death of Prince *Eustace*.

d *Mat. Paris* in this year.

49. We have now gotten (to our great credit, and comfort, no doubt) an English-man Pope; namely, *Nicholas Breakspear*, alias *Adrian* the fourth. Born, saith my [e] Author, nigh *Uxbridg* in *Middlesex*, of the ancient and Martial family of the *Breakspears*; though [f] others make him no better then a bastard of an Abbot of *St Albans*. The Abbot of which Covent he confirmed the first in place, of all in *England*. If I miscount not, we never had but four Popes and a half (I mean Cardinal *Pool*, Pope elect) of our Nation. And yet of them, one too many (will the Papists say,) if Pope *Joan* (as some esteem her) were an English-woman. Yea, lately (the Elected following the plurality of the Electors) they have almost ingrossed the Papacy to the Italians. Our *Adrian* had but bad success, choaked to death with a flie

An English-man Pope.

e *Camden* in *Middlesex*.

f *Bale* in English Votaries, fol. 85.

flie in his throat. Thus any thing next nothing, be it but *advantagiously planted*, is big enough to *batter* mans life down to the ground.

Jeffery Monmouth defended.

50. *Jeffery ap Arthur* (commonly called from his native place, *Jeffery of Monmouth*) was now Bishop of S^t *Asaph*. He is the Welsh *Herodotus*, the father of ancient History, and *fables*; for, he who will have the first, must have the later. *Polydore Virgil* accuseth him of many falshoods (so hard it is to halt before a cripple) who, notwithstanding, by others is defended, because but a translator, and not the original reporter. For, a translator tells a lie in telling no lie, if wilfully varying from that copy, which he promiseth faithfully to render. And if he truly translates what he findes, his duty is done, and is to be charged no further. Otherwise the credit of the best translator may be crack'd, if himself become security for the truth of all, that he takes on trust from the pens of others.

The death of K. Stephen.

51. King *Stephen* ended his troublesome life. A Prince, who if he had come in by the door, the best room in the house had not been too good to entertain him. Whereas now the addition *Usurper* (affixed generally to his name) corrupts his valour into cruelty, devotion into hypocrisie, bounty into flattery, and design. Yet, be it known to all, though he lived an Usurper, he died a lawful King; for, what formerly he held from the rightful heir by *violence*, at his death he held under him by a mutual composition. He was buried with his Son, and Wife, at *Feversham* in *Kent*, in a Monastery of his own building. At the demolishing whereof, in the reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, some, to gain the *lead* wherein he was wrapp'd, cast his corps into the Sea. Thus Sacrilege will not onely feast on *gold* and *silver*, but (when sharp set) will feed on meaner metals.

a Stow in the end of his life.

Sobriquets what they were.

52. *Henry* the Second succeeded him, known by a triple sir-name, two personal and ending with himself, *Fitz-Empress*, and *Shortmantle*; the other hereditary, fetch'd from *Jeffery* his Father, and transmitted to his Posterity, *Plantagenet*, or * *Plantaganest*. This name was one of the *Sobriquets*, or penitential nick-names, which great persons about this time, posting to the Holy War in *Palestine*, either assumed to themselves, or had by the Pope, or their Confessors imposed upon them, purposely to disguise, and obscure their lustre therewith. See noe of the same kinde,

* Alias *Plantagenist.*

1. *Berger*, a Shepheard.	6. *Grand-Beufe*, Oxface.	11. *Sans-terr*, Lackland.
2. *Grise-Gonelle*, Graycoat.	7. *La-Zouch*, a Branch upon a stem.	12. *Malduit*, Ill taught.
3. *Teste de Estoupe*, Head of towe.	8. *Houlet*, a Sheephook.	13. *Juvencas*, *Geffard*, or Heifer.
4. *Arbust*, a Shrub.	9. *Hapkin*, an Hatchet.	14. *Fitz de flaw*, Son of a flail.
5. *Martel*, an Hammer.	10. *Chapell*, an Hood.	15. *Plantagenist*, Stalk of a Broom.

Thus these great persons accounted the penance of their pilgrimage, with the merit thereof, doubled, when passing for poor inconsiderable fellows, they denied their own places, and persons. But, be it reported to others, whether this be proper, and kindly evangelical *self-denial*, so often commended to the practice of Christians. However some of these by-names, assumed by their fanciful devotion, remained many years after to them, and theirs; amongst which *Plantagenist* was entailed on the Royal bloud of *England*.

K. Henry his character.

53. This King *Henry*, was wise, valiant, and generally fortunate. His faults were such as speak him *Man*, rather then a *vitious one*. Wisdom enough he had for his work, and work enough for his wisdom, being troubled in all his relations.

Anno Dom. 1153. Anno Regni Hen. 2. 19.

1154 20.

Hen. 2

Anno Regis Hen. 2. Anno Dom. 1154

relations. His wife Queen *Elianor* brought a great portion, (fair Provinces in *France*) and a great stomach with her; so that it is questionable, whether her froward spirit more drave her Husband away from her chair, or *Rosamunds* fair face, more drew him to her wanton embraces. His Sons (having much of the Mother in them) grew up, as in Age, in obstinacy against him. His Subjects, but especially the Bishops, (being the greatest *Castle-mongers* in that Age) very stubborn and not easily to be ordered.

54. Mean time one may justly admire, that no mention in Authors is made of, nor provisions for *Maud* the Kings Mother, (surviving some years after her Son's Coronation) in whom during her life, lay the real right to the Crown. Yet say not King *Henries* policy was little in preferring, to take his Title from an Usurper by adoption, rather then from his own Mother, (the rightful heir) by succession, and his piety less, in not attending his Mothers death; but snatching the Scepter out of her hand, seeing no Writer ever chargeth him with the least degree of undutifulness unto her. Which leadeth us to believe that this *Maud*, worn out with age and afflictions, willingly waved the Crown, and reigned in her own contentment, in seeing her Son reign before her.

What became of *Maud* the Empress.

2. 1155. 55. Those who were most able to advise themselves, are most willing to be advised by others, as appeared by this politick Prince. Presently he chuseth a Privy Councel of Clergie and Temporalty, and refineth the Common Laws; Yea, towards the end of his Reign began the use of our *Itinerant Judges*. The platform hereof he fetch'd from *France* (where he had his education) and where *Charles the Bald*, some hundred of years before, had divided his Land into twelve parts, assigning several Judges for administration of Justice therein. Our *Henry* parcelled *England* into six Divisions, and appointed three Judges to every Circuit, annually to visit the same. Succeeding Kings, (though changing the limits) have kept the same number of Circuits, and let the skilful in *Arithmetick* cast it up, whether our Nation receiveth any loss, by the change of *three Judges every year*, according to *Henry* the second's Institution, into *two Judges twice a year*, as long since hath been accustomed.

The body of the Common-Law compiled.

2. 1156. 56. The Laws thus setled, King *Henry* cast his eye on the numerous Castles in *England*. As a good *reason of State* formerly perswaded the building, so a better pleaded now for the demolishing of them. *William* the Conqueror built most of them, and then put them into the custody of his Norman Lords, thereby to awe the English into obedience. But these Norman Lords in the next generation, by breathing in English ayre, and wedding with English wives, became so perfectly Anglized, and lovers of Liberty, that they would *stand on their guard* against the King, on any petty discontentment. If their Castles, (which were of proof against Bowes and Arrows, the Artillery of that Age) could but bear the brunt of a sudden assault, they were priviledged from any solemn Siege, by their meanness and multitude, as whose several beleguerings would not compensate the cost thereof. Thus as in foul bodies, the *Physick* in process of time groweth so friendly and familiar with the *disease*, that they at last side together, and both take part against *Nature* in the Patient; so here it came to pass, that these Castles intended for the quenching, in continuance of time occasioned the kindling of Rebellion. To prevent farther mischief, King *Henry* razed most of them to the ground, and secured the rest of greater consequence into the hands of his Confidents. If any ask, how these *Castles* belong to our *Church-History*; know, that Bishops of all in that Age, were the greatest Traders in such Fortifications.

Castles demolished.

57. *Thomas Becket*, born in *London*, and (though as yet but a Deacon) Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, Doctor of Canon-Law, bred in the Universities of *Oxford*, *Paris*, *Bononia*, was by the King made Lord Chancellor of *England*. During which his office, who braver then *Becket*? None in the Court wore more

Thomas Becket L. Chancellor of *England*.

more costly clothes, mounted more stately steeds, made more sumptuous feasts, kept more jovial company, brake more merry jests, used more pleasant pastimes. In a word, he was so perfect a Lay-man, that his Parsonages of *Bromfield*, and St. *Mary-hill* in *London*, with other Ecclesiastical Cures, whereof he was Pastor, might even look all to themselves, he taking no care to discharge them. This is that *Becket*, whose mention is so much in English, and miracles so many in Popish writers. We will contract his acts in proportion to our History, remitting the Reader to be satisfied in the rest from other Authors. Anno Dom. 1158. Anno Regni Hen. 2. 4.

His great reformation being made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

58. Four years after, upon the death of *Theobald*, *Becket* was made by the King, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. The first Englishman since the Conquest (and he but a mongrel, for his mother was a Syrian, the intercourse of the *Holy-War* in that age making matches betwixt many strangers) who was preferred to that place. And now (if the Monks their writing his life may be believed) followed in him a great and strange Metamorphosis. Instantly his cloaths were reformed to gravity, his diet reduced to necessity, his company confined to the Clergie, his expences contracted to frugality, his mirth retrenched to austerity; all his pastimes so devoured by his piety, that none could see the former *Chancellor Becket*, in the present *Arch-Bishop Becket*. Yea, they report, that his clothes were built three stories high; next his skin he was a Hermite, and wore sack-cloth; in the midd he had the habit of a Monk; and above all wore the garments of an Arch-Bishop. Now, that he might the more effectually attend his Archiepiscopal charge, he resigned his Chancellors place, whereat the King was not a little offended. It added to his anger, that his patience was daylie pressed, with the importunate petitions, of people complaining, that *Becket* injured them. Though, generally, he did but recover to his Church such possessions, as, by their covetousnes, and his predecessors connivence, had formerly been detained from it. 1162 1.

A stubborn defender of the vicious Clergy against secular Magistrates.

59. But, the main matter, incensing the King against him was, his stubborn defending the Clergie from the secular power: and particularly (what a great fire doth a small spark kindle?) that a Clerk, having killed and stolen a Deer, ought not to be brought before the Civil Magistrate for his punishment. Such impunities breeding impieties, turned the *house of God* into *a den of thieves*: many rapes, riots, robberies, murders, were then committed by the Clergie. If it be rendred as a reason of the viciousnes of *Adonijah*, that his father never said unto him, [a] *Why doest thou so?* No wonder if the Clergy of this age were guilty of great crimes, whom neither the King, nor his Judges, durst call to an account. And, seeing Ecclesiastical censures extend not to the taking away of life, or lim; such Clerks as were guilty of capital faults; were either altogether acquitted, or had onely penance inflicted upon them; a punishment far lighter then the offence did deserve. Indeed, it is most meet, in matters meerly Ecclesiastical (touching the Word and Sacraments) Clergy-men be onely answerable for their faults to their spiritual superiors, as most proper, and best able to discern and censure the same. And in cases criminal, it is unfit that Ministers should be summoned, before each proud, pettish, petulant, pragmatical, secular, under-officer. However, in such causes to be wholly exempted from civil power, is a priviledge, which with reason cannot be desired of them, nor with justice indulged unto them. Sure I am, *Abiathar* (though High-Priest) was convented before, and deposed by *Solomon* for his practising of treason. And St. *Paul* saith, [b] *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.*

[a] 1 *King* 1. 6.

[b] *Rom.* 13. 1.

He incurs the Kings displeasure.

60. To retrench these enormities of the Clergy, the King called a Parliament at *Clarendon*, near *Sarisbury* (and not in *Normandy*, as Mr *Fox* will have it) intending with the consent of his great Councel, to confirm some severe Laws of his Grand-father King *Henry* the first. To these Laws, [c] sixteen in number, *Becket*, with the rest of the Bishops, consented and subscribed them. 1164 10.

[c] See them at large in *Mat. Paris.*

But

Anno Regis Hen. 2 10. Anno Dom. 1164

But afterwards recanting his own act, renounced the same. Let not therefore the crime of inconstancy, be laid too heavily to the charge of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, first subscribing, then revoking popish articles presented unto him: seeing this his name-sake *Thomas*, and predecessor, *Becket*, without any stain to his Saintship, retracted his own act, upon pretence of better information. But so highly was *Becket* offended with himself for his subscription, that, in revenge, for some moneths, he suspended himself from all Divine Service (his pride, and laziness, both before, and after, suspended him from ever preaching) and would not be present thereat. Hereafter let none hope for more favour from this Arch-Bishop, then their fact may deserve; seeing he cannot rationally be expected to be courteous to others, who was so severe unto himself. The best was, in this his suspension, the knot was not tied so hard, as to hurt him; who, in case of necessity, as he had bound, so he could loose himself: though, for the more state of the matter, Pope *Alexander* * himself was pleased solemnly to assoil him from his suspension. Mean time *Becket*, both in his suspension, and absolution, most highly offended King *Henry*, who every day the more was alienated from, and incensed against him.

* *Fox* his Mon. see the letter at large, *pag.* 269.

61. During *Beckets* abode about *Clarendon*, he is reported every morning to have walk'd, from his lodging, some miles, to the Kings Palace. Where the ground (say they) called *Beckets* path, at this day presenteth it self to the eyes of the beholders (but most quick-sighted, if looking through Popish spectacles) with the grass, and grain growing thereon, in a different hew, and colour from the rest. A thing having in it more of report, then truth; yet more of truth then wonder: the discolourations of such veins of earth being common in grounds elsewhere, which never had the happiness of *Becket* his feet to go upon them.

The vanity of *Beckets* path.

62. But oh! If *Becket*'s feet had left but the like impression in all the wayes he went, how easie had it been for all mens eyes, and particularly for our pen, to have track'd him in all his travels? Who, not long after, without the consent of the King, took Ship, sail'd into *Flanders*, thence travelled into the Southern parts of *France*, thence to *Pontiniack*, thence to *Senes*, abiding seven years in banishment. But, though he served an apprentiship in exile, he learned little humility thereby, onely altering his name (for his more safety) from *Becket* to *Derman*; but retaining all his old nature, remitting nothing of his rigid resolutions.

He flieth beyond Sea, without the Kings consent.

63. Now, to avoid idleness, *Becket*, in his banishment, variously employed himself. First, in making, and widening breaches, between *Henry* his native Soveraign, and *Lewis* the French King. Secondly, in writing many voluminous [a] letters of expostulation to Princes, and Prelates. Thirdly, in letting flie his heavy excommunications against the English Clergie; namely, against *Roger*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; *Gilbert Poliot*, Bishop of *London* (a learneder man then himself;) *Joceline*, Bishop of *Sarisbury*, and others. His chief quarrel with them, was their adherence to the King; and particularly, because the Arch-Bishop presumed to Crown *Henry* the King's Son (made joynt-King in the life of his Father) a priviledge which *Becket* claimed, as proper to himself alone. Fourthly, in receiving comfort from, and returning it to Pope *Alexander* at *Beneventum* in *Italy*. Sameness of affliction bred sympathy of affection betwixt them, both being banished; the Pope by *Frederick Barbarossa*, the Emperour, for his pride and insolency: as our *Becket* smarted for the same fault, from King *Henry*. Here also *Becket* solemnly resigned his Arch-Bishoprick to the Pope, as troubled in conscience, that he had formerly took it as illegally from the King, and the Pope again restored it to him, whereby all scruples in his minde were fully satisfied.

How employed in his banishment.

11. 1165.

13. 1167.

[a] See them exemplified at large in *Stapleton De Tribus Thomis.*

64. But afterwards by mediation of friends, *Becket*'s reconciliation was wrought, and leave given him to return into *England*. However the King

Is reconciled to the King.

ſtill retained his temporals in his hand, on weighty conſiderations. Namely, to ſhow their diſtinct nature from the ſpirituals of the Arch-Biſhoprick, to which alone the Pope could reſtore him: Lay-lands being ſeparable from the ſame, as the favour of ſecular Princes: and *Becket*'s bowed knee muſt own the Kings bountiful hand, before he could receive them. Beſides, it would be a caution for his good behaviour.

Anno Dom. 1167. Anno Regis Hen. 2. 13.

Returns as obſtinate as he went over.

65. *Cœlum non animum.* Travellers change climates, not conditions. Witneſs our *Becket*, ſtubborn he went over, ſtubborn he ſtaied, ſtubborn he return'd. Amongſt many things, which the King deſired, and he denied, he refuſed to reſtore the Excommunicated Biſhops, pretending he had no power (indeed he had no will) and that they were Excommunicate by his Holineſs. Yea, he, inſtead of recalling his old, added new Excommunications; and, that thunder which long before rumbled in his threatnings, now gave the crack upon all thoſe that detained his temporal revenues. [a] *Roger Hoveden* reports, that upon Chriſtmas-day (the better day the better deed) he Excommunicated *Robert de Broc*, becauſe the day before he had cut off one of his horſes tailes. Yea, he continued, and encreaſed his inſolence againſt the King and all his ſubjects.

1170. 16.

a *Parte poſteriori Henrici ſecundi*, pag. 521.

Is ſlain by four Knights in his own Church.

66. Here the King let fall ſome diſcontented words, which inſtantly were catch'd up in the ears of ſome Courtiers attending him. He complained that never Soveraign kept ſuch lazy Subjects, and Servants, neither concern'd in their Kings credit, nor ſenſible of his favours conferred on them, to ſuffer a proud Prelate ſo ſaucily to affront him. Now, a low hollow, and a leſs clap with the hand, will ſet fierce doggs on worrying their prey. A quaternion of Courtiers being preſent; namely,

1. Sr *Richard Breton*, of which name (as I take it) a good family at this day is extant in *Northampton-ſhire*.
2. Sr *Hugh Morvil* of *Kirk-Oſwald* in *Cumberland*, where his [b] ſword wherewith he ſlew *Becket*, was kept a long time, in memorial of his fact. His family at this day extinct.
3. Sr *William Tracey*, whoſe heirs at this day flouriſh, in a worthy and worſhipful equipage, at *Todington* in *Gloceſter-ſhire*.
4. Sr *Reginald Fitz-Urſe*, [c] or, *Beares-Sonne*. His poſterity was afterwards men of great lands and Command, in the County of *Monaghan* in *Ireland*, being there called [d] *Mac-Mahon*, which in Iriſh ſignifieth the *ſon of a bear*.

b *Camd. Brit.* in *Cumberland*, pag. 777.

c Others call him *Walter*.

d *Camd. Brit.* in *Ireland*, pag. 107.

Theſe four Knights, applying the Kings general reproof to themſelves, in their preproperous paſſions miſ-interpreted his complaint, not onely for *Becket*'s legal condemnation, but alſo for their warrant for his execution. Preſently they poſt to *Canterbury*, where they finde *Becket* in a part of his Church (ſince called the Martyrdom) who, though warned of their coming, and adviſed to avoid them, would not decline them, ſo that he may ſeem to have more minde to be kill'd, then they had to kill him. Here happ'ned high expoſtulation, they requiring reſtitution of the Excommunicated Biſhops; whoſe peremptory demands, met with his pertinacious denials, as then not willing to take notice of *Solomon* his counſel, [e] *A ſoft anſwer pacifieth wrath*. Brauls breed blows, and all four falling upon him, with the help of the fifth, an officer of the Church, called *Hugh, the ill-Clerk*, each gave him a wound, though that with the ſword diſpatch'd him, which cut off his crown from the reſt of his head.

e Prov. 15. 1.

Various cenſures on his death.

67. A barbarous murder, and which none will go about to excuſe, but much heightned both by the *Proſe*, and *Poetry* (good and bad) of Popiſh Writers in that age. Of the laſt and worſt ſort, I account that Diſtick (not worthy

Dec. 28.

Anno Regis Hen. 2 16. Anno Dom. 1170

worthy the translating) one verse whereof, on each leaf of the door of *Canterbury* Quire, is yet legible in part;

Est sacer intra locus, venerabilis, atq; beatus,
Præsul, ubi sanctus Thomas *est* * *martyrizatus.*

* *William Somner* in his Antiquities of *Canterbury*, pag. 166.

But, if he were no truer a martyr, then *martyrizatus* is true position, his memory might be much suspected. More did the Muses smile on the Author of the following verses,

Pro Christi Sponsa, Christi sub tempore, Christi
In Templo, Christi verus amator obit.
Quis moritur? Præsul. Cur? Pro grege. Qualiter? Ense.
Quando? Natali. Quis locus? Ara Dei.

For Christ his Spouse, in Christ's Church, at the tide
Of Christ his birth, Christ his true lover dy'd.
Who dies? A Priest. Why? For's flock. How? By th' sword.
When? At Christ's birth. Where? Altar of the Lord.

Here I understand not, how properly it can be said, that *Becket* died *Pro grege, For his flock.* Hee did not die for feeding his flock, for any fundamental point of Religion, or for defending his flock against the wolfe of any dangerous doctrine; but meerly he died for his flock; namely, that the sheep thereof (though ever so scabb'd) might not be dress'd with tarr, and other proper (but sharpe, and smarting) medicines. I mean, that the Clergie might not be punished by the secular power, for their criminal enormities. Sure I am, a learned, and moderate [a] writer of that age, passeth this character upon him, *Quæ ab ipso acta sunt laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint. Such things as were done by him, I conceive not at all to be praised, though they proceeded from a laudable zeal.* But [b] *Stapleton* calls this his judgment, *Audacis Monachi censura non tam politica, quàm planè ethnica, The censure of a bold Monk, not so much politick as heathenish.* Should another add of *Stapleton*, that this his verdict is the unchristian censure of a proud and partial Jesuite; railing would but beget railing; and so it is better to remit all, to the *day* [c] *of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.*

a *Gulielmus Nubrigiensis.*

b *In tribus Thomis.*

c Rom. 2. 5.

68. Now King *Henry*, though unable to revive *Beacket*, shewed as much sorrow himself, for his death, as a living man could express; and did the other as much honour, as a dead man could receive. First, searching after all his kinred (as most capable of his kindeness) he found out his two sisters. One *Mary*, a virgin, not inclinable to marry, whom he preferred Abbess of the rich Nunnery of *Berking*. His other nameless sister, being married to one of the *Le Botelers*, or *Butlers*, He transplanted with her husband, and children into [d] *Ireland*, conferring upon them high honours, and rich revenues; from whom the Earls of *Ormond* are at this day descended. He founded also the magnificent Abbey, called [e] *Thomas-Court* in *Dublin* (in memory of the said *Thomas Becket*, and expiation of his murther) beautifying the same with fair buildings, and enriching it with large possessions. Nor did onely the purse, but the person of King *Henry* do penance. Who walking some miles bare-foot, suffered himself to be whipped on the naked back by the Monks of *Cantrbury*. As for the four Knights, who murthered him, the Pope pardoned them, but conditionally, to spend the rest of their lives in the *Holy war* (where the King, as part of his penance enjoyned by the Pope, maintained two hundred men for one year, on his proper charges) to try, whether they could be as couragious in killing of Turks, as they had been cruel in murdering a Christian.

The heavy penance performed by King *Henry*.

d *Camdens Brit.* in *Ireland*, pag. 83.

20. 1174. e *Idem* pag. 93.

Anno Domi 1174. Anno Regni Hen. 2d.

Becket after fifty years inshrined.

69. And now, being on this subject, once to dispatch *Becket* out of our way, just a Jubilee of years after his death, *Stephen Langton*, his mediate successor, removed his body from the *Under-croft* in *Christ-Church*, where first he was buried, and laid him at his own charge, in a most sumptuous shrine, at the East end of the Church. Here the [a] rust of the sword that killed him, was afterwards tendred to Pilgrims to kiss. Here many miracles were pretended to be wrought by this saint, in number [b] two hundred and seventy. They might well have been brought up to four hundred, and made as many as *Baals* lying Prophets: though even then, one Prophet of the Lord, one *Micaiah*, one true miracle were worth them all.

[a] *Erasmus* his *Dialog. in Religionis arg.*

[b] *Fox Acts and Monum. pag.* 493.

The blinde superstition of people.

70. It is almost incredible, what multitudes of people flock'd yearly to *Canterbury* (which City lived by *Beckets* death) especially on his Jubilee, or each fifty years after his enshrining. No fewer then an hundred [c] thousand (we finde it in words at length, and therefore a cipher is not mistaken) of English and forrainers repaired hither. And, though great the odds in hardness, between stones and flesh, there remains at this day in the marble, the prints of their superstition, who crept, and kneeled to his shrine. The revenues whereof by peoples offerings, amounted to more then six hundred pounds a year. And the same accomptant, when coming to set down, what then, and there was offered to Christ's, or the High-Altar, dispatcheth all with a blanke, *Summo Altari nil.* Yea, whereas before *Beckets* death, the Cathedral in *Canterbury* was called *Christ's Church*, it passed afterwards for the Church of S[t] *Thomas*; verifying therein the complaint of [d] *Mary Magdalen*, *Sustulerunt Dominum*, *They have taken away the Lord.* Though since, by the demolishing of *Beckets* shrine, the Church (and that justly) hath recovered his true and ancient name.

[c] *Wil. Sumner in prius, pag.* 249.

[d] *John* 12. 13.

SECT.

Anno Regis Hen. II 20. Anno Dom. 1174.

SECT. II.

DOMINO JOANNI WYRLEY De WYRLEY-HALL, In Com. *Stafford*, Equiti Aurato.

Lex Mahometica *jubet, ut Turcarum quisque mechanicæ arti incumbat. Hinc est, quòd,* vel inter Ottomanicos Imperatores, *hic faber, ille Sartor, hic totus est in baltheorum * bullis, ille in Sagittarum pennis concinnandis, prout quisque suâ indole trahatur.*

* *Edw. Sandys in suis peregrinationibus.*

Lex mihi partim placet, *partim* displicet. Placet *industria, nè animi otii rubigine obducti sensim torpescerent.* Displicet, *ingenuas mentes servili operi damnari, cùm humile nimis sit & abjectum.*

At utinam vel lex, vel legis æmula consuetudo, inter Anglos *obtineret, ut nostrates* nobiles, *ad unum omnes, meliori literaturæ litarent. Hoc si fiat, uberrimos fructus Respublica pereeptura esset ab illis, qui nunc absque Musarum cultu penitus sterilescunt.*

Tu verò (Doctissime Miles!) es perpaucorum hominum, qui ingenium Tuum nobilitate premi non finis: sed artes ingenuas, quas Oxonii *didicisti* juvenis, vir. *assiduè colis. Gestit itaque Liber noster Te Patrono; quo non alter aut in notandis mendis oculatior, aut in condonandis clementior.*

20. 1174. I. EVen amongst all the stripes given him since the death of *Becket*, none made deeper impression in King *Henry*'s soul, then the undutifulness of *Henry*, his eldest Son, whom he made (the foolish act of a wise King) joynt-King with himself, in his life time. And, as the Father was indiscreet to put off so much of his apparel, before he went to bed: so the Son was more unnatural, in endeavouring to rend the rest from his back, and utterly to disrobe him of all Regal power. The Clergie were not wanting in their plentiful censures, to impute this mischance to the King, as a Divine punishment on *Beckets* death; that his natural Son should prove so undutiful to him, who himself

The undutifulness of yong King *Henry*.

himself had been so unmerciful to his spiritual father. But this rebellious childe pass'd not unpunished. For, as *he honoured not his Father*; so *his dayes were few in the land which the Lord gave him.* And, as he made little account of his own father, so English Authors make no reckoning of him in the Catalogue of Kings. This *Henry* the third being wholly omitted, because dying, during the life of his Father. Anno Dom. 1174. Anno Regni Hen. 2. 20.

Richard made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury.*

2. But, before this *Henries* death, *Richard*, Prior of *Dover*, who divided *Kent* into three Arch-Deaconries, was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. Indeed the place was first profered to *Robert*, Abbot of *Becco*, in *Normandy* (*Sequents of three*, if he had accepted it [*Anselme*, *Theobald*, and this *Robert*] who, in the compass of seventy years, out of the same Abby were made Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*) but he refused it, as ominous to succeed *Becket* in his *Chair*, lest he should succeed him in his *Coffin*; and preferr'd a whole skin before an holy Pall. But *Richard* accepting the place, is commended for a milde and moderate man, being all for accommodation, and his temper the best expedient betwixt the Pope and King; pleasing the former with presents, the latter with compliance. This made him connive at *Jeffery Plantaginet* his holding the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, though *uncanonicalness* on *uncanonicalness* met in his person. For, first he was a bastard. Secondly, he was never in orders. Thirdly, he was under age; all which *irregularities* were answered in three words, *The Kings Son*. This was that *Jeffery*, who used to protest *by the royaltie of the King, his Father*, when a Itander by minded him to remember *the honesty of his Mother*.

The controversy betwixt *Canterbury* & *York* for precedency.

3. A Synod was call'd at *Westminster*, the Popes Legat being present thereat; on whose right hand sat *Richard*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as in his proper place. When, in springs *Roger* of *York*, and, finding *Canterbury* so seated, fairly sits him down on *Canterburie's* lap (a baby too big to be danced thereon) yea, *Canterbury* his servants dandled this lap-childe with a witness, who pluck'd him thence, and buffeted him to purpose. Hence began the brawl, which often happened betwixt the two Sees for precedency; though hitherto we have pass'd them over in silence, not conceiving our selves bound to trouble the Reader, every time those Arch-Bishops troubled themselves. And, though it matters as little to the Reader, as to the Writer, whether *Roger* beat *Richard*, or *Richard* beat *Roger*; yet, once for all, we will reckon up the arguments, which each See alledged for its precedencie. 1176. 22.

Canterburies Title.

1. No *Catholick person* will deny, but that the *Pope* is the *fountain* of *spiritual honor*, to place and displace at pleasure. He first gave the *Primacy* to *Canterbury*: Yea, whereas the proper place of the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, in a general Councel, was next the *Bishop* of S^t *Ruffinus*; *Anselme* and his *successors* were advanced by Pope *Urban*, to sit at the *Popes right foot*, as *alterius orbis Papa*.

2. The *English Kings* have ever allowed the *Priority* to *Canterbury*. For a *Duarchie* in the *Church* (*viz.* two *Arch-Bishops* equal in power) being inconsistent with a *Monarchie*

Yorks Title.

1. When *Gregory* the great made *York* and *Canterbury Archiepiscopal Sees*, he affixed precedency to neither, but that the *Arch-Bishops* should take place according to the seniority of their *consecrations*. Until *Lanckfranck*, *Chaplain* to *King William* (thinking good reason he should conquer the whole *Clergie* of *England*, as his *Master* had vanquished the Nation) usurped the *superiority* above the *See* of *York*.

2. If *Antiquity* be to be respected, long before *Gregories* time, *York* was the *See* of an *Arch-Bishop*, whilest as yet *Pagan Canterbury* was never dream'd of for that purpose.

Lucius

Anno Regis Hen. 2 22. Anno Dom. 1176.

Monarchy in the *State*, they have ever countenanced the ſuperiority of *Canterbury*, that the *Church-government* might be uniform with the *Commonwealths*.

3. Cuſtome hath been accounted a *King* in all places, which time out of minde hath decided the precedency to *Canterbury*.

Lucius the firſt *Chriſtian Brittain King*, founding a *Cathedral* therein, and placing *Samſon* in the ſame, who had *Taurinus*, *Pyrannus*, *Tacliacus*, &c. his ſucceſſors in that place.

3. If the extent of *juriſdiction* be meaſured, *York*, though the leſſer in *England*, is the larger in *Britain*, as which at this time had the entire *Kingdom* of *Scotland* ſubject thereunto; Beſides, if the three *Biſhopricks*, (viz. *Worceſter*, *Lichfield*, *Lincoln*) formerly injuriouſly taken from *York*, were reſtored unto it, it would vie *Engliſh Latitude* with *Canterbury* it ſelf.

This controverſie laſted for may years, it was firſt viſibly begun (paſſing by former private grudges) betwixt *Lanckfrank* of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* of *York*, in the *Reign* of the *Conqueror*, continued betwixt *William* of *Canterbury*, and *Thurſtan* of *York*, in the dayes of *King Henry the firſt*; increaſed betwixt *Theobald* of *Canterbury*, and *William* of *York*, at the *Coronation* of *Henry* the *ſecond*, and now revived betwixt *Richard* of *Canterbury*, and *Roger* of *York*, with more then ordinary animoſity.

4. Some will wonder that ſuch *ſpiritual perſons* ſhould be ſo ſpiteful, that they, who ſhould rather have contended *de paſcendis ovibus*, *which of them ſhould better feed their flocks*, ſhould fall out *de lana caprina*, about a toy and trifle, onely for *Priority*. Yet ſuch will ceaſe to wonder, when they conſider how much *carnality* there was in the *Diſciples* themſelves: Witneſs their *unſeaſonable conteſt*, juſt before our *Saviours* * death, *quis eſſet major*, which of them ſhould be the *greater*, when then the queſtion ſhould rather have been, *quis eſſet meſtior*, not who ſhould be the *higheſt*, but who ſhould be the *heavieſt* for their *departing Maſter*.

How much carnality in the moſt ſpiritual.

* Luke 22.24.

5. Here the *Pope* interpoſed, and to end *old Diviſions*, made a *new diſtinction*, *Primate of all* ENGLAND, and *Primate of* ENGLAND, giving the former to *Canterbury*, the latter to *York*. Thus when two *Children* cry for the ſame *apple*, the *indulgent father* divides it betwixt them, yet ſo, that he giveth the *bigger* and *better* part to the *Childe* that is his *Darling*. *York* is fain to be content therewith, though full ill againſt his will, as ſenſible that a *ſecondary Primacy* is no *Primacy*; and as one ſtomaching a *Superiour* as much as *Canterbury* diſdained an *Equal*. Yea, on every little occaſion this *controverſie* brake out again. The laſt *flaſh* which I finde of this *flame*, was in the *Reign* of *King Edward* the *firſt*, when *William Wickham*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *York*, at a *Councel* at *Lambeth* for *Reformation*, would needs have his *Croſs* carried before him, which *John Peckam*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* would in no caſe permit to be done in his *Province*. Wherefore the ſaid *Peckam* inhibited all from ſelling [b] *victuals* to *him* or his *family*, ſo hoping to allay his *ſtomach* by raiſing his *hunger*, and ſtarve him into a ſpeedy *ſubmiſſion*, which accordingly came to paſs. Since *York* was rather *quiet* then *contented*, pleaſing it ſelf that as *ſtout came behinde as went before*. But at this day the *Clergie* ſenſible of *Gods hand* upon them for their *Pride* and other *offences*, are reſolved on more *humility*; and will let it alone to the *Layetie* to fall out about *Precedency*.

The Popes deciſion gives final ſatisfaction.

[b] Mr *Jackſon* out of *Florilegus*, in his Chronologie *Anno* 1280.

6. To return to *King Henry*, never did the *branches* of the *Engliſh Monarchy* ſprout higher, or ſpread broader before or ſince, as in the *Reign* of this *King*, ſo *large* and *united* his *command*, though in ſeveral capacities; For by *right* of *inheritance* from his *Mother Maud*, he held *England* and the *Dukedom*

The far extended Engliſh Monarchie in this Kings Reign.

dom of *Normandy*, by the same title from his *Father*, *Geffery Plantagenet*; he possessed *fair lands* in *Anjou* and *Maine*; by *Match* in right of *Queen Elianor* his *wife* he enjoyed the *Dukedoms* of *Aquitane* and *Guien* even to the *Pyrenean Mountains*; by *Conquest* he lately had subdued *Ireland*, leaving it to his *successors* annexed to the *English Dominions*; and for a time was the effectual *King of Scotland*, whilest keeping *William* their *King* a *Prisoner*, and acting at pleasure in the *Southern parts* thereof. The rest of *Christendom* he may be said to have held by *way of Arbitration*, as *Christiani orbis arbiter*, so deservedly did *Foreign Princes* esteem his *wisdom* and *integrity*, that in all difficult controversies he was made *Umpire* betwixt them. Anno Dom. 1277. Anno Regis Ric. 23.

Could not make him fortunate in his own Family.

7. Yet all this his *greatness* could neither preserve him from *death*, nor make him, when living, happy in his own *house*, so that when freest from *Foreign foes*, he was most molested in his own *Family*, his *wife* and *Sons* at last siding with the *King* of *France* against him, the *sorrow* whereat was conceived to send him the sooner to his *grave*. I meet with this *Distick* as parcel of his *Epitaph*,

* *Ma. Paris*, pag. 151.

*Cui * satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ*
Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum.

He whom alive the world would scarce suffice,
When dead, in *eight foot earth* contented lies.

He died at *Chinon* in *Normandy*, and was buried with very great *solemnity*, in the *Nunnery* of *Font-Everard* in the same *Country*. A *Religious House* of his own *Foundation* and *Endowment*. 1289. 38. Reg. 1.

Disobedience endeavoured to be expiated by superstition

a *Ma. Paris*, ut prius.

8. It is confidently [a] reported, that when *Richard*, *Son* and *Successor* to *King Henry*, approached his *Fathers dead Corps*, they bled afresh at the *Nostrils*; whence some collected him the *cause* of his *death*. But whilest natures *Night-councellors* (treading in the *dark causes* of *hidden qualities*) render the reason of the salleying forth of the bloud on such occasions, let the learned in the Laws decide how far such an *accident* may be improved for a *legal evidence*. For surely that *Judg* is no better then a *Murderer*, who condemneth one for *Murder* on that proof alone. However on the bleeding of the *Fathers Nostrils*, the Sons heart could not but bleed, as meeting there with a *guilty Conscience*. And therefore (according to the *Divinity* and *Devotion* of those dayes) to expiate his *disobedience*, he undertook with *Philip Augustus*, *King* of *France*, a *long Voyage* against *Sultan Saladine*, to recover *CHRIST* his *grave*, and the City of *Jerusalem*, from the *Turks* in *Palestine*.

An account of our design.

9. Having formerly written an whole Book of the *Holy War*, and particularly of King *Richards* atchievements therein, I intend here no repetition; Onely our design is to give a Catalogue of some of our *English Nobility*, who adventured their persons in the Holy War; and whose Male-Posterity is eminently extant at this day. I have known an excellent *Musician*, whom no Arguments could perswade to play, until hearing a *Bungler scrape* in the company, he snatch'd the Instrument out of his hand (in indignation that Musick should be so much abused) then tuned and played upon it himself. My project herein is, that giving in an imperfect list, of some few noble Families, who ingaged themselves in this service; It will so offend some eminent Artist (hitherto silent in this kinde) that out of disdain he will put himself upon so honourable a work, deserving a Gentleman who hath Lands, Learning and leisure to undertake so costly, intricate and large a subject for the honor of our Nation. And be it premised, that to prevent all cavils about precedency, first come, first serv'd; I shall Marshal them in no other method, but as in my studies I have met with the mention of them. 1190 1.

Anno Regis *Rich. prim.* 1. Anno Dom. 1190

10. To begin with the place of my preſent habitation; one *Hugh Nevil* attended *King Richard* into the Holy War, and anciently lieth buried in a Marble Monument, in the Church of *Waltham Abbey* in *Eſſex*, whereof no remainders at this day. This *Hugh Nevil* being one of the Kings ſpecial *familiars*, ſlew a *Lion* in the Holy Land, firſt driving an arrow into his Breaſt, and then running him through with his ſword, on whom this Verſe was made,

Nevil Kill Lion his performance in *Paleſtine.*

[a] *Viribus Hugonis vires perière Leonis* { The ſtrength of *Hugh* / A Lion ſlew.

a *Mat. Paris Anno Dom* 1222.

If *Benaiah* the ſon of *Jehoiadah*, was recounted the *fifth* amongſt *Davids worthies*, for [b] killing a *Lion in the middeſt of a pit in the time of ſnow*, ſurely on the ſame reaſon, this bold and brave Baron *Hugh*, ought to be entred into the Catalogue of the Heroes of his Soveraign. But I cannot give credit to [c] his report, who conceiveth that the Atchievement of the man was tranſlated to his Maſter; And that on this occaſion King *Richard* the firſt got the name of *Cordelion*, or *Lions Heart*.

b 2 Sam. 23. 20.

c *Weavers Fun. Mon. pag.* 644.

11. This *Hugh Nevil* gave the Manor of [d] *Thorndon* to *Waltham Abby*, and was Anceſter of the Noble and numerous Family of the *Nevils*; to which none in *England* equal, for Honor, Wealth and number, in the later end of King *Henry* the ſixth, though at this day the Lord *Abergavenny* be the only Baron thereof: He gave for his Armes a Croſs *Saltire*, or the Croſs of S[t] *Andrew*, probably aſſuming it in the Holy War. For though I confeſs this is not the proper Croſs of *Hieruſalem*, yet was it highly eſteemed of all thoſe who adventured thither; as may appear, in that all Knights-Templers make ſuch *Saltire Croſs*, with their Thwarted Leggs upon their Monuments.

Anceſters to the Noble & numerous *Nevils.*

d *Regiſtrum Cart Abbat. de Walsham.*

12. *Giralde de Talbote* ſucceeds in the ſecond place; When Articles were drawn up between our *King Richard*, in his paſſage to *Paleſtine*, and *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, for the mutual obſervation of many Conditions betwixt them. He put in upon their Oaths, for his Sureties, a Grand-Jury of his principal Subjects then preſent, *viz.* two Arch-Biſhops, two Biſhops, and twenty other of his Prime Nobility expreſſed in his Letters [e] Patents; Beſides many others whoſe names were concealed. Of theſe twenty, the aforeſaid *Girald de Talbote* is the firſt; whoſe Male Iſſue and Name is extant at this day, flouriſhing in the Right Honourable Family of the Earls of *Shrewsbury*.

Giralde de Talbote, whence the houſe of *Shrewsbury.*

e *R. Hoveden pars poſterior in Rich. prim.*

13. Next amongſt the *Royal Jurors* (as I may term them) was *Guarrin Fitz Girald*, from whom are deſcended the *Fitz Giralds* in *Ireland*, (where their name is in ſome places *Provincial*) of whom the Earl of *Kildare* is chief. A memorial of their ſervice in *Paleſtine* is preſerved in their Armes, giving *Argent a Croſs Saltire Gules.* Here it muſt be remembred, that the valiant ſprightly Gentleman *Hickman* Lord *Windſor* is deſcended from the ſame [f] Male Anceſtors with the *Fitz Giralds* (as *Robert Glover* a moſt exquiſite Herald doth demonſtrate) though according to the faſhion of that age, altering his old, and aſſuming a new name from *Windſor*, the place of his office and Command. This Lord *Windſor* carrieth the Badg of his Service in his Arms, being eſſentially the ſame, with the Earl of *Kildares*, ſave that the colours are varied; *the field Gules*, and *croſs Saltire Argent, betwixt twelve Croſſes croſſed, OR:* Which Coat ſeemingly *ſurfited*, was conceived in that age, the more *healthful* for the ſame; *the more Croſſed the more Bleſſed*, being the Devotion of thoſe dayes.

Guarrin Fitz Girald, from whom the Earls of *Kildare* and Barons of *Windſor.*

f See *Camd. Brit.* in *Berkſhire.*

14. Four other *Gentlemen* of quality remain mentioned in that Patent, *William de Curcy*, Father to *John* the valiant Champion and Conqueror of *Ireland*; *Robert de Novo Burgo*; *Hugh le Brain*, and *Amaury de Mountford*; of

A Quaternion more of adventurers.

of all whom formerly in our Alphabetical Comment on *Abby Roll*. Anno Dom. 1191. Anno Regis Ric. prim. 2.

Ingleram Finnes his posterity.

15. At the siege of *Acres* or *Ptolemais* (the Grave General of the Christian Army) amongst many Worthies dying there within the compass of one year; I finde [a] *Ingelram de Fiennes* to be slain, from whom the Lord Viscount *Say* and *Seal*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the South derive their discent. But most visible are the remains of the Holy War in the atchievement of *Theophilus Finnes*, alias *Clinton*, Earl of *Lincoln*, giving in the lower parts of his shield (in a field *Argent*) six *Crosses crossed Fitchee Sable*, denoting the stability and firmness of his Ancestors in that service.

[a] *R. Hoveden in Richardo primo, pag. 655.*

Radulphus De Alta ripa.

16. Also at the aforesaid Siege of *Acres*, *Radulphus de Alta ripa*, *Arch-Deacon* of *Colchester* ended his life. Now although because a Clergy-man, he could not then leave any lawful *Issue* behinde him. Yet we may be confident that the Ancient Family *De Alta ripa* or *Dautry*, still continuing in [b] *Sussex* were of his Alliance.

[b] *Camd. Brit. ibid.*

A mistake freely confest.

17. Before we leave the Siege of *Acres*, let me refresh the Reader with my innocent (and give me leave to say provable) mistake. I conceived the Noble Family of the Lord *Dacres* took their Sir-name from some service there performed, confirmed in my conjecture. 1. Because the name is written with a *Local Tmesis*, *D'Acres*. 2. *Joan* Daughter to *Edward* the first, King of *England*, is called *D'Acres*, because Born there. 3. They gave their Armes *Gules* three *Scollops-shels Argent*; Which *Scollop-shels* (I mean the nethermost of them, because most concave and capacious) smooth within, and artificially plated without, was oft times *Cup* and *Dish* to the *Pilgrims* in *Palestine*; and thereupon their Armes often charged therewith. Since suddenly all is vanished, when I found [c] *Dacor*, a Rivolet in *Cumberland*, so ancient, that it is mentioned by *Bede* himself, long before the Holy War was once dreamed of, which gave the name to *Dacres* Castle, as that (their prime seat) to that Family.

[c] *Camd. Brit. in Cumberland pag. 776.*

Cressant and Star why the Device of K. *Richard* the first, in his voyage to the *Holy Land*.

18. Before we go further, be it here observed, that when King *Richard* the first went into *Palestine*, he took up for his *Device* in his *Ensign*, a *Cressant* and *a Star*, but on what account men variously conjecture. Some conceive it done in affront to the *Sultan Saladine*, the *Turk* giving the *Half Moon* for his *Armes*; But this seems unlikely, both because a *Cressant* is not the posture of the *Turkish Moon*, and because this was a prepostrous method with a valiant man at his bare setting forth, who would rather first *win*, before *wear* the Armes of his *Enemies*; Others make a modest, yea Religious meaning thereof, interpreting himself and his souldiers by the *Cressant* and *Star*, expecting to be inlightened from above, by the beams of succes from the *Sun* of *Divine Providence*. Indeed it would trouble a wise man (but that a wise man will not be troubled therewith) to give a reason of King *Richards* fancy; it being almost as easie for him to foretel ours, as for us infallibly to interpret his design herein. However we may observe many of the principal persons which attended the King in this War, had their Shields *be-Cressanted* and *be-Starred*, in relation to this the *Royal Device*.

The Armes of the ancient Family of *Minshull*.

19. Thus *Michael Minshul* of *Minshul* in *Cheshire*, serving King *Richard* in this war, had not onely the *Cressant* and *Star* given him for his Armes, but since also that Family hath born for their Crest, two *Lions paws* holding a *Cressant*. And I have seen a Patent [d] lately, granted by the Lord *Marshal*, to a *Knight* [e] deriving himself from a yonger branch of that Family, assigning him for distinction, to change his *Crest* into the *Sultan* kneeling and holding a *Cressant*.

[d] *Viz. July 4. 1642.*

[e] *Sir Richard Minshull of Burton in Bucks:*

As also of the noble S. Johns and Sackvile.

20. And thus the Noble Family of *Saint-John*, (whereof the Earl of *Bullingbrook*, &c.) give for their Paternal Coat *Argent* two *Stars Or* on a *Chief Gules*. These *Stars* first give us a dim light to discover their Service in the *Holy Land*, who since are beholding for perfecter information, to one now scarce counted a *Rimer*, formerly admitted for a *Poet*, acquainting us with this, and another Noble Family adventuring in the Holy War, namely, the *Sackvilles*, still flourishing in the Right Honourable the Earl of *Dorcet*.

King

Anno Regis Rich. prim. 2. Anno Dom. 1191

[a] King Richard wyth gud entent
To yat cite of [b] Jafes went
On morn he ſent attur Sir Robart Sakevile
Sir William Wateruile
Sir Hubart and Sir Robart of Turnham
Sir Bertram Brandes and John de S[t] John.

a *Robert of Gloceſter.*
b *Jafes*, that is *Joppa* in *Paleſtine.*

Yet the *Armes* or *Creſt* of the *Sackviles* give us not the leaſt intimation of the Holy War. And indeed no rational man can expect an univerſal conformity in ſo much variety of fancies, that all the *Armes* of the adventurers thither, ſhould ſpeake the ſame *Language*, or make ſome ſign of their ſervice therein.

3. 1192. 21. I finde [c] S[r] *Frederick Tilney* Knighted at *Acres* in the Holy Land, in the third year of King *Richard* the firſt; he was a man *Magnæ ſtaturæ & potens corpore*; Sixteen Knights in a direct line of that name ſucceeded in that Inheritance: Whoſe heir general was married to the Duke of *Norfolk*, whileſt a male branch (if not, which I fear, very lately extinct) flouriſhed ſince at *Shelleigh* in *Suffolke*.

The worſhipful Family of the *Tilnes*.
c *Hackluit* in his firſt volume of voyages.

22. When I look upon the ancient *Armes* of the Noble Family of the *Villiers*, wherein there is *Pilgrim* on *Pilgrim*, I mean *five Scallops O R*, on the *Croſs of S[t] George*; I preſently concluded, one of that Family attended King *Richard* in the Holy Land: But on better enquiry, I finde that this Family at their firſt coming into *England*, bare *Sable three Cinquefoyles Argent*; and that S[r] *Nicholas de Villiers* Knight, changed this [d] Coat in the Reign, not of *Richard*, but *Edward* the firſt, whom he valiantly followed in his Wars in the Holy Land, and elſewhere.

The moſt honourable Anceſtors of the *Villiers*.
d *Burton* in his deſcription of *Leiceſter-ſhire*.

23. I will conclude with the Noble Family of *Berkeley*, then which none of *England* now eminently exiſting, was more redoubted in the *Holy War*. All know their diſcent from *Harding* (Son to the King of *Denmark*) whoſe Armes are ſaid to be *Gules Three Daniſh Axes O R*, or as others ſuppoſe with more probability, I conceive onely a plain *Cheveron*, though ſome three hundred years ſince, they have filled their Coat with *Ten Croſſes Patte O R*, in remembrance of the Atchievements of their Anceſtors in that ſervice. For I finde that *Harding* of *England* Landed at [e] *Joppa*, *July* the third, in the ſecond year of King *Baldwin*, with a Band of ſtout Souldiers, where he relieved the Chriſtians beſieged therein.

The Armes of the *Berkeleys*.
e *Chronicon Jeruſalem*, lib. 9. cap. 11.

24. But I have been too tedious, intending onely a ſhort Eſſay, and to be (let me call it) an *honeſt Decoy*, by entering on this ſubject, to draw others into the compleating thereof, during the whole extent of the *Holy War*. The beſt is, for the preſent we have had good leiſure, theſe Martial times affording but little Eccleſiaſtical matter. For at this preſent much of the Engliſh Church was in *Paleſtine*, where *Baldwin*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ended his life before the Siege of *Acres*; and where *Hubert Walter*, Biſhop of *Sariſbury*, was a moſt active Commander; beſides many moe of the eminent Clergie ingaged in that ſervice. Yet many did wiſh that one Clergy-man more had been there, (to keep him from doing miſchief at home) namely, *William Longcamp*, Biſhop of *Elie*, who plaied Rex in the Kings abſence: ſo intolerable a Tyrant was he, by abuſing the Royal Authority committed unto him. And it is a wonder, that he, being indeed a Norman born, but holding ſo many and great offices in this land, ſhould not be able to ſpeak one word of good [f] Engliſh, as the Engliſh were not willing to ſpeak one good word of him.

More Churchmen abroad then Churchbuſineſs at home.
f *Goodwin* in his catalogue of the Biſhop of *Ely*.

25. Such as draw up a parallel betwixt this *William Longcampe*, and *Thomas Wolſey* (afterward Arch-Biſhop of *York*) finde them to meet in many conformities. Firſt, in the lowneſs of their birth, the one the ſon of an Huſband-man

Longcampe & Wolſey paral. leſ'd.

band-man, the other of a Butcher. Secondly, in the greatneſs of their power, both being the Popes Legates, and their Kings principal Officers. Thirdly, height of their pride; *Longcampe* having *fifteen hundred* daylie attendants: *Wolſey*, though but a *thouſand*, equalizing that number with the nobility of his train. Fourthly, ſuddenneſs of their fall, and it is hard to ſay, which of the two lived more hated, or died leſs pitied. Anno Dom. 1192. Anno Regis Rich. prim. 5.

Wolſey the beter of the two.

26. Yet to give *Wolſey* his due, he far exceeded the other. *Longcampe* is accuſed of covetouſneſs, promoting his baſe kindred, to the dammage and detriment of others: no ſuch thing charged on *Wolſey*. *Longcampes* activity moved in the narrow ſphear of *Englands* Dominions; whileſt *Wolſey* might be ſaid (in ſome ſort) to have held in his hand the ſcales of Chriſtendome. Up Emperor, down *France*; and ſo alternately, as he was pleaſed to caſt in his graines. *Wolſey* ſate at the ſterne more then twenty years, whileſt *Longcampe*'s impolitick pride outed him of his place, in leſs then a quarter of the time. Laſtly, nothing remains of *Longcampe*, but the memory of his pride and pomp: whileſt *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and other ſtately edifices, are the laſting monuments of *Wolſeys* magnificence, to all poſterity.

Yet a word in excuſe of *Longcamp.* a Godwin ut prius.

27. But ſeeing it is juſt to ſettle mens memories, on their true bottom; Be it known, that one putteth in a good word in due ſeaſon, in the excuſe of Biſhop [a] *Longcampe*, haply not altogether ſo bad as the pens of Monks would perſwade us. It inraged them againſt him, becauſe *Hugh Nonant* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Liechfield*, drave out Monks out of *Coventry*, and brought in Secular Prieſts in the room; which alteration he being not able of himſelf to effect, uſed the aſſiſtance of *Longcampe* Biſhop of *Elie*; ordering the ſame in a Synod called at *London*. And ſeeing Monks have no *medium* betwixt not loving and bitter hating, no wonder if for this cauſe they paid him their Invectives. But we have done with him, and are glad of ſo fair a riddance of him, on this account, that moſt of his miſdemeanors were by him committed, not *quà Biſhop*, but *quà Vice-roy*, and ſo more properly belonging to the civil Hiſtorian.

King *Richard* dearly Ranſomed.

28. King *Richard* in his return from *Paleſtine*, was taken priſoner by *Leopold Duke of Auſtria*, and detained by him in durance, with hard and un-Prince-like uſage. Whileſt the Engliſh Clergy endeavoured the utmoſt for his Enlargement. And at laſt when a *fine certain* was ſet upon him to be paid for his Ranſome; they with much ado in two years time diſburſed the ſame. 1193. 5

Why a ſmall ſum great in that age.

29. The ſumme was an *hundred and fifty thouſand marks*, to be paid, part to the *Duke* of *Auſtria*, part to *Henry* the ſixth, Sir-named the *Sharpe*, (Sure ſuch our *Richard* found him) *Emperor* of *Germany*. Some will wonder that the *weight* of ſuch a ſumme ſhould then *ſway the back* of the whole *Kingdome*, (putting many *Churches* to the ſale of their *ſilver Chalices*) having ſeen in our age one City in few dayes advance a larger proportion; But let ſuch conſider,

1. The money was never to return, not made over by *Bils of Exchange*, but ſent over in *ſpecie*, which made it ariſe the more heavily. For ſuch ſummes may be ſaid in ſome ſort to be but lent, not loſt (as to the *Common-wealth*) which are not exported, but ſpent therein in the circulation of *Trading*.
2. A third of ſilver went then more to make a *marke* then now adayes, witneſs their *groats*, worth our *ſix pence* in the intrinſick value.
3. Before trading to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, ſome hundred and fifty years ſince, very little the *ſilver* of *England*, in compariſon to the *Banks* of *Modern Merchants*.

However *Hubert*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, with much diligence perfected the work, and on his ranſom paid, *King Richard* returned into *England*.

30. Now

Anno Regis *Rich. prim.* 4. Anno Dom. 1194.

30. Now leſt his *Majeſty* ſhould ſuffer any diminution by his long late impriſonment; King *Richard* was Crowned again by *Hubert Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, at *Winchester*, with great ſolemnity; and one may ſay that his *durance* was well beſtowed on him, ſeeing after the ſame he was improved in all his *relations*. King *Richard* better for affliction.

Son. For though he could not revive his *dead Father*; yet on all occaſions he expreſſed *ſorrow* for his *undutifulneſs*.

Husband. Hereafter priſing the company of *Beringaria* his *Queen*; Daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, whom formerly he ſlighted and neglected.

Brother. Freely and fully pardoning the practiſes of his *Brother John* aſpiring to the *Crown* in his abſence; and being better to his *baſe Brother Geffery*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *York*, then his tumultuous nature did deſerve.

Man. Being more ſtrict in ordering his own converſation.

6. 1196. *King.* In endeavouring the amendment of many things in the *Land*, in whoſe dayes a *Councel* was kept at *York*, for *Reformation*, but little effected.

8. 1198. 31. *Hubert Walter*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, had almoſt finiſhed a *fair Covent* for *Monks* at *Lambeth*, begun by *Baldwin* his *Predeceſſor*. But inſtantly the *Monks* of *Canterbury* are all up in anger againſt him; they feared that in proceſs of time *Lambeth* would prove *Canterbury* (*viz.* the Principal place of the *Arch-Biſhops reſidence*) to the great impairing of their *Priviledges*; the vicinity of *Lambeth* to the *Court* encreaſed their *jealouſie*: And now they ply the *Pope* with *Petitions*, and with what makes *Petitions* to take effect in the *Court* of *Rome*; never content till they had obtained (contrary to the *Kings* and *Arch-Biſhops* deſire) that the *Covent* at *Lambeth* was utterly demoliſhed; many bemoaning the untimely end thereof, before it was ended, murdered, as one may ſay, by *malitious emulation*. *Lambeth* Covent, why demoliſhed.

9. 1199. 32. The death of King *Richard* is variouſly reported, but this relation generally received, that he loſt his life on this ſad occaſion. A *Viſcount* in *France*, *ſubject* to King *Richard*, having found a *vaſt Treaſure*, (hid probably by ſome *Prince*, the *Kings Predeceſſor*) ſent part thereof to King *Richard*, reſerving the reſt to himſelf; who could he have concealed all, had made no diſcovery, and had he ſent all, had got no diſpleaſure; whileſt hoping by this middle-way to pleaſure the King, and profit himſelf, he did neither. King *Richard* diſdaines to take part for a *gift*, where all was *due*; and blame him not, if having lately bled ſo much money, he deſired to fill his empty veines again. The *Viſcount* fled into *Poitou*, whither the *King* following, ſtraightly beſieged him. King *Richard* his death.

33. The *Caſtle* being reduced to diſtreſs, a *Souldier* ſhoots a *poyſoned arrow*, contrary to the *Law* of *Armes*, being a *ſharp arrow*, from a *ſtrong bow*, is *poyſon* enough of it ſelf, without any other addition. But thoſe *Laws* of *Armes*, are onely mutually obſerved in *orderly Armies* (if ſuch to be found) and ſuch *Laws outlawed* by *extremity*; when the half-*famiſhed Souldier*, rather for *ſpight* then *hunger*, will *champ* a *bullet*. The *arrow* hits King *Richard* in the *eye*, who died ſome dayes after on the anguiſh thereof, having firſt forgiven the ſouldier that wounded him. By a poyſoned arrow.

34. By Will he made a *tripartite diviſion* of his *body*, and our * *Author* takes upon him to render a reaſon thereof. His *Heart* he bequeathed to *Roan*, becauſe he had ever found that *City hearty* and *cordial* unto him: His *Body* to be buried at *Fount-Everard*, at his *Fathers feet*, in token of his *ſorrow* and *ſubmiſſion*, that he deſired to be as it were his *Fathers Foot-ſtool*: His The three-fold diviſion of his corps.

Bowels

Bowels to be buried in the *Parish Church*, in the *Province of Poitou*, where he died (not for any *Bowels of affection* he bare unto them, but) because he would leave his *filth* and *excrements* to so *base* and *treacherous* a place. Others more charitably conceive them buried there, because conveniently not to be carried thence, whose corruption required speedy interment. Another Monk telleth us, that his Heart was *grossitudine* [a] *præstans, gross for the greatness thereof*; which is contrary to the received opinion, that that part is the least in a valiant man, and the *heart of a Lion* (this *Richard* we know was called *Cure de Lion*, or Lion-hearted) less then the *heart* of an *Hare*. Anno Dom. 1199. Anno Regis Ric. prim. 9.

a *Gervasius Dorobernensis in Rich. 1. pag. 1628.*

His double Epitaph and successor.

25. I finde two *Epitaphs* made upon him, the first, (better for the conceit then the *Poetry* thereof) thus concludeth:

Sic loca [b] *per trina se sparsit tanta ruina,*
Nec fuit hoc funus cui sufficeret locus unus.

Three places thus, are sharers of his fall,
Too little, one, for such a Funeral.

b *Miller* in his catalogue of honor, pag. 120.

The second may pass for a good piece of Poetry in that age;

Hic Richarde [c] *jaces, sed mors si cederet, armis*
Victa timore tui, cederet ipsa tuis.

Richard thou liest here, but were death afraid
Of any armes, thy armes had death dismaid.

c *Camdens Brit.* in *Oxford-shire*,

Dying issueless, the Crown after his death should have descended to *Arthur*, Duke of *Britain*, as son to *Geffery*, *fourth son to Henry the second*, in whose minority, *John*, fift Son to the said *King*, seized on the *Crown*, keeping his *Nephew Arthur* in prison till he died therein. Thus climing the Throne against conscience; no wonder if he sate thereon without comfort, as in the following *Century*, God willing, shall appear. 1200 King John 1.

The End of the Twelfth CENTURY.

CENT.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

CENT. XIII.

TO Mr JOHN ROBINSON OF Milke-ſtreet *in* London, *Merchant.*

DIVINES *generally excuſe the* * dumb man *cured by* CHRIST, *for publiſhing the ſame, though contrary to his command.* THEOPHYLACT *goes farther in his Comment on the Text,* διδασκόμεθα ἐνταῦθα, κηρύττειν καὶ φημίζειν τοὺς ἀγαθοποιοὺς κἂν αὐτοὶ μὴ θέλωσιν; Hence we are taught (*ſaith he*) to proclaim and ſpread the fame of our BENEFACTORS, though they themſelves be unwilling. *On which account I* ſafely *may, and* juſtly *muſt, publickly acknowledg your bountie to me.*

* *Mark* 7. 36.

1201. 3. I. HIs *Chriſtmas King John* kept at *Guilford*, where he beſtowed many new holiday-liveries on his *Guard*, and *Hubert* the *Arch-Biſhop*, gave the like to his ſervants at *Canterbury*; who offended the *King* not a little, that the *Mitre* ſhould Ape the *Crown*, and the *Chaplain* vie gallantry with his *Patron*. To make ſome amends, when the *King* and *Queen*, the *Eaſter* following, were Crowned at *Canterbury*; *Hubert* made them magnificent, yea, ſuperfluous [a] cheer. Yet his offence herein carried an excuſe in it; and ſuperfluity at that time ſeemed but needful to do penance for his former profuſeneſs; and to ſhew that his Loyalty in entertaining of the *King*, ſhould ſurpaſs his late vanity,

Huberts indiſcreet emulation of the King.

[a] *Mat. Paris hiſt. Ang.* in Anno 1201.

vanity, in oſtentation of his wealth. However when King *John* had digeſted the *Arch-Biſhops* dainty cheer, the memory of his ſervants coats ſtill ſtuck in his ſtomach. Surely if *Clergy-men* had left all emulation, with the *Laity*, in outward pomp, and applied themſelves onely to piety and painfulneſs in their calling, they had found as many to honour, as now they made to envy them.

Anno Dom. 1201. Anno Regis Joh. 3.

A ſcratch betwixt the Monks of *Canterbury* widened into a dangerous wound.

2. But now we enter on one of the ſaddeſt *Tragedies* that ever was acted in *England*, occaſioned by the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, after the deceaſe of *Hubert*, about the election of a new *Arch-Biſhop*. O that their Monkiſh controverſies had been confined to a *Cloyſter*, or elſe ſo enjoyned a ſingle life, that their local diſcords might never have begotten any National diſſentions. *Behold* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *how great a matter a little fire* [a] *kindleth*, eſpecially after a long drought, when every thing it meets is *Tinder* for it. All things at home, (beſides *forein concurrences*) conſpired to inflame the difference: King *John* rather ſtubborn then valiant, was unwilling to loſe, yet unable to keep his right; the *Nobility potent* and factious; the *Clergie* looking at *London*, but rowing to *Rome*; carrying *Italian* hearts in *Engliſh* bodies: the *Commons* preſſed with preſent grievances, generally deſirous of change; conceiving any alteration muſt be for their advantage, barely becauſe an alteration. All improved the diſcord ſo long, till *Normandy* was loſt; *England* embroyl'd; the Crown thereof invaſſalled; the Kings perſon deſtroyed; his poſterity endanger'd; Foreiners fetch'd in to inſult, and Native Subjects made Slaves to their inſolencies.

1205. 7.

[a] *James* 3. 5.

Two Arch-Biſhops choſen by the Monks of *Canterbury*, & the Pope propoundeth a third.

3. The yonger of the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, in the night time, without the Kings knowledg or conſent, choſe *Reginald* their *ſub-prior*, to be *Arch-Biſhop*. The *Seniors* of their *Covent*, ſolemnly, at a *Canonical* hour, with the approbation, yea commendation of the *King*, choſe *John Gray*, *Biſhop* of *Norwich* for the place; and both ſides poſt to *Rome* for the *Popes* confirmation; he finding them violent in their wayes; to prevent further faction, adviſed them to pitch on a third man: *Stephen Langton*, born in *England*, but bred in *France*, lately *Chancellor* of the *Univerſity* of *Paris*, and ſithence made *Cardinal* of S^t *Chryſogone*. Which expedient, or middle way, though carrying a plauſible pretence of peace, would by the conſequence thereof improve the Popes power, by invading the undoubted priviledges of King *John*. The *Monks* ſoberly excuſed themſelves, that they durſt not proceed to an election without the Kings conſent; but affrighted at laſt with the high threats of his Holineſs, menacing them with Excommunication; *Stephen Langton* was choſen accordingly: One that wanted not ability for the place, but rather had too much, as King *John* conceived, having his high ſpirit in ſuſpition, that he would be hardly managed.

The Pope ſends two Letters of contrary tempers to the King.

4. Then two Letters were diſpatch'd from the *Pope*, to the King. The firſt had nothing of buſineſs, but complement, and four gold *Rings* with ſeveral *ſtones*; deſiring him rather to minde the myſterie, then value the worth of *the preſent*; wherein the *Round form* ſignified *Eternity*, their *Square* Number, *Conſtancy*, the green *Smaragd*, *Faith*, the clear *Saphir*, *Hope*, the red *Granat*, *Charity*, the bright *Topaz*, *good works*; How pretious theſe *ſtones* were in themſelves, is uncertain; moſt ſure it is they proved *Dear* to King *John*, who might beſhrow his own *fingers*, for ever wearing thoſe *Rings*, and, as my * Author ſaith, ſoon after, *gemmæ commutatæ in gemitus*. For in the ſecond Letter, the *Pope* recommended *Stephen Langton* to the *Kings* acceptance, cloſely couching threats in caſe he refuſed him.

1207. 10.

* *Mat. Paris* in *Anno* 1207. pag. 223.

King *John* returns, raiſing his voice to too high a note at firſt.

5. King *John* returned an anſwer full of *ſtomach* and *animoſity*, that this was an intolerable encroachment, on his *Crown* and *Dignity*, which he neither could nor would digeſt, to have a ſtranger, unknown unto him, bred in *forrein* parts, familiar with the *French King* his ſworn enemy, obtruded upon him for an *Arch-Biſhop*. He minded the *Pope* that he had plenty of *Prelates* in the Kingdome of *England*, ſufficiently provided in all kind of knowledge,

Anno Regis Joh. 10. Anno Dom. 1207.

ledge, and that he need not to go abroad to seek for judgement and justice, intimating an intended defection from *Rome*, in case he was wronged. Other passages were in his letter, which deserved memory, had they been as vigorously acted, as valiantly spoken. Whereas now, (because he foully failed at last) judicious ears hearken to his words no otherwise, then to the empty brags of impotent anger, and the vain evaporations of his discontentment. However, he began high, not onely banishing the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, for their contempt, out of his Kingdome, but also forbidding *Stephen Langton*, from once entring into *England*.

Three Bishops by command from the Pope Interdict the whole Kingdome.

6. Hereupon *Pope Innocent*, the third, employed three Bishops, *William* of *London*, *Eustace* of *Ely*, and *Mauger* of *Worcester*, to give the King a serious admonition, and upon his denial, or delaying, to receive *Stephen Langton*, for *Arch-Bishop*, to proceed to *Interdict* the Kingdome of all Ecclesiasticall *service*, saving *Baptisme* of Children, *Confession*, and the *Eucharist*, to the dying in case of necessity, which by them was performed accordingly. No sooner had they *Interdicted* the Kingdome; but with *Joceline* Bishop of *Bath*, and *Giles* of *Hereford*, they, as speedily, as secretly, got them out of the *Land*, like adventurous *Empiricks*, unwilling to wait the working of their desperate *Physick*: except any will compare them to fearfull *Boyes*, which at the first *tryall* set fire to their *squibs*, with their *faces backwards*, and make fast away from them: but the worst was, they must leave their lands, and considerable moveables in the kingdome behind them.

Englands sad case under Interdiction.

7. See now on a sudden the sad *face* of the *English Church*. A *face* without a *tongue*; no *singing of service*, no saying of *Masse*, no reading of *Prayers*; as for preaching of Sermons, the lazinesse, and ignorance of those times, had long before *interdicted* them: None need pity the *living*, (hearing the impatient complaints of *Lovers*, for whose *marriage* no *licence* could be procured) when he looks on the *dead*, [a] who were buried in *ditches*, like *dogs*, without any prayers said upon them. True, a well informed Christian knows full well, that a corps though cast in a *bogge*, shall not stick there at the day of *judgement*; thrown into a *wood*, shall then finde out the way; buried by the *high wayes side*, is in the ready *Road* to the Resurrection. In a word, that whersoever a *body* be put or plac'd, it will equally take the *Alarum* at the last *Trumpet*: Yet seeing these *People* beleeved that a *Grave* in consecrated *ground*, was a good step to *Heaven*, and were taught that prayers after their death were essentiall to their *Salvation*, it must needs put strange fears into the heads and hearts, both of such which deceased, and their friends which survived them. And although afterwards at the intreaty of *Stephen Langton*, the *Pope* indulged to *conventuall* [b] *Churches* to have *Service* once a *Week*: Yet *Parish* Churches, where the *peoples* need was as much, and *number* far more, of souls, as dear in Gods sight, were debar'd of that benefit.

[a] *Corpora defunctorum more Canum in Bivijs & fossatis sine orationibus & sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur.* Matt. Paris. pag. 226

[b] Antiq. Brit. in *Stepo Langton* pag. 159.

Two grand effects wrought by this Interdiction.

8. Some *Priests* were well pleased that the *Interdiction* for a time should continue, as which would render their persons and places in more reputation, and procure a higher valuation of *Holy mysteries*. Yea, this fasting would be wholesome to some souls, who afterwards would feed on *Divine Service* with greater *appetite*. Hereby two *Grand effects* were generally produc'd in the Kingdom. One, a terrible impression made in mens mindes of the *Popes Power*, which they had often heard of, and now saw and felt, whose long *arm* could reach from *Rome* all over *England*, and lock the doors of all *Churches* there; an *Emblem*, that in like manner, he had, or might have bolted the *Gates* of Heaven against them. The second, an Alienation of the peoples hearts from *King John*, all being ready to complain; *O cruell Tyrant over the souls of his Subjects, whose wilfulnesse depriveth them of the means of their salvation.*

King John's innocence & the Popes injustice in these proceedings.

9. However, if things be well weighed, King *John* will appear meerly passive in this matter, suffering unjustly, because he would not willingly part

with his undoubted right. Besides, suppose him guilty, what equity was it, that so many thousands in *England*, who in this particular case, might better answer to the name of *Innocent*, then his *Holinesse* himself, should be involved in his punishment: God indeed sometimes most justly punisheth *subjects*, for the defaults of their *Soveraignes*; as in the case of the *plague*, destroying the people for *Davids numbring* of them. But it appears in the [a] *Text*, that formerly they had been offenders, and guilty before God, as all men, at all times are. But seeing the *English* at this present, had not injured his Holinesse, by any personall offence against him, the Pope by Interdicting the whole Realme, discovered as much emptinesse of Charity, as plenitude of Power. But some will say, his bounty is to be praised, that he permitted the *people* some *Sacraments*, who might have denied them all, in rigour, and with as much right; yea, 'tis well he Interdicted not *Ireland* also, as a *Country* under King *Johns* Dominion deserving to smart, for the perversinesse of their Prince placed over it.

Anno Dom. 1207. Anno Regni Joh. 10.

[a] Compare the 2 *Sam.* 24. 1 with the 1 *Chron.* 21. 1

King *John* by name excommunicated.

10. But after the continuance of this Interdiction, a year and upwards, the horrour thereof began to abate: Use made ease, and the weight was the lighter, born by many shoulders. Yea, the Pope perceived that King *John* would never be weary with his single share, in a generall Burden, and therefore proceeded *Nominatim* to excommunicate him. For now his *Holinesse had his hand in*, having about this time excommunicated *Otho* the *German* Emperour; and if the *Imperiall Cedar*, had so lately been blasted with his Thunderbolts, no wonder if the *English Oak* felt the same fire. He also Assoiled all *English* subjects from their Allegiance to King *John*, and gave not onely Licence, but Incouragement to any Forreigners to invade the land, so that it should not onely be no *sinne* in them, but an expiating of all their other sinnes to conquer *England*. Thus the Pope gave them a Title, and let their own swords by Knight-service get them a Tenure.

1209. 10.

Yet is blessed with good successe under the Popes curse.

11. Five years did King *John* lie under this sentence of *Excommunication*, in which time we find him more fortunate in his Martiall Affairs, then either before or after. For he made a successefull voyage into *Ireland*, (as greedy a Grave for *English* Corps, as a bottomlesse Bag for their Coin) and was very triumphant in a *welsh* Expedition, and stood on honourable termes in all Forraine Relations. For as he kept *Ireland* under his *feet*, and *Wales* under his *elbow*; so he shak't *hands* in fast friendship with *Scotland*, and kept *France* at *arms* end, without giving hitherto any considerable Advantage against him. The worst was, not daring to repose trust in his Subjects, he was forced to entertain Forainers, which caused his constant anxiety; as those neither stand sure, nor go safe, who trust more to a staffe, then they lean on their legs. Besides, to pay these Mercenary Souldiers, he imposed unconscionable Taxes, both on the *English*, (Clergy especially) and Jews in the Kingdom. One Jew there was of [b] *Bristoll*, vehemently suspected for wealth, though there was no cleer Evidence thereof against him, of whom the King demanded ten thousand Marks of silver, and upon his refusall, commanded, that every day a Tooth, with intolerable torture should be drawn out of his head; which being done seven severall times, on the eight day he confessed his wealth, and payed the fine demanded; who yeelding sooner, had sav'd his teeth, or stubborn longer, had spar'd his money; now having both his Purse, and his Jaw empty by the Bargain. Condemn we here mans cruelty, and admire heavens justice; for all these summes extorted from the Jews, by temporall Kings, are but paying their Arrerages to God, for a debt they can never satisfie, namely the *crucifying* of *Christ*.

1210. 11.

[b] *Mat. Paris* in Anno 1210. pag. 209

The Prophesie of *Peter* of *Wakefield* against K. *John*.

12. About the same time, one *Peter* of *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire* a Hermit, prophesied that *John* should be King of *England*, no longer then next *Ascension-day*, after which solemn Festivall (on which Christ mounted on his glorious Throne, took possession of his heavenly Kingdom) this Opposer of Christ should no longer enjoy the *English Diadem*: And as some report, he foretold

1212. 13.

Anno Regis Joh. 13. Anno Dom. 1221.

foretold that none of King *Johns* linage ſhould after him be crowned in the Kingdom. The King called this *Prophet* an [a] *Idiot-Knave:* which deſcription of him implying a contradiction: the King thus reconciled, pardoning him as an *Idiot*, and puniſhing him as a *Knave*, with impriſonment in *Korf-Caſtle*. The fetters of the *prophet* gave wings to his propheſie, and whereas the Kings neglecting it, might have puft this vain Prediction into wind, men began now to ſuſpect it of ſome ſolidity, becauſe deſerving a wiſe Princes notice and diſpleaſure. Farre and neer it was diſperſed over the whole Kingdom, it being [b] generally obſerved, that the *Engliſh* nation are moſt ſuperſtitious in beleeving ſuch reports, which cauſeth them to be more common here then in other Countries. For as the Receiver makes the Thief, ſo popular credulity occaſioneth this Propheticall vanity, and Brokers would not ſet ſuch baſe ware to ſale, but becauſe they are ſure to light on chapmen.

a Fox Martyr. pag. 229.

b *Comineus* ſaith, that the Engliſh are never without ſome Propheſie on foot

14. 1213. King *Johns* ſubmiſſion to the Pope.

13. Leave we the perſon of this *Peter* in a dark Dungeon, and his credit as yet in the Twilight, betwixt *Prophet*, and *Impoſtor* to behold the miſerable condition of King *John*, perplexed with the daily preparation of the *French* Kings Invaſion of *England*, aſſiſted by many *Engliſh* Male-contents, and all the baniſh'd Biſhops. Good *Patriots*, who rather then the fire of their Revenge ſhould want fuel, would burn their own Countrey which bred them. Hereupon King *John* having his ſoul battered without, with forrain fears, and foundred within by the falſeneſſe of his Subjects, ſunk on a ſudden beneath himſelf, to an act of unworthy ſubmiſſion, and ſubjection to the Pope. For on *Aſcenſion Eve*, *May* 15. being in the town of *Dover*, (ſtanding as it were on *tip-toes*, on the utmoſt edge, brink, and labell of that Land, which now he was about to ſurrender) King *John* by an Inſtrument, or Charter, ſealed and ſolemnly delivered in the preſence of many *Prelates* and *Nobles*, to *Pandulphus* the Popes Legat, granted to God, and the Church of *Rome*, the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, and to Pope *Innocent* the third, and his Succeſſours the whole Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*. And took an Eſtate thereof back again, yeelding and paying yeerly to the Church of *Rome*, (over and above the *Peter-pence*) a thouſand Marks ſterling, *viz.* 700. for *England*, and 300. for *Ireland*. In the paſſing hereof, this ceremony is obſervable, that the Kings Inſtrument to the Pope was * ſealed with a ſeal of Gold, and the Popes to the King (which I have beheld and peruſed, remaining amongſt many rarities in the Earl of *Arundels* Library) was ſealed with a ſeal of Lead. Such bargains let them look for, who barter with his *Holineſſe*, alwayes to be loſers by the contract. *Thy ſilver* (ſaith the [c] Prophet) *is become droſs*: and here was the change of *Glaucus*, and *Diomedes* made, as in the ſequel of the Hiſtory will appear.

*Both Inſtruments for the preſent were but ſealed with Wax, and the next yeer ſolemnly emboſſed with mettall, in the preſence of *Nicholas* the Popes Legat.

c *Iſai.* 1. 22

14. Yet we find not that this *Fee-farme* of a thouſand Marks was ever paid, either by K. *John*, or by his Succeſſours, but that it is all runne on the ſcore, even unto this preſent day. Not that the Pope did remit it out of his free bounty, but for other Reaſons was rather contented to have them uſe his power therein. Perchance ſuſpecting the Engliſh Kings would refuſe to pay it, he accounted it more honour not to demand it, then to be denied it. Or it may be his *Holineſs* might conceive, that accepting of this money might colourably be extended to the cutting him off from all other profits he might gain in the kingdome. The truth is, he did ſcorn to take ſo poor a revenue *per annum* out of two kingdoms, but did rather endeavour to convert all the profits of both Lands, to his own uſe, as if he had been ſeiſed of all in *Demeſnes*.

The Rent never paid the Pope, nor demanded by him.

15. At the ſame time, King *John* on his knees ſurrendred the Crown of *England* into the hands of *Pandulphus*, and alſo preſented him with ſome money, as the earneſt of His ſubjection, which the proud Prelate trampled under his [d] feet. A geſture applauded by ſome, as ſhewing how much his Holineſſe (whom he perſonated) ſlighted worldly wealth, caring as little for King *Johns* coin, as his Predeceſſour Saint [e] *Peter* did for the money of

The proud carriage of *Pandulphus* to the King.

d *Matt. Pariſ.* pag. 237.

e Acts 8. 20.

Simon Magus. Others, and especially *H.* Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin* then preſent, were both grieved, and angry thereat, as an intolerable affront to the King: and there wanted not thoſe, who condemn'd his pride and hypocriſie, knowing *Pandulphus* to be a moſt greedy griper (as appeared by his unconſcionable oppreſſion, in the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*, which was afterwards beſtowed upon him.) And perchance he trampled on it, not as being money, but becauſe no greater ſumme thereof. Five dayes (namely *Aſcenſion-day*, and four dayes after) *Pandulphus* kept the Crown in his poſſeſſion, and then reſtored it to King *John*, again. A long eclipſe of Royall luſtre; and ſtrange it is, that no bold Monk in his blundring Chronicles, did not adventure to place King *Innocent*, with his five dayes reigne, in the Catalogue of Engliſh Kings, ſeeing they have written what amounts to as much in this matter. Anno Dom. 1213. Anno Regni Joh. 14.

Peter the prophet hanged, whether unjuſtly, diſputed.

16. Now all the diſpute was, whether *Peter* of *Wakefield* had acquitted himſelf a true prophet, or no: The Romiz'd faction were zealous in his behalf; *John* after that day not being King in the ſame ſenſe, and Soveraignty as before; not free, but feodary; not abſolute, but dependent on the Pope, whoſe Legate poſſeſs'd the Crown for the time being, ſo that his prediction was true, in that lawfull latitude juſtly allowed to all Propheſies. Others, becauſe the King was neither naturally, nor civilly dead, condemn'd him of forgery; for which, by the Kings command, he was dragg'd at the horſe-tail from *Corf-Caſtle*, and with his ſonne [a] hang'd in the Town of *Wareham*. A puniſhment not undeſerved, if he foretold (as ſome report) that none of the line, or linage of King *John*, ſhould after be crowned in *England*; of whoſe off-ſpring ſome ſhall flouriſh, in free and full power on the Engliſh Throne, when the *Chair of Peſtilence* ſhall be burnt to aſhes: and neither Triple-Crown left at *Rome* to be worne, nor any head there, which ſhall dare to wear it.

[a] *Mat. Paris Ut prius.*

The Interdiction of *England* relaxed. 17. Next year the Interdiction was taken off of the Kingdom, and a generall Jubilee of joy all over the Land. Baniſh'd Biſhops being reſtored to their Sees; Service, and Sacraments being adminiſtred in the Church as before. But, ſmall reaſon had King *John* to rejoyce, being come out of *Gods Bleſſing*, (of whom, before he immediately held the Crown) into the *warm Sunne*, or rather, *ſcorching-heat* of the Popes protection, which proved little beneficiall unto him. 1214. 15.

The Popes Legate arbitrates the arrears betwixt the King and Clergy. 18. A brawl happened betwixt him, and the baniſhed Biſhops (now returned home) about ſatisfaction for their Arrears, and reparation of their damages, during the Interdiction; all which terme the King had retained their revenues in his hands. To moderate this matter, *Nicolas*, a *Tuſculane Cardinal* and Legat, was imployed by the Pope: who after many meetings, and Synods to audit their Accounts, reduced all at laſt to the groſs ſumme of fourty thouſand Marks, the reſtoring whereof by the King unto them, was thus divided into three payments.

1. Twelve thouſand Marks *Pandulphus* carried over with him into *France*, and delivered them to the Biſhops, before their return.
2. Fifteen thouſand were paid down at the late meeting in *Reading*.
3. For the thirteen thouſand remaining, they had the Kings Oath, Bond, and other Sureties.

But then in came the whole crie of the reſt of the Clergy, who ſtayed all the while in the Land, bringing in the Bills of their ſeverall ſufferings, and loſſes ſuſtained, occaſioned by the Interdiction. Yea, ſome had ſo much avarice, and little conſcience, they could have been contented, the Interdiction had ſtill remained, untill all the accidentall damages were repaired. But Cardinall *Nicolas* averred them to amount to an incredible ſumme, impoſſible to bee paid, and unreaſonable to be demanded; adding withall, that in generall grievances, private men may be glad, if the main be made good unto them, nor deſcending to petty particulars, which are to be caſt out of courſe, as inconſiderable in a common calamity. Hereupon, and on ſome other occaſi-

ons,

Anno Regis Joh. 15. Anno Dom. 1214.

ons, much grudging, and juſtling there was, betwixt *Stephen*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Legat, as one in his judgement, and carriage, too propitious, and partiall to the Kings cauſe.

19. The remnant of this Kings Reign, afforded little Eccleſiaſtical Story, but what is ſo complicated with the Intereſt of State, that it is more proper for the Chronicles of the *Common-wealth*. But this is the brief thereof. The *Barons* of *England* demanded of King *John*, to deſiſt from that arbitrary and tyrannical power he exerciſed; and to reſtore King *Edwards* Laws, which his great Grand-father King *Henrie* the firſt had confirmed to the Church and State, for the general good of his Subjects: yea, and which he himſelf, when lately abſolved from the ſentence of Excommunication by *Stephen* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie*, had ſolemnly promiſed to obſerve. But King *John*, though at the firſt he condeſcended to their requeſts, afterwards repented of his promiſe, and refuſed the performance thereof. Hereupon the Barons took up Armes againſt him, and called in *Lewis* Prince of *France*, ſon to *Philip Auguſtus*, to their aſſiſtance, promiſing him the Crown of *England* for his reward.

The Barons rebel againſt King *John*.

16. 1215.

20. Yet the Pope endeavoured what lay in his power, to diſſwade Prince *Lewis* from this deſign, to which at firſt he encouraged him, and now forbad him in vain. For, where a Crown is the *Game* hunted after, ſuch hounds are eaſier laid on, then either rated, or hollowed off. Yea, ambition had brought this Prince into this Dilemma; that, if he invaded *England*, he was accurſed by the Pope; if he invaded it not, forſworn of himſelf, having promiſed upon oath, by ſuch a time to be at *London*. Over comes *Lewis* into *England*, and there hath the principal learning of the Land, the Clergie; the ſtrength thereof, the Barons; the wealth of the ſame, the Londoners, to joyn with him: Who but ill requited King *John*, for his late bounty to their City, in firſt giving them a [a] Mayor for their governour. *Gualo* the Popes new Legat, ſent on purpoſe, beſtirr'd himſelf with Book, Bell, and Candle; Excommunicating the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the Nobility oppoſing King *John*, now in protection of his Holineſs. But the commonneſs of theſe curſes, cauſed them to be contemned; ſo that they were a fright to few, a mock to many, and an hurt to none.

Lewis Prince of *France* invited by the Barons to invade *England*.

a Granted to the City, *Anno Dom.* 1209. *Grafton*, fol. 59.

21. King *John* thus diſtreſſed, ſent a baſe, degenerous, and unchriſtian-like embaſſage, to *Admiralius Murmelius* a Mahometan King of *Morocco*, then very puiſſant, and poſſeſſing a great part of *Spain*: offering him, on condition he would ſend him ſuccour, to hold the Kingdome of *England* as a vaſſal from him, and to receive the Law [b] of *Mahomet*. The *Moor*, marvellouſly offended with his offer, told the Embaſſadors, that he lately had read *Pauls* Epiſtles, which for the matter liked him very well, ſave onely that *Paul* once renounced that faith wherein he was born, and the Jewiſh profeſſion. Wherefore he neglected King *John*, as devoid both of piety and policie, who would love his liberty, and diſclaim his Religion. A ſtrange tender, if true. Here, whileſt ſome alledg in behalf of King *John*, that caſes of extremity excuſe counſels of extremity (when liberty is not left to chuſe what is beſt, but to ſnatch what is next, neglecting future ſafety for preſent ſubſiſtence) we onely liſten to the ſaying of *Solomon* [c] *Oppreſſion maketh a wiſe man mad*. In a fit of which fury, oppreſſed on all ſides with enemies, King *John*, ſcarce *compos ſui*, may be preſumed to have pitched on this project.

An unworthy Embaſſie of King *John* to the King of *Morocco*.

b *Mat. Paris* pag. 245. placeth this two years ſooner, viz. *An.* 1213.

c *Eccleſ.* 7. 7.

17. 1216.

22. King *John* having thus tried *Turk* and *Pope* (and both with bad ſucceſs) ſought at laſt to eſcape thoſe his enemies, whom he could not reſiſt, by a far, and faſt march into the North-eaſtern Counties. Where turning miſchievous inſtead of valiant, he cruelly burnt all the ſtacks of Corn, of ſuch as he conceived diſaffected unto him: doing therein moſt ſpight to the rich for the preſent, but in fine more ſpoil to the poor, the prices of grain falling heavy on thoſe, who were leaſt able to bear them. Coming to *Lin*, he rewarded the fidelity of that Town unto him, with beſtowing on that Corporation

The lamentable death of King *John*.

Anno Dom. 1216. Anno Regni Joh. 18.

tion *his own* [a] *ſword*; which had he himſelf but known how well to manage, he had not ſo ſoon been brought into ſo ſad a condition. He gave alſo to the ſame place a faire ſilver Cup all gilded. But few dayes after a worſe Cup was preſented to King *John*, at *Swinſhed Abbey* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, by one *Simon* [b] a *Monk*, of poiſoned wine, whereof the King died. A murther ſo horrid that it concerned all Monks (who in that age had the Monopoly of writing Hiſtories) to conceal it, and therefore give out ſundry other cauſes of his death [c] Some report him heart-broken with grief, for the loſs of his baggage, and treaſure drowned in the paſſage over the waſhes: it being juſt with God, that he who had plagued others with fire, ſhould be puniſhed by water, a contrary, but as cruel an element. [d] Others aſcribe his death to a looſeneſs, and ſcouring with bloud; others to a cold ſweat; others to a burning heat, all effects not inconſiſtent with poyſon: ſo that they in ſome manner may ſeem to ſet down the ſymptomes, and ſuppreſs his diſeaſe.

[a] *Cand. Brit.* in *Norfolke*.

[b] *Wil. Caxton* in his Chron. called *Fructus temp.* lib. 7.

[c] *Mat Paris* pag. 287.

[d] Compare Mr *Fox*, Martyr. pag. 224. with *Holynſhed* pag. 194.

King *Johns* character delivered in the dark.

23. It is hard to give the true character of this Kings conditions. For, we onely behold him through ſuch light, as the Friers his foes ſhow him in: who ſo hold the candle, that with the ſhaddow thereof they darken his virtues, and preſent onely his vices. Yea, and as if they had alſo poiſoned his memory, they cauſe his faults to ſwell to a prodigious greatneſs, making him with their pens more black in conditions, then the *Morocco-King* (whoſe aid he requeſted) could be in complexion. A murtherer of his Nephew *Arthur*; a defiler of the wives and daughters of his Nobles; ſacrilegious in the Church; profane in his diſcourſe; wilful in his private reſolutions; various in his publick promiſes; falſe in his faith to men, and wavering in his Religion to God. The favourableſt expreſſion of him falls from the pen of *Roger Hoveden*:

Princeps quidem magnus erat, ſed minùs felix,
Atq; ut Marius, utramque fortunam expertus.

Perchance he had been eſteemed more pious, if more proſperous; it being an uſual (though uncharitable) error, to account miſchances to be miſdeeds. But we leave him quietly buried in *Worceſter Church*, and proceed in our ſtorie.

Henry the third under Tutors and Governors.

24. *Henry*, the third of that name, his Son, ſucceeded him, being but ten years old, and was Crowned at *Gloceſter*, by a moiety of the Nobility and Clergie, the reſt ſiding with the French *Lewis*. Now, what came not ſo well from the mouth of *Abijah* the ſon, concerning his father *Reboboam*, poſterity may, no leſs truly, and more properly pronounce of this *Henry*, even when a man, [e] *He was but a childe, and tender-hearted*. But, what ſtrength was wanting in the *Ivie* it ſelf, was ſupplied by the *Oaks*, his ſupporters, his Tutors and Governours; firſt, *William Mareſhall*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and after his death, *Peter*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. But, of theſe two Protectors ſucceſſively, a ſword-man, and a Church-man; the latter left the deeper impreſſion on this our King *Henry*, appearing more Religious then reſolute; devout then valiant. His Reign was not onely long for continuance, fifty ſix years, but alſo thick for remarkable mutations happening therein.

[e] 2 *Chro.* 16. 7.

Hen. 3. Obit. 2.

By what means King *Henry* ſo quickly recovered his Kingdom:

25. Within little more then a twelvemonth, he recovered the entire poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, many things concurring to expedite ſo great an alteration. Firſt, the inſolency of the French, diſobliging the Engliſh by their cruelty, and wantonneſs. Secondly, the inconſtancy of the Engliſh (if ſtarting loyalties return to its lawful Soveraign may be ſo termed) who, as for their own turns they call'd in *Lewis*, ſo for their turns they caſt him out. Thirdly, the innocence of Prince *Henry*, whoſe harmleſs age, as it attracted love to him on his own account, ſo he ſeemed alſo hereditarily to ſucceed to ſome pitty, as the Son of a ſuffering Father. Fourthly, the wiſdom and valor; counſel

Anno Regis Hen. 3. 1. Anno Dom. 1217.

counſel and courage of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Protector; who, having got the French *Lewis* out of his covert of the City of *London*, into the champion field, ſo maul'd him at the fatal battel of *Lincoln*, that ſoon after the ſaid *Lewis* was fain, by the colour of a compoſition, to qualifie his retreat (not to ſay his flight) into the honour of a departure. Laſtly, and chiefly, the Mercy of God to an injured Orphan, and his Juſtice that detained right, though late, yet at laſt, ſhould return to its proper owner.

Our principal deſign in writing this Kings life.

26. But it were not onely uncivil, but injurious for us to meddle with theſe matters, proper to the pens of the civil Hiſtorians. We ſhall therefore confine our ſelves principally to take notice in this Kings Reign, as of the unconſcionable extortions of the Court of *Rome*, on the one ſide, to the detriment of the King and Kingdom: ſo of the defence which the King, as well as he could, made againſt it. Defence, which, though too faint and feeble, fully to *recover his right*, from ſo potent oppreſſion; yet did this good, to *continue his claim*, and preſerve the title of his priviledges, until his Son, and Succeſſors, in after-ages, could more effectually reſcue the rights of their Crown, from Papal uſurpation.

Occaſions of the Popes intolerable extortions.

27. Indeed at this time many things imboldened the Pope (not over-baſhful of himſelf) to be the more buſie in the collecting of money. Firſt, the troubleſomneſs of the times, and beſt fiſhing for him in ſuch waters. Secondly, the ignorance of moſt, and the obnoxiouſneſs of ſome of the Engliſh Clergie. Now, ſuch as had weak heads, muſt finde ſtrong backs; and thoſe that led their lives looſe, durſt not carry their purſes tied, or grudg to pay dear for a connivence at their viciouſneſs. Thirdly, the minority of King *Henry*, and (which was worſe) his *non-age* after his *full-age*; ſuch was his weakneſs of ſpirit, and lowneſs of reſolution. Laſtly, the Pope conceiving that this King got his Crown under the countenance of his excommunicating his enemies, thought that either King *Henrie*'s weakneſs could not ſee, or his goodneſs would winke at his intolerable extortions; which, how great ſoever, were but a large ſhiver of that loaf, which he had given into the Kings hand. Preſuming on the premiſſes, *Gualo* the Popes Legat, by his Inquiſitors throughout *England*, collected a vaſt ſumme of money of the Clergie, for their miſdemenours; *Hugo* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, paying no leſs for his ſhare, then a thouſand [a] marks ſterling to the Pope, and an hundred to this his Legat. Yet, when this *Gualo* departed, ſuch as hated his dwelling here, grieved at his going hence, becauſe fearing a worſe in his room, chuſing rather to be ſuck'd by full, then freſh flies; hoping that thoſe already *gorg'd*, would be afterwards leſs greedy.

[a] *Mat. Paris*, pag. 299.

A new deſign.

28. And being now to give the Reader a *ſhort* account of the *long* Reign of this *King*; I ſhall alter my proceedings, embracing a new courſe which hitherto I have not, nor hereafter ſhall venture upon. Wherein I hope the variation may be not onely pleaſant, but profitable to the Reader, as ſcientifical and ſatisfactory in it ſelf; namely, I will for the preſent leave off conſulting with the large and numerous Printed or Manuſcript Authors of that Age, and betake my ſelf only to the *Tower-Records*, all authentically atteſted under the hands of *William Ryley Norroy*, keeper of that pretious Treaſury.

Good Text, what ere the Comments.

29. When I have firſt exemplified them, I ſhall proceed to make ſuch obſervations upon them, as, according to my weakneſs, I conceive of greateſt concernment; being confident that few conſiderables in that Age (which was the *criſis* of Regal and Papal power in this Land) will eſcape our diſcovery herein.

4. 1220. Serenity in the State.

30. Onely I deſire a pardon for the premiſing of this Touch of *State-matters*. At this inſtant the Common-wealth had a great *ſerenity*, as lately cleared from ſuch active ſpirits, who nick-named the *calme* and *quiet* of *Peace*, a *ſloth* of Government. Such *Falcatius de Brent*, and

and others, who had merited much in setting this *Henry* the third on the Throne; and it is dangerous when *Subjects* conferr too great benefits on their *Sovereigns*; for afterwards their mindes are onely made capable of receiving more *reward*, not doing more *duty*. These were offended, when such Lands and Castles, which by the *heat of war* had unjustly been given them, by *Peace* were justly took away from them, finding such uprightness in the King, that his *Power of Protection*, would not be made a *wrong doer*. But now the *old stock* of such male-contents, being either worne out with age, or ordered otherwise into Obedience, all things were in an universal tranquillity, within the first seven years of this Kings Reign.

Anno Dom. 1214 | Anno Regni Hen. 3. 7.

SECT.

Anno Regis | Anno Domi.

THOMÆ HANSON,

Amico meo.

DIſplicet mihi modernus Scribendi Mos, quo *Monumenta* indies exarantur. *Literæ* enim ſunt *fugaces*, ut quæ non *ſtabili manu* penitus Membranis infiguntur, ſed *currente Calamo* ſummam earum Cuticulam vix leviter præſtringunt. Hæ cum ſæculum unum & alterum duraverint, vel *Linceis* oculis lectu erunt perdifficiles.

Haud ita olim *Archiva*, in *Turre Londinenſi*, *Rotulis*, *Scaccario*, &c. depoſita; in quibus ingens *Scribarum* cura, juſta *Membranarum* firmitas, *Atramentum* vere *Æthiopicum*, integra *Literarum* lineamenta, ut *Calamus Præli Æmulus* videatur. Ita adhuc vigent omnia, in illis quæ *trecentis* ab hinc *Annis* notata, ut Is, cui *Characteris Antiquitas* minus cognita, *nuperrime* deſcripta judicaret.

Ex his nonnulla decerpſi, ad Rem noſtram facientia, & ea *Tibi* dedicanda curavi, quem omnes norunt *Antiquitatis Caniciem* venerari: Quo, in *Ducatus Lancaſtrenſis Chartulis* cuſtodiendis, nemo *fidelior*, perlegendis, *oculatior*, communicandis, *candidior*.

Henrici 3. 7 — 1214

HEre we begin with the Kings Precept to the Sheriff of *Buckinghamſhire*, conſiderable for the Rarity thereof, though otherwiſe but a matter of private concernment.

A remarkable writ of the King to the Sheriff of *Buckinghamshire*.

Vic. Bucks. *Precipimus tibi quod* Emme de Pinkney *ux.* Laur. Pinkney, *qui excommunicatus eſt, eo quod prædict.* Emmam *affectione maritali non tractavit, eid.* Emme *rationabil. Eſtoverz, invenias, donec idem* Laur. *Vir ſuus eam tanquam ſuam tractaverit.*

To the high *Sheriff* of *Buckinghamſhire*. We command you concerning *Emme de Pinkney*, Wife of *Laurence Pinkney*, who is excommunicated, becauſe he did not uſe the foreſaid *Emme* with Affection befitting a Huſband, that you find for the ſaid *Emme Eſtover* in *reaſonable proportion*, untill the ſaid *Laurence* her *Husband* ſhall uſe her as becometh his *Wife*.

Of this *Laurence Pinkney* I can ſay nothing: onely I find his Family ancient, and

Anno Dom. | Anno Regis Henrici 3.

Barons of [a] *Weedon* in *Northamptonshire*. It seemeth strange he should be excommunicated for not loving usage of his Wife, no Incontinencie appearing (proved against him:) except his carriage was Cruell in a high degree. By *Estover*, in our *Forrest Towns*, we only understand, *A certain allowance of Wood*; though the extent of the word be far larger, importing *Nourishment*, or *maintenance in Meat and Cloth*, as a learned [b] *Lawyer* hath observed. This it seems being denied by her husband, the King enjoyneth the *Sheriff*, that he should appoint the said *Emme Pinkney* reasonable *Alimony*, in proportion, no doubt, to her Portion and her Husbands estate. 1214 7

a Camden. *Brit. in* Northamptonshire.

b Bracton *lib.* 3. *Tract.* 2. *c.* 18. *num.* 1.

2. Next we take notice of a Writing which the King sent over to the *Archbishop* of *Dublin*, and which deserveth the Readers serious perusall. 1215 8

A remarkable prohibition of *Papal* appeales.

REx [c] *Dublin.* Archiepiscopo, Justiciario *Hiberniæ*, Salutem. Ad ea que vobis nuper nostris dedimus in Mandatis, ut nobis rescriberetis quatenus fuisset processum in Causa *Nicolai de Felda*, qui contra *Abbatem* & *Canonicos* S^ti. *Thomæ Dublinensis* in Curia nostra, coram *Justiciariis* nostris, petiit duas Carrucatas Terræ cum pertinentiis in Kelredhery per assisam de morte Antecessoris, cui etiam coram eisdem *Justiciariis* objecta fuit *Bastardia*, propter quod ab ipsis *Justiciariis* nostris ad *vos* fuit transmissus, ut in *Foro Ecclesiastico* de ejus *Bastardia* sive *Legitimitate* agnosceretis, nobis per litteras vestras significastis; quod cum in *Foro Civili* Terram predictam peteret, per litteras nostras de morte *Antecessoris* versus memoratos *Abbatem* & *Canonicos* objecta ei fuit nota *Bastardie*, quare in foro eodem tunc non fuit ulterius processum. Memoratus etiam *Nicolaus* de mandato *Justiciariorum* nostrorum in *Foro Ecclesiastico* corã nobis volens probare se esse Legitimum, testes produxit: & publicatis attestationibus suis, post diuturn. altercationes & disputationes tam ex parte *Abbatis*, quam ipsius *Nicolai*, cum ad calculum diffinitive [d] Sententie procedere velletis, comparuerunt *due* Puelle minoris etatis, filie *Ricardi de la* Feld, patris predicti *Nicolai*, & appellaverunt ne ad sententiam ferendam procederetis, quia hoc in manifestum earum verteretur prejudicium: Eo quod alias precluderetur eis via petendi hereditatem petitam, nec possit eis subveniri per restitutionem in integrum. Unde de consilio vestrorum prudentum, ut dicitis, Appellationi deferentes causam, secundum quod coram nobis agitata est, DOMINO PAPE transmisistis instructam. De quo plurimum admirantes, non immerito movemur, cum de *Legitimitate* predicti *Nicolai* per testium productiones, & attestationum publicationes, plene nobis constet; vos propter appellationem Puellarum predictarum, contra quas non agebatur, vel etiam de quibus nulla fiebat mentio in assisa memorata, nec fuerunt alique partes illarum in causa predicta, sententiam diffinitivam pro eo distuliistis pronunciare, & male quasi nostrum declinantes examen, & volentes ut quod per nostram determinandum esset jurisdictio-

c *Claus.* 8. Henr. 3. *memb.* 24. *in dorso.*

d Note diphthongs *in old Records.*

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dictionem, & dignitatem, ad alienam transferretur dignitatem; quod valde pernicioſum eſſet exemplo. Cum etiam ſi adeptus eſſet prædictus *Nicholaus* poſſeſſionem terræ prædictæ, per aſſiſam prædictam, beneficium Peticionis Hæreditatis prædictis puellis plane ſuppeteret in Curia noſtra, per Breve de Recto; maxime cum per litteras de morte Anteceſſoris agatur de poſſeſſione, & non de proprietate, & ex officio veſtro in caſu propoſito nihil aliud ad vos pertinebat, niſi tantũ de ipſius *Nicholai* Legitimitate probationes admittere, & ipſum cum litteris veſtris Teſtimonialibus ad *Iuſticiarios* noſtros remittere. De conſilio igitur Magnatum & fidelium nobis aſſiſtentium, vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatenus non obſtante appellatione præmiſſa, non differatis pro eo ſententiare, ipſum ad *Iuſticiarios* noſtros remittentes, cum litteris veſtris teſtimonialibus, ut eis de loquela poſtmodum agitata, poſtmodum poſſint ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem terræ noſtræ *Hiberniæ* Juſticiæ plenitudinem exhibere. Teſte Rege apud *Gloceſter* 19. die *Novembris*.

3. The ſumme of this Inſtrument is this. One *Nicholas de Feld* ſueing for a portion of ground detained from him by the *Abbot* of S^t. *Thomas* in *Dublin*, (founded and plentifully endowed in memory of *Thomas Becket*) had *Baſtardy* objected againſt him. The clearing hereof was by the Kings Iudges remitted to the Courts Eccleſiaſticall, where the ſaid *Nicholas* produced effectuall proofs for his Legitimation. But upon the appeal of two minor-daughters of the Father of the ſaid *Nicholas*, who never before appeared, and who (if wronged) had their remedy at *Common-Law*, *by a VVrit of Right*, the matter was by the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin* transferred to the Court of *Rome*.

The effect of the Inſtrument.

4. The King ſaith in this his Letter, that he did much admire thereat, and (though all Intereſts expreſſe themſelves to their own advantage) intimates the Act not uſuall. And whereas he ſaith, *that the example would be pernicious*; it ſeems, if this were a leading caſe, the Kings deſire was it ſhould have none to follow it, peremptorily injoyning the Arch-biſhop (notwithſtanding the aforeſaid Appeal to the *Pope*) to proceed to give Sentence on the behalf of the ſaid *Nicholas*; & not to derive the Kings undoubted right to a forreign Power.

Appeale to the Pope prohibited.

5. Indeed the Kings of *England* were ſo *Creſt-fallen*, or rather *Crown-fallen* in this Age, that the forbidding of ſuch an Appeal, appeareth in him a *daring deed*. *Eſt aliquid prodire tenus*; *Eſſayes* in ſuch nature were remarkable, conſidering the inundation of the Papall Power. Green Leaves in the depth of *VVinter*, may be more then full Flowers from the ſame root in the Spring. It ſeems ſome Royall *Sap* ſtill remained in the *Engliſh* Sceptre, that it durſt oppoſe the *Pope* in ſo high a degree.

The time makes it the more remarkable.

19 | 1235

6. In this year 1235. the CAURSINES firſt came into *England*, proving the *Peſts of the Land*, and Bane of the people therein. Theſe were *Italians* by *Birth*, terming themſelves the *Pope's Merchants*, driving no other *Trade* then *Letting* out *money*, great *Banks* whereof they brought over into *England*; differing little from the *Iews*, ſave that they were more mercileſs to their *Debtours*. Now becauſe the *Pope's Legate* was all for *ready money*, when any *Tax* by *Levy*, *Commutation* of *Vows*, *Tenths*, *Diſpenſations*, &c. were due to the *Pope*, from *Prelate*, *Convents*, *Prieſts*, or *Lay perſons*, theſe CAURSINES inſtantly furniſhed them with *preſent Coin* upon their ſolemn *Bonds* and *Obligations*: one form whereof we have inſerted.

Caurſines what they were.

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To all that ſhall ſee the preſent Writing, *Thomas* the *Prior* & the *Convent* of *Barnwell* wiſh health in the *Lord*. Know that we have borrowed and received at *London*, for our ſelves, profitably to be expended for the *Affaires* of our *Church*, from *Franciſco* and *Gregorio*, for them and their Partners, *Citizens* and *Merchants* of *Millain*, a *hundred* and *four Marks* of *lawfull Money Sterling*, *thirteen ſhillings four pence ſterling* being counted to every *Mark*. Which ſaid *one hundred* and *four Marks* we promiſe to pay back on the *Feaſt* of S^t. *Peter ad Vincula*, being the firſt day of *Auguſt*, at the *New Temple* in *London*, in the year 1235. And if the ſaid *money* be not throughly paid, at the time and place aforeſaid, we bind our ſelves to pay to the foreſaid *Merchants*, or any one of them, or their certain *Atturney*, for every ten *Marks*, forborn two months, one *Mark* of *money* for recompence of the *Damages*, which the foreſaid *Merchants* may incur by the not-payment of the *money* unto them, ſo that both *Principall*, *Damages*, and *Expences*, as above expreſſed, with the *Expences* of one *Merchant* with his *Horſe* and *Man*, untill ſuch time as the aforeſaid *money* be fully ſatisfied. For *Payment* of *Principal*, *Intereſt*, *Damages* and *Expences*, we oblige our ſelves, and our *Church* and *Succeſſours*, and all our *Goods*, and the *Goods* of our *Church*, *moveable* or *immoveable*, *Eccleſiaſticall*, or *Temporall*, which we have, or ſhall have, whereſoever they ſhall be found, to the foreſaid *Merchants*, and their *Heirs*; and do recognize and acknowledge that we poſſeſſe and hold the ſame *Goods* from the ſaid *Merchants* by way of *Courteſy*, untill the *Premiſes* be fully ſatisfied. And we renounce for our ſelves, and *Succeſſours*, all help of CANON and CIVILL LAW, all *Priviledges*, and *Clark-ſhip*, the *Epiſtle* of S^t. *Adrian*, all *Cuſtomes*, *Statutes*, *Lectures*, *Indulgences*, *Priviledges*, obtained for the *King* of *England*, from the *See Apoſtolick*: as alſo we renounce the *Beneſit* of all *Appeales*, or *Inhibition* from the *King* of *England*, with all other *Exceptions real* or *Perſonal*, which may be objected againſt the *Validity* of this *Inſtrument*. All theſe things we promiſe faithfully to obſerve: In witneſſe whereof we have ſet to the *Seal* of our *Convent*. Dated at *London*, *die quinto Elphegi*, in the year of *Grace* 1235.

Sure bind, ſure *find*. Here were *Cords* enough to hold *Sampſon* himſelf, an order taken they ſhould never be *cut* or *unti'd*, the *Debtour* depriving himſelf of any relief, ſave by full payment.

Neceſſary obſervations.

7. It will not be amiſſe, to make ſome brief Notes on the former *Obligation*; it being better to *write on it*, then to be *written in it*, as the *Debtour* concerned therein.

One hundred and four Marks] the od four ſeem added for Intereſt.

Feaſt of S^t. Peter ad Vincula] The *Popiſh* Tradition ſaith that *Eudoxia* the *Empreſs*, Wife to *Theodoſius the Younger*, brought *two great Chains*, wherewith *Herod* impriſoned S^t. *Peter*, from *Ieruſalem* to *Rome*, where they are reported ſeen at this day, and a *Solemn Feſtivall* kept on the firſt of *Auguſt* (the *quarter-pay-day* of *Romes Revenues*) in Memoriall thereof. But the *Name* of LAMMAS hath put out S^t. *Peter's Chains* in our *Engliſh Almanack*.

New Temple at London] in *Fleet-ſtreet*, founded by the *Knights Templers*, and dedicated by *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Ieruſalem* 1185. Called *New* in relation to *antient Temple*, (leſſe and leſſe convenient) they had formerly in *Oldburn*.

And our certain Atturney;] *Nuncius* in the *Latine*, being *one* imployed to ſolicite their Suit.

All the Goods of our Church moveable and immoveable] Hence oftentimes they were forced to ſell their *Chalices* and *Altar-plate*, to pay the *Bond*, and ſecure the reſt of their *Goods*, for theſe *Creditours*.

CANON

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CANON and CIVILL LAW] *Common Law* not mentioned herein, with which theſe CAURSINES, being *Forrainers*, would have nothing to do.

Epiſtle of S^t. Adrian] This ſeems to be ſome *Indulgence* granted by *Pope Adrian*, the *fourth* perchance; whereby *Churches indicted* found ſome *favour* againſt their *Creditours*.

Die quinto Elphegi] I am not *Datary* enough to underſtand this. I know *Elphegus* to be Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Martyr*, and his day kept the *nineteenth* of *April*: ſo that the *money* was borrowed but for *three moneths*; ſo ſoon did the *Payment*, or *heavy Forfeiture* in *default* thereof, return.

8. Theſe CAURSINES were generally hated for their *Extorſions*. Some will have them called CAURSINES *quaſi* CAUSA URSINI, ſo *Beariſh* and cruell in their cauſes: others, CAURSINI *quaſi* CORRASINI, from ſcraping all together. But theſe are but *barbarous Alluſions*, though beſt becoming ſuch baſe practiſes. *Caurſines* whence ſo called.

9. Mean time the CAURSINES cared not what they were called, being *a-kin* to the *cunning Creature*, which faireth *beſt* when *curſed*, and were indeed *Lords* of the *Land* according to *Scripture rule*, *the Borrower is ſervant to the Lender*. Many of the *Laity*, *more* of the *Clergy* and *Convents*, and the *King himſelf*, being deeply indebted unto them. Indeed *Roger Black* that *Valiant*, *Learned*, and *Pious Biſhop* of *London*, once *excommunicated* theſe CAURSINES for their *Oppreſſion*: but they *appealing* to the Pope (their *good friend*,) forced him, after much moleſtation, to deſiſt. Foxes hap and happineſſe.

10. Theſe CAURSINES were more commonly known by the *Name* of LOMBARDS, from *Lombardy* the place of their *Nativity*, in *Italy*. And although they deſerted *England* on the *decaying* of the Pope's *power* and *profit* therein; yet a *double memoriall* remaineth of them. *One* of their *Habitation*, in *Lumbard-ſtreet* in *London*: the *other* of their *Imployment*, A LOMBARD unto this day ſignifying a *Bank* for *Vſury*, or *Pawns*, ſtill continued in the *Low-Countries* and elſewhere. *Caurſines* and *Lombards* the ſame.

11. Mean time one may lawfully ſmile at the Pope's *Hypocriſy*, forbidding *Vſury* as a ſin ſo deteſtable under ſuch heavy penalties in his *Canon Law*, whilſt his own *Inſtruments* were the moſt *unconſtionable* Practiſers thereof without any *controll*. Deep Hypocriſy.

22 | 1238 12. *Otho*, *Cardinal*, *Deacon* of S^t. *Nicholas*, was ſent the Pope's *Legate* into *England*, and going to [a] *Oxford*, took up his *Lodging* in the *Abbey* of *Oſney*. To him the *Scholars* in *Oxford* ſent a *Preſent* of *Victuals* before *dinner*; and after *dinner*, came to tender their attendance unto him. The *Porter* being an *Italian*, demanded their buſineſs: who anſwered him, that they came to wait on the *Lord Legate*; promiſing themſelves a courteous *Reception*, having read in [b] *Scripture*, *A man's gift maketh room for him*: though here contrary to expectation they were not received. Call it not *Clowniſhneſs* in the Porter (becauſe bred in the *Court* of *Rome*;) but *carefulneſſe* for the *ſafety* of his *Maſter*. The Preſent of the Oxford Scholars to the Legate, a M. Paris in Anno 1238. Ran. Ciſtrenſis, *l. ult. c.* 34. & T. Walſingham in Hypodigm. Neuſtria. [b] Prov. 18. 16. Ill requited.

13. But whilſt the *Porter* held the *Doore* in a *dubious poſture*, betwixt *open* and *ſhut*, the *Scholars* forced their entrance. In this juncture of time, it unluckily happened that a *poor Iriſh Prieſt* begged an *Almes*, in whoſe face the *Clark* of the *Kitchin* caſt *ſcalding-water* taken out of the *Caldron*. A *Welſh Clerk* beholding this, *bent* his *Bow* (by this time the *Scholars* had got *Weapons*) and ſhot the *Clark* of the *Kitchin* ſtark dead on the place.

14. This *Man* thus killed, was much more then his *plain place* promiſed him to be, as no meaner then the *Brother* of the *Legate* himſelf; who being ſuſpicious (*O how jealous is guiltineſſe!*) that he might find *Italy* in *England*, and fearing to be *poiſoned*, appointed his *Brother* to over-ſee all food for his own eating. And now the *three Nations* of *Iriſh*, *Welſh*, and *Engliſh*, fell down-right on the *Italians*. The *Legate* fearing (as they *came from the ſame* The *Legate's* Brother kill'd by the Scholars of Oxford

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VVombe) to be sent to the same *Grave* with his *Brother*, secured himself fast locked up in the *Tower* of *Osney Church*, and there sat *still* and *quiet*, all attired in his *Canonicall Cope*.

The Legate flies to the King.

15. But he, it seems, trusted not so much to his *Canonicall Cope*, as the *Sable Mantle* of Night; under the *Protection* whereof he got out, with a *Guide*, to make his escape; not without danger of drowning in the dark, being *five times* to crosse the *River* then swelling with late rain, as much as the *Scholars* with anger. He made *Fordes* where he *found* none, all known passages being *way-laid*; and heard the *Scholars* following after, railing on, and calling him *Vsurer*, *Simoniack*, *Deceiver* of the *Prince*, *Oppressour* of the people, &c. whilst the *Legate* wisely turned his *Tongue* into Heeles, spurring with might and main to *Abington*, where the *Court* then lay. Hither he came being *out of all breath* and *Patience*; so that entring the *King*'s *presence*, his *Tears* and *Sighs* were fain to relieve his *Tongue*, not able otherwise to expresse his *Miseries*: whom the *King* did most affectionatly compassionate.

Oxford in a sad condition.

16. And now Woe to the poor *Clergy* of *Oxford*, when both *temporall* and *spirituall Armes* are prepared against them. Next day the *King* sent the *Earle Warren* with Forces against them, and a *double Commission*, *Eripere & arripere*: to *deliver* the *remainder* of the *Italians* (little better then besieged in *Osney Abbey*) and to *seize* on the *Scholars*; of whom *thirty*, with one *Otho Legista* (forward it seems in the Fray against the *Legate* his *Name-sake*) were taken *Prisoners*, and sent like *Felons*, bound in *Carts*, to *VValling ford-prison*, and other places of *Restraint*.

Interdicted by the Legate

17. Nor was the *Legate* lazy the while, but summoning such Bishops as were neerest him, interdicted the *Vniversity* of *Oxford*, and *excommunicated* all such as were partakers in the Tumult; which were not the *young fry* of *Scholars*, but *Clerks in Order*, and many of them *Beneficed*, and now deprived of the profit of their *Livings*.

Who returns to London.

18. From *Abington* the *Legate* removed to *London*, lodging at *Durham-house* in the *Strand*: the King commanding the *Major* of *London to keep him as the Apple of his eye*, with watch and ward constantly about him. Hither he assembled the Bishops of the *Land*, to *consider* and *consult* about *Reparation* for so high an Affront.

The Bishops intercede for the University.

19. The Bishops pleaded hard for the *Vniversity* of *Oxford* (as being the place wherein most of them had their *Education*.) They alledged it was *Secunda Ecclesia* a *second Church*, being the *Nursery* of *Learning* and *Religion*. They pleaded also that the *Churlishnesse* of the *Porter let in* this sad *Accident*, increased by the Indiscretion of those in his own *Family*: adding also, that the *Clerks* of *Oxford* had deeply smarted, by their long *Durance* and Sufferings, for their fault therein.

All are reconciled.

20. Mollified with the *Premisses*, the *Legate* at last was over-intreated to pardon the *Clergy* of *Oxford*, on their solemn *Submission*; which was thus performed. They went from S^t. *Paul*'s in *London* to *Durham-house* in the *Strand*, no *short Italian*, but an *English long Mile*, *all on foot*; the *Bishops* of *England*, for the *more State* of the *Businesse*, accompanying them, as partly accessary to their fault for pleading in their behalf. When they came to the *Bishop* of *Carlile*'s (now *VVorcester*) *house*, the *Scholars* went the rest of their way *bare-foot*, *sine Capis & Mantulis*, which some understand, *without Capes* or *Cloaks*. And thus the great *Legate* at last was really reconciled unto them.

Bishops ancient Innes in *London*.

21. The mention of the house of the Bishop of *Carlile*, minds me how, anciently, every Bishop (as all principall *Abbots*) had a *House* belonging to their *See* (commonly called their *Inne*) for them to lodge in when their occasions summoned them to *London*. Not to mention those which still retain their *Names*, as *VVinchester*, *Durham*, *Ely*, &c. We will only observe such, which are *swallowed up* into *other Houses*, conceiving it charitable to *rescue* their *Memory* from *Oblivion*.

House

Anno Regis Hen. 3.	Anno Dom.	House.	Place.	Built by	Turned into
22	1238	*Salisbury*	*Fleet-ſtreet*		*Dorcet Houſe*
		St. Davids	*North of Bridewel*		*Small Tenements*
		Chicheſter	*Chancery lane*	Ralph Nevil, Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*	*Lincolns Inne*
		Exeter	*By Temple-bar*	Walter Stapleton, Biſhop of *Exeter.*	*Eſſex Houſe*
		Bath and *Wells*	*Strand*		*Arundel Houſe*
		Landaf	*Strand*		*Somerſet Houſe*
		VVorceſter	*Strand*		*Somerſet Houſe*
		Lichfi. & Covent.	*Strand*	Walter Lancton, Biſhop of *Cheſter.*	*Somerſet Houſe*
		Carlile	*Strand*		*VVorceſter Houſe*
		Norwich	*Strand*		*York Houſe*
		York	*VVeſtminſter*		*VVhite-hall*
		Hereford	*Old Fiſh-ſtreet hill*	Ralph de Maydenſton, Bp. of *Heref.*	*A Sugar-maker's Houſe*

I queſtion whether the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter* (whoſe *Country-Houſe* at *Brumlay* is ſo nigh) had ever a *Houſe* in the *City*. Let others recover the reſt from Oblivion; a hard task, I believe, they are ſo drowned in private *Houſes*. O let us ſecure to our ſelves [a] *everlaſting habitations, ſeing here no abiding manſion.*

a Luke 16.9. A valiant offer.

22. Come we now to preſent the Reader with another offer of the Kings, (I fear it was not much more,) to repreſſe Papal oppreſſion.

25 1241 [b] *Rex dilecto ſibi in Chriſto Archidiacono* Glouc. *Salutem. Significavimus, & etiam viva voce expoſuimus Magiſtro* P. Rubeo, Nuncio Domini Papæ, *quod non eſt intentionis noſtræ, nec etiam volumus aliquatenus ſuſtinere, quod vel viros Relligioſos vel Clericum aliquem ad contributionem faciendam ad opus* Domini Papæ *compellant. Et ideo vobis mandamus inhibentes diſtricte, ne ad mandatum ipſius Magiſtri* Petri *vel ſuorum, viros religioſos ſeu Clericos ad contributionem prædictam faciendam aliqua cenſura Eccleſiaſtica compellatis. Sciturí quod ſi ſecus egeritis, nos contra vos tanquam perturbatorem Pacis Eccleſiaſticæ, quam conſervare tenemur, modis quibus expedire viderimus, procedemus. Teſte Rege apud* Glouc. 11. *die* Iunij.

The King to his beloved in Chriſt the Archdeacon of *Gloceſter*, Greeting. We have ſignified, & alſo by word of mouth have declared to Mr. *P. Rubeus, Nuncio* to the *Lord the Pope*, that it is not our intention, nor will we any wayes endure it, that they ſhall compell *Religious Men*, or any *Clerk*, to make *a contribution*, to ſupply the occaſions of the *Lord the Pope*. And therefore we command you, ſtrictly forbidding, that at the command of the ſame Mr. *Peter*, or any of his officers, you compel not any *Religious Men*, or *Clerks*, by *any Eccleſiaſtical cenſures* to make the aforeſaid *Contribution*. Knowing that if you do otherwiſe, we ſhall proceed againſt you, by means we ſhall think fit, as againſt the *Diſturber* of the *Peace* of the *Church*, which we are *bound to preſerve*. Witneſſe the King at *Gloceſter*, the 11. of *Iune*.

b Pat. 25. of Henry the third, mem. 6.

By the way, a *Nuncio* differed from a *Legate*, almoſt as a *Lieger* from an *extraordinary Ambaſſadour*; who though not ſo *ample* in his *power*, was as *active* in his *progging*, to advance the profit of the *Pope* his Maſter.

23. This Inſtrument acquainteth us with the Method uſed by him in mannaging his money matters. Such as refuſed to pay his demands, were proceeded againſt by *Church Cenſures, ſuſpenſion, excommunication*, &c. The cunning *Italian* (to decline the *odium*) imploying the Archdeacons to denounce the ſame in their reſpective Iuriſdictions. Yet this went under the notion of a *voluntary*

A free-forced gift.

Con-

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contribution, as free as fire from Flint, forced with Steel and ſtrength out of it.

Spoken like a King.

24. Whereas the King counted himſelf bound to *preſerve the Peace of the Church*, the words well became his mouth. They ſeem to me to look like DEFENDER OF THE FAITH as yet *but in the Bud*, and which in due time might grow up to amount to as much. For though every Chriſtian in his calling muſt keep the peace of the Church; Kings have a *coercive power* over the diſturbers thereof.

Say and do, beſt.

25. This *Royal reſolution*, to reſiſt the oppreſſing of his Subjects, was good as propounded, better if performed. I find no viſible effect thereof: but we may believe, it made the *Popes Mil* go the ſlower, though it did not wholy hinder his *grinding* the faces of the Clergy. This *Patent* is dated from *Gloceſter*, more loved of King *Henry* then *London* it ſelf, as a ſtrong and loyal City, where he was firſt crowned, and afterwards did often reſide.

A Penſion given by the *Pope* to an *Engliſh* Earle.

26. Amongſt the *thouſands of pounds* which the *Pope* carried out of *England*, I meet onely with *three hundred Marks* yearly, which came back again as a *private Boon*, beſtowed on an *Engliſh Knight*, Sir *Reginald Mohun*, by *Pope Innocent* the *fourth*, then keeping his *Court* at *Lyons* in *France*. And becauſe theſe are *veſtigia ſola retrorſum*, it will not be amiſſe to inſert the whole Story thereof, as it is in an ancient *French Manuſcript*, pertaining to the *Family* of the *Mohuns*.

Quant Sire Reinalda voit Ceo faitz il paſſa a la Court de Rome *que adonques fuiſt a* Lions, *purconfirmer & ratifer ſa novelle Abbay a grand honor de lui a touz joues & fuiſt en la Courte le deniergne en quareſme quant lenchaunce loffice del meſſe Lætare* Ieruſalem *al quen jour luſage de la Court eſte que la poiſtoille doa a plus valiant & a plus honorable home qui puit eſtre trovez en la deſte Courte une Roſe ou une floretta de fin or donquez ilz ſercherent tote le Courte entroverent Ceſti Reinald pur le plus noble de toute la Courte a oui le Pape Innocent donna Celle roſe ou floretta dor & la Papa lui Damanda quil home il fuiſt en ſon pais il reſpondi ſimple bacheleri, bean fitz fetz la pape Celle roſe ou floretta unquez ne fuiſt donez fors an Rois ou an Dukes an a Counteſe pour ceo nous voluns que vous ſons le Counte de Eſt Ceo eſt Somerſet Reinald reſpondi & Aiſi OSaincts piere ieo nuy dout le mom meinteyner lapos ſoille donques lui dona ducent mariz per annum receiver ſur Cantee ſaint Paule de Londres de ces deneires d'Engleterre pour ſon honor mainteyner de quen donna il reporta Bulles que enquore autent en plomps, &c. en ſemblement odue moltes dis aultres bulles confirmatione de ſa novelle Abbay de* Newham *a pres quen jour il porta la roſe ou floretta en les armes.*

It is as needleſs, as difficult, to tranſlate this *Bull* verbatim, being of *baſe*, *obſolete*, and *ill-pointed French*; ſufficeth it, that this is the ſumme thereof. The *Pope* uſed on the *Lords day* called, *Lætare Ieruſalem*, ſolemnly to beſtow a *conſecrated Roſe*, on the *moſt Honorable perſons*, preſent at *Maſſe* with his *Holineſſe*. Enquiry being made, the *Roſe* was conferred on Sir *Reginald Mohun*, as the beſt extracted in the preſent *Congregation*.

But ſeeing that *Roſe* uſed alwayes to be given to *Kings*, *Dukes*, and *Earles* at leaſt (the loweſt form of *Coronetted Nobility* in that Age) his *Holineſſe* underſtanding the ſame Sir *Reginald* to be but a *plain Knight Bachelour*, created him the *Earle* of *Eſt*, that is, (ſaith this *Bull*) of *Somerſet*; and for the better ſupport of his *Honour*, he allowed him *three hundred Marks* out of the *pence of England* (underſtand the *Peter-Pence*) as the moſt certain *Papal Revenue* in the Land.

By

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By this *Bull* the ſame Sir *Reinald* was made a *Count Apoſtolick*, whereby he had the Priviledges to appoint publick *Notaries*, and to *legitimate Baſtards* on ſome Conditions. King *Henry the third* was ſo far from *excepting* againſt this *Act*, that he highly honoured him. And yet Maſter *Camden*, ſometimes [a] *acknowledgeth*, ſometimes *denieth* [b] him for an *Engliſh Earle*. Not that I accuſe him as inconſtant to himſelf, but ſuſpect my ſelf not well attaining his meaning therein.

a *In his* Brit. *in* Somerſetſhire.
b *In his Eliz. in the caſe of Count* Arundel.

27. Now though the ſaid Sir *Reginald* did modeſtly decline the *Pope's Honour* for want of *Maintenance*, yet had he at that time no *fewer* then *forty three Knights Fees* held of his *Caſtle* of *Dunſtar*. I have nothing elſe to adde herein, ſave that the *ancient Armes* of the *Mohuns*, viz. a *hand* in a *Maunch* holding a *Flower de luce* (in that *Age* more faſhionable then a *Roſe*, in *Heraldry*) ſeems to relate to this occaſion; which their *Family* afterward changed into a *Sable Croſſe*, in the *Atchievements* in the *Holy land*, born at this day by the truely honourable the *Lord Mohun*, *Baron* of *Oakehampton*, as deſcended from this *Family*.

There are rich who make themſelves poor.

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28. This year died *Robert Grouthead*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, born at *Stodebrook* in *Suffolk*, *Natalibus pudendis* ſaith my [c] Authour, of *Shamefull extraction*, intimating ſuſpicion of *Baſtardy*: though the parents, rather then the child, have cauſed a bluſh thereat. He got his Surname from the *greatneſs of his head*, having large *Stoage* to receive, and *ſtore of Braines* to fill it: bred for a time in *Oxford*, then in *France*: a great and generall Scholar, (*Bale* reckoning up no fewer then *two hundred books* of his making) and a great oppoſer of the *Popes* oppreſſion, which now grew intolerable.

The death of Biſhop *Grouthead*.
c *Biſhop* Godwin *in Catalogue of* Linc. *Biſh.*

29. For it appeared by inquiſition made the laſt year, that the *Eccleſiaſticall* Revenues of *Italians* in *England* (whereof many were *Boyes*, more *Blockheads*, all *Aliens*) *amounted per annum* unto *threeſcore and ten thouſand Marks*: whereas the Kings Income at the ſame time was hardly [d] *twenty thouſand*. Biſhop *Grouthead* offended thereat, wrote *Pope Innocent the fourth* ſuch a *Iuniper Letter*, taxing him with extortion, and other vitious practices, that his Holineſs brake out into this expreſſion; *What meaneth this doting old man*, ſurdus & abſurdus, *thus boldly to controll our actions? By* Peter *and* Paul, *did not our innate ingenuity reſtrain us, I would confound him, and make him a prodigie to the whole world. Is not the King of* England *our Vaſſall, yea our Slave, to imprijon and deſtroy what perſons we pleaſe to appoint?*

The *Popes* fume againſt this good Biſhop,
d Matthew Paris *in Anno* 1552.

30. The *Pope* being in this pelt, *Ægidius* a *Spaniſh Cardinall* thus interpoſed his gravitie. *It is not expedient, my Lord, to uſe any harſhneſs to this Biſhop. We muſt confeſſe the truths which he ſaith. He is a holy man, of a more Religious life then any of us, yea Chriſtendome hath not his equall; a great* Philoſopher, *ſkilled in* Latine *and* Greek, *a conſtant reader in the Schools, Preacher in the Pulpit, lover of Chaſtity, and loather of Simony.*

quenched by a *Spaniſh* Cardinall.

31. Thus the *Pope took wit in his anger*, and *Grouthead* eſcaped for the preſent: though *Bale* reporteth that he died excommunicate and deprived of his Biſhoprick. *Popiſh* [e] Authours confidently report a ſtrange *viſion*, or rather a *paſſion* of *Pope Innocent the fourth*, whom *Grouthead* (appearing after his death) ſo *beat* with many *blows* (it ſeems he had a *heavy hand* as well as a *great head*) that the *Pope* died thereof ſoon after. No wonder therefore if his ſucceſſours would not *Canonize* this *Robert*, who notwithſtanding was a *Saint*, though not in the *Popes*, yet in the *peoples* Calendar, many miracles being aſcribed unto him; and particularly, [f] that a *ſweet oyl* after his death iſſued out of his monument: which if falſe in the *litterall*, may be true in a myſticall meaning, *Solomon* obſerving that *a good name is as oyntment poured out.*

Grouthead the peoples, though not the *Pope's* Saint.
e Iohn Burie Mat. Paris, Mat. Weſtminſter, Mr. Fabian.
f Godwin, *in his Catalogue of Biſhops.*

32. *England* began now to ſurfet of more then *thirty yeares* Peace and Plenty, which produced no better effects then *ingratitude* to *God*, and *murmuring* at their King. Many active ſpirits, whoſe *minds* were above their *means*, offended that others beneath them (as they thought) in *Merit*, were above them

Diſcontents begin in *England*.

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in *Employment*, cavilled at many errours in the Kings Government, being *State-Donatists*, maintaining, *the perfection of a Common-wealth might, and ought to be attained*. A thing easie in the *Theory*, impossible in the *Practice*, to conform the actions of mens corrupted natures to the exact *Ideas* in mens *Imaginations*.

Grounded on too much occasion.

33. Indeed they had too much matter whereon justly to ground their Discontents: partly because the King (distrusting his Natives) imployed so many *French* Forrainers in places of power and profit; partly because he had used such indirect courses to recruit his Treasuries, especially by annihilating all Patents granted in his *Minority* (though indeed he was never more in his *Full-age* then when in his *Non-age*, as guided then by the best counsell) and forcing his Subjects to take out new ones on what Terms his Officers pleased. In a word, an [a] Authour then living complaineth, *that Justice was committed to men unjust, the Laws to such who themselves were Out-laws, and the keeping of the Peace to injurious people delighting in Discords.*

[a] Roger Wendover.

A Title without power onely left to the King.

34. After many contests betwixt the King and his Subjects (which the Reader may learn from the Historians of the State) *four and twenty* prime persons were chosen by *Parliament* to have the supreme inspection of the Land: which soon after (to make them the more *cordiall*) passed *a decoction*, and were reduced to *three*, and they three in effect contracted to one, *Simon Mountfort*, Earle of *Leicester*, the Kings Brother in Law: The King himself standing by as a Cypher, yet signifying as much as his ambitious Subjects did desire. These, to make sure work, bound him with his solemn Oath to submit himself to their new-modelled Government.

The *Pope* freely gives his curtesies for money.

35. Here the *Pope* (charitable to relieve all distressed Princes) interposed his power, absolving the King from that Oath, as unreasonable in it self, and forced upon him. His Holinesse was well paid for this great favour; the King hereafter conniving at his *Horse-Leeches* (*Legates* and *Nuncioes*) sucking the bloud of his Subjects with intolerable Taxations. Thus was it not altogether the *Flexibility* of King *Henry*, but partly the *Flexion* of his Condition, (I mean, the altering of his *occasions*) which made him sometimes withstand, and otherwhiles comply with the *Popes* extortion. Thus alwayes the *Popes* Curtesies are very dear; and the *Storm* it self is a better *Shelter* then the *Bramble*, fleecing such Sheep as fly under the shade thereof.

Sad case when the Royall Root is no better then a sucker

36. Mean time the King, having neither Coyn nor Credit, having pawn'd his Iewels, mortgag'd all his Land in *France*, and sold much of it in *England*, wanting wherewithall to subsist, lived on *Abbeys* and *Prioreys*; till his often coming and long staying there made what was *welcome* at the first, quickly to become *wearisome*. Though a *Royall Guest*, with often coming, his *Royalty* made not his Guestship the more accepted, but the notion of a *Guest* rendred his *Royalty* the lesse to be esteemed. Indeed his visits of *Abbeys* at first did wear the countenance of Devotion (on which account this King was very eminent:) but afterwards they appeared in their own likenesse, the dimmest eye seeing them to proceed from pure Necessity.

No part of Church-work.

37. Soon after began the Civill Warrs in *England*, with various success, sometimes the *King*, and sometimes the *Barons* getting the better: till at last an indifferent Peace was concluded for their mutuall good, as in the *Historians* of the Common-wealth doth plentifully appear.

Bettered by affliction.

38. The later part of the reigne of King *Henry* was not onely eminent in it self, but might be exemplary to others. He reformed first his own naturall errours, then the disorders in his Court, the Expence whereof he measured by the just rule of his proper Revenue. The rigour and corruption of his Iudges he examined, and redressed by strict commission, filled the seats of Iudgement and Counsell with men nobly born, sate himself daily in Counsell, and disposed affairs of most weight in his own person.

Charta Magna first fully practised.

39. And now the *Charta Magna* was very strictly observed, being made in the ninth year of this Kings reign, but the practice thereof much interrupted and

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and disturbed with Civill Wars, it is beheld by all judicious men as (like the *aurea Bulla* or *golden Bull* of *Germany*) the *life of English Liberty*, rescued by the bloud and valour of our *Auncestours* from Tyrannicall incroachment, giving the due bounds to *Prerogative* and *Propriety*, that neither should mutually intrench on the others lawfull Priviledges. And although some high *Royallists* look on it as the product of Subjects animosities, improving themselves on their Princes extremities; yet most certain it is, those Kings flourished the most both at home and abroad, who tyed themselves most conscientiously to the observation thereof.

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40. Two *Colledges* in *Oxford* were founded in the Reign of this King: One, *Bailiol Colledge*, by *Iohn Bailiol* (and *Dervorguill* his Lady) of *Bernards Castle* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, banisht into *England*, and Father of *Bailiol* King of *Scotland*. Wonder not that an Exile should build a *Colledge*, Charity being oftentimes most active in the afflicted, willingly giving to others a little of that little they have: witness the *Macedonians*, *whose deep* [a] *poverty abounded to the riches of their Liberality*.

Bailiol Colledge built by a banisht Prince.

a 2 *Cor.* 8. 2.

41. True it is, the ancient revenues of this *Colledge* were not great, allowing but [b] eight pence a week for every Scholar therein of his Foundation (whereas *Merton Colledge* had twelve pence:) and yet, as [c] one casteth up, their ancient revenues amounted unto ninety nine pounds seventeen shillings & ten pence; which in that Age, I will assure you, was a considerable Summe, enough to make us suspect, that at this day they enjoy not all the Originall lands of their foundation.

Great revenues for that Age.

b Roger Walden, *in his History.*

c Bri. Twine, *antiq. Acad. Ox. in Appendice.*

42. Indeed, I am informed that the aforesaid King *Bailiol* bestowed a large proportion of Land in *Scotland* on this his Fathers Foundation. The Master and Fellows whereof petitioned King *Iames*, (when the Marches of two *Kingdomes* were newly made the middle of one *Monarchy*) for the restitution of those Lands detained from them in the Civil Warres betwixt the two *Crowns*. The King, though an affectionate lover of Learning, would not have his Bounty injurious to any (save sometimes to himself;) and considering those Lands they desired, were long peaceably possessed with divers Owners, gave them notice to surcease their Suit. Thus not King *Iames*, but the infeacibility of the thing they petitioned for to be done with justice, gave the denyall to their Petition.

Endowed with more land then now it possesseth.

43. Being to present the Reader with the Catalogues of this, and other worthy Foundations in *Oxford*, I am sorry that I can onely build bare Walls, (erect empty Columns) and not fill them with any furniture: which the ingenuous Reader I trust will pardon, when he considers, first, that I am no *Oxford-man*; secondly, that *Oxford* is not that *Oxford*, wherewith ten years since I was acquainted. Wherefore I humbly request the *Antiquaries* of their respective Foundations (best skill'd in their own worthy Natives) to insert their own observations: which if they would return unto me against the next Edition of this work, if I live, & it be thought worthy thereof, God shall have the Glory, they the publick thanks, and the world the benefit of their contribution to my endeavours.

The Authours request to the learned in *Oxford*.

44. The Catalogue of *Masters* we have taken with an *implicite faith*, out of M[r]. *Brian Twine* (who may be presumed *knowing* in that subject) untill the year 1608. where his work doth determine. (Since which time we have supplyed them as well as we may, though too often at a losse for their Christian names.) If M[r]. *Twine* his Register be imperfect, yet he writes *right* who writes *wrong*, if following his Copy.

Four necessary things premised.

45. The List of *Bishops* hath been collected out of *Francis Godwine* Bishop of *Hereford*, whose judicious paines are so beneficiall to the *English Church*. Yet *Godwinus non vidit omnia*, and many no doubt have been omitted by him.

Whence the Bishops are collected.

46. As for the Roll of *Benefactours*, I, who hope to have made the other Catalogues *true*, hope I have made this *not true*; upon desire and confidence that they have more then I have, or can reckon up, though following herein

Whence the Benefactours.

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I. Scot his printed Tables, and the last Edition of *John Speed* his Chronicle.

Whence the learned writers.

47. The column of *learned Writers* I have endeavoured to extract out of *Bale* and *Pitts*. Whereof the later being a member of this Universsity, was no lesse diligent then able to advance the Honour thereof.

No wilfull wrong done.

48. Let none suspect that I will *enrich* my *Mother*, by *robbing* my *Aunt*. For besides that *Cambridge* is so conscientious, she will not be *accessary* to my *Felony* by receiving *stollen goods*;

Tros, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine habetur:
A Trojan whether he
Or a *Tyrian* be,
All is the same to me.

It matters not whether of *Cambridge* or *Oxford*, so God hath the Glory, the Church and State the Benefit of their learned endeavours.

Adde and mend.

49. However, I am sensible of many defects, and know that they may be supplied by the endeavours of others. Every man knows his own land better then either *Ortelius* or *Mercator*, though making the Maps of the whole world. And the members of respective Colledges must be more accurate in the particularities of their own Foundations, then the exactest Historian who shall write a generall description thereof.

Masters.	Bishops.	Benefactours.	Learned writ.
Io. Foderinghay	*Roger VVhelpdale*, Fellow, Bishop of *Carlile*.	*Philip Somervile*, & *Marg.* his wife.	*Io. Duns Scotus*, first of this, then of *Merton Colledge*.
Robert Twaits	*Geor. Nevill*, Chancellour of the Universsity at twenty yeares of Age, afterwards Arch-bishop of *York*, and Chancellour of *Engl.*	*Ella de Longspee*, Countesse of *Salisbury*.	*Humfrey Duke* of *Gloceſter*, commonly called *the good*.
Io. Abdy	*VVill. Gray*, Bishop of *Ely*.	*Rich. de Humsnigore*.	*VVill. VValton*, Fellow, *Chancellour of the Vniversity*.
Io. Wickleffe	*Io. Bell*, Bishop of *VVorceſter*.	*L. VVill. Fenton*.	*Tho. Gascoign*, Fellow, *Chancellour of the Vniversity*.
Rob. Burley	*Ioh. Piers*, Arch-bishop of *York*.	*Hugh de Vienna*, Knight.	*John Tiptoft*, Earle of *VVorceſter*.
Rit. Burningham	*Rob. Abbots*, Bishop of *Salisbury*.	*Iohn Bell*, Bishop of *VVorceſter*.	*Rob. Abbots*.
Will. White	*Geo. Abbot*, Fellow, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.	*VVil. Hammond*, of *Gilford*, Esq;	
Geo. Cootes		*Peter Blundill*, of *Teverton*.	
Will. VVright		*L. Eliz. Periam*, of the County of *Buck*.	
Fran. Babington		*Tho. Tisdale*, of *Glymton*, Com. *Oxon*. Esquire.	
Rich. Stubbs		*Mary Dunch*.	
Is. Gloucester		*Iohn Brown*.	
Anth. Garnet			
Rob. Hooper			
Is. Brookes			
Io. Piers			
Adam Squier			
Edm. Lilly			
Rob. Abbots			
Doct. Parkhurſt			
Doct. Laurence			
Doct. Savadge			

a *See more of him in our dedication to the second book.*

That *Iohn VVickleffe* here mentioned may be the great *VVickleffe*, though others justly suspect him not the same, because too ancient, if this Catalogue be compleat, to be the *fourth* Master of this House, except they were incredibly vivacious. Nothing else have I to observe of this Foundation, save that at this

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this day therein are maintained *one* Master, *twelve* Fellows, *thirteen* Scholars, *four* Exhibitioners; which, with Servants, Commoners, and other Students, lately made up *one hundred thirty and six.*

A paire of Learned Iudges.

50. Nor must we forget that (besides others) two eminent Iudges of our Land were both Contemporaries and Students in this Foundation; the *Lord chief Baron Davenport*, and the Lord *Thomas Coventry*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, (whose Father also, a Iudge, was a Student herein.) So that two great Oracles, both of Law and Equity, had here their Education.

Vniversity Col. founded.

51. The other was *Vniversity* Colledge: whereof I find different Dates, and the founding thereof ascribed to severall Persons.

Founder.	Time.	Authour.
1 *King Alfred.*	*Anno* 882.	1 *Vniversall Tradition.*
2 *William de S^n. Carileso, Bishop of Durham.*	1081. *the* 12. *of King William the Conquerour.*	2 *Stow in his Chronicle Page* 1061. *to whom Pitz consenteth.*
3 *William, Bishop of Durham, though none at this time of the name.*	1217. *in the first of Henry the* 3.	3 *John Speed, in his History, pag.* 817.
4 *William, Arch-deacon of Durham, whom others confidently call Walter.*	*uncertain.*	4 *Camd. Brit. in Oxfordshire.*

I dare interpose nothing in such great differences, onely observe that Master *Camden* (no lesse skilfull a *Herald* in ordering the antiquity of *Houses*, then *martialling* the precedency of *men*) makes *Vniversity* the *third* in order after *Merton* Colledge: which makes me believe the founding thereof not so ancient as here it is inserted.

Masters.	Bishops.	Benefactours.	Learn. Writ.
1 *Roger Caldwell*	St. *Edmond Archb. of* Cant.	*Walter Shirlow, Archdeacon of Durham,* 3 Fellowsh.	Some charitable and able Antiquary fill up this vacuity.
2 *Richard Witton*		*Henry Percey, Earle of Northumberland,* 3 Fellowsh.	
3 *M. Rokleborough*		*R. Dudley Earle of Leicester,* 2 Exhibitions each 20. pou. *per Annum.*	
4 *Ranulph Hamsterley*		*John Freistone* 2 Exhibitions, 20. pounds in all *per Annum.*	
5 *Leonard Hutchinson*		*Gunsley,* 2 Exhibitions.	
6 *John Craffurth*		*Mistris Payn,* 1 Exhibition, 8 pounds.	
7 *Richard Salvaine*		*M^r. Aston.*	
8 *George Ellison*			
9 *Anthony Salvaine*			
10 *James Dugdale*			
11 *Thomas Key*			
12 *William James*			
13 *Anthony Gates*			
14 *George Abbot*			
15 *John Bancroft*			
16 *Walker*			
17 *Hoile*			
18			

Masters.	Bishops.	Benefactours.	Lear. wri.	Anno Dom.	Anno Regis Henrici 3.
	George Abbot, Arch. of *Cant.*	Sir *Simon Bennet*, who hath bequeathed good lands (after the decease of his *Lady*) to encrease the *Fellows* and *Scholars*.		1262	46
	John Bancroft, Bishop of *Oxford*.	Mr. *Charles Greenwood*, sometimes *Fellow* of this *Colledge*, and *Proctour* to the *Vniversity*, gave a *thousand pounds* to the building thereof.			

So that at this present are maintained therein *one Master*, *eight Fellows*, *one Bible-Clark*: which with *Servants*, *Commoners*, and other *Students*, amount to the number of *threescore and nine*.

Iews damnable extortioners. a *Claus.* 22. *of* Hen. 3. *memb.* 9. *in dorso.*

52. Sure it is, at this time *Oxford* flourished with multitude of *Students*; King *Henry* conferring large favours upon them, and this amongst the rest. That no *Iews* [a] *living at* Oxford *should receive of Scholars above two-pence a week interest for the loan of twenty shillings*, that is *eight shillings eight-pence* for the interest of a *pound* in the year. Hereby we may guesse how miserably poor people in other places were oppressed by the *Iews*, where no restraint did limite their Usury; so that the Interest amounted to the half of the Principall.

A second priviledge.

53. Secondly, whereas it was complained of, That Iustice was obstructed, and Malefactours protected by the Citizens of *Oxford*, who being partiall to their own Corporation, connived at offenders who had done mischiefs to the Scholars: The King ordered, that hereafter, not onely the Citizens of *Oxford*, but also any Officers in the Vicinage should be imployed in the apprehending of such who offered any wrong to the Students in the University.

The third priviledge.

54. Lastly, he enjoyned the Bailiffs of *Oxford* solemnly to acquaint the Chancellour thereof, of those times when Bread and other Victualls were weighed and prized. But in case the Chancellour had timely notice thereof, & refused to be present thereat, then the Bailiffs notwithstanding his absence might proceed in the foresaid matters of weight and measure.

The submission of the Dean and Chapter of S. *Asaph*.

55. We will conclude this Section with this civil and humble submission of the Dean and Chapter of S^t. *Asaph*, sent to the *King* in the vacancy (as it seems) of their *Bishoprick*; though dislocated, and some yeares set back in the date thereof.

Pat. 33. *H.* 3. *M.* 3.

De recognitione Decani & Capit. de Sancto Asapho.

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Decanus & Capitulum de *Sancto Asapho* salutem in Domino. Consuetudini antique & dignitati quas Dominus *Henricus* illustris Rex *Angl.* & progenitores sui habuerunt in Ecclesia *Anglicana*, de petenda licentia eligendi vacantibus Episcopatuum Sedibus,

Anno Regis Hen. 3. 46 | Anno Domi. 1262

Sedibus, & de requirendo aſſenſu Regio poſt factam electionem, obviare nolentes; proteſtamur & recognoſcimus, nos, quotiens Eccleſia noſtra Paſtore vacaverit, ab illuſtri Domino Rege *Angl.* & Heredibus ſuis debere reverenter petere licentiam eligendi, & poſt electionem factam aſſenſum eorum requirere. Et ne ſuper hoc futuris temporibus dubitetur, preſenti ſcripto Sigilla noſtra fecimus apponi. Dat. apud *Sanctum Aſaph.* Anno Domini M°.cc.xlix°. in Craſtino Exaltationis *Sanctæ Crucis.*

The ſubſtance is this. That the *Dean* and *Chapter* promiſe to depend wholy on the Kings pleaſure in the choice of the next Elect: ſo that now *Cathedralls* began to learn good manners. Notwithſtanding the *Pope* uſually obtruded whom he pleaſed upon them. Say not that S^t. *Aſaph* was an inconſiderable *Cathedrall*, being at great Diſtance & of ſmall Revenue, which might make them more officious to comply with the King: ſeeing the pooreſt oft times prove the proudeſt, and peeviſheſt to their Superiours. But although this *qualm of Loyalty* took this Church for the preſent, we muſt confeſſe that generally, *Chapters* ask the Kings leave, as Widows do their Fathers to marry; as a Complement not requiſite thereunto: as conceiving it *Civility* to *ask*, but no *Neceſſity* to *have his Approbation.*

56. Two eminent Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* ſucceſſively filled that *See*, during the moſt part of this Kings Reign. Firſt, *Edmond, Treaſurer* of *Salisbury*, born, ſay ſome, in *London*, and Chriſtened in the ſame Font with *Thomas Becket.* My * Authour makes him educated in *Vniverſity* Colledge in *Oxford*, a great *Scholar*, and lover of learned men, refuſing to conſecrate *Richard VVendover* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, becauſe of his want of Sufficiency for ſuch a Function: hereupon he incurred the diſpleaſure of *Otho* the *Popes* Legate ſiding with *VVendover* (requiring no other Qualification ſave Money to make a Biſhop) & was inforced to undertake a dangerous and expenſive journey to *Rome*, to his great Damage, and greater Diſgrace, being caſt in his Cauſe, after the ſpending of a thouſand Marks therein.

Edmund Arch-biſhop of Cant.

* Godwine in Catalogue of Biſhops, pag. 139.

57. He took the boldneſſe to tell the *Pope* of his Extortion; though little thereby was amended. After his return he fell into the Kings diſpleaſure: ſo that overpowered with his Adverſaries, and circumvented with their malice, weary of his Native Country (the miſeries whereof he much bemoaned) he went into voluntary Baniſhment. He died and was buried in *France*: and ſix years after (which I aſſure you was very ſoon, and contrary to the modern Cuſtome) was Sainted by *Pope Innocent* the fourth: Whoſe Body *Lewes* the fourth King of *France* ſolemnly removed, and ſumptuouſly inſhrined.

Sainted after his death.

58. The other, *Boniface* by name, was onely eminent on the account of his high Extraction, as Uncle to the *Queen*, and ſon of *Peter* Earle of *Savoy*; a horrible ſcraper of money, generally hated, inſomuch that he went his Viſitation, having a Corſlet on under his Epiſcopall habit: which it ſeems was no more then needs, the *Londoners* being ſo exaſperated againſt him, that they threatned his Death, had not he ſecured himſelf by Flight. Only he is memorable to Poſterity for paying two and twenty thouſand Marks debt of his See (which his

Boniface a worthleſſe Arch-biſhop.

his Predeceſſours had contracted:) for building a fair *Hall* at *Canterbury*, and a ſtately *Hoſpitall* at *Maidſtone*, which it ſeems was indited and found guilty of, and executed for Superſtition at the diſſolution of *Abbeys* (when it was valued at above a hundred and fifty pounds of yearly Revenue) being aliened now to other uſes.

Anno Dom. 1262

Anno Regni Henrici 3. 46

SECT.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

SECT. III.

TO *WILLIAM ROBINSON* OF The *Inward-Temple*, Esq;

SIR Edward Coke *was wont to say, that he never knew a Divine meddle with a matter of* Law, *but that therein he committed some great errour, and discovered gross ignorance. I presume* you Lawyers *are better* Divines, *then we* Divines *are* Lawyers; *because indeed greater your concernment in your pretious* soules, *then ours in our poor* estates. *Having therefore just cause to suspect my own judgment in this* Section, *wherein so much of* Law, *I submit all to your Judgment to add, alter, expunge at pleasure; that if my weak endeavours shall appear worthy of a* second Impression, *they may come forth* corrected *with your Emendations.*

Hen. 3 57. 1272.

1. QUiet King *Henry* the third, our *English Nestor* (not for *depth of brains*, but *length of life*) as who Reigned fifty six years, in which terme he buried all his *Contemporary Princes* in *Christendom* twice over. All the *moneths* in a year may in a manner be carved out of an *April-day*, *Hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, foule weather*, being oft presented therein. Such the character of this *Kings life*, certain onely in uncertainty. *Sorrowful, successful*, in *plenty*, in *penury*, in *wealth*, in *want*, *Conquered*, *Conquerour*.

The viracity of King *Henry* the third, and the variety of his life.

2. Yet the *Sun* of his life did not set in a *cloud*, but went down in *full lustre*; a good token that the next day would be *fair*, and his *Successor* prove fortunate. He died at S^t *Edmunds-Bury*, and though a *merciful Prince* ended his

The serenity of his death and solemnity of his Burial.

his dayes in a neceſſary *act of juſtice*, ſeverely puniſhing ſome *Citizens* of *Norwich*, for burning and pillaging the *Priory* therein. His corps were buried at *Weſtminſter Church* (founded and almoſt finiſhed by him) with great ſolemnity, though *Prince Edward* his *Son*, as beyond the Seas was not preſent thereat. Anno Dom. 1272. Anno Regis *Hen.* 3 57. *Ed.* 1. 1.

The advantages of abſent Prince *Edward.*

3. There cannot be a greater *Temptation* to *Ambition* to uſurpe a *Crown*, then when it findeth a *vacancy* on the *Throne*, and the *true heir* thereof abſent at a great diſtance. Such an advantage at this inſtant, had the *Adverſaries* of *Prince Edward* (not as yet returned from *Paleſtine*) to put in, if ſo minded, for the *Kingdom* of *England*. And ſtrange it was, that no *Arrears* of the former *Rebellion* were left, but all the reckonings thereof ſo fully diſcharged, that no *Corrival* did appear for the *Crown*; But a general concurrence of many things befriended *Prince Edward* herein.

1. His *Father* on his *death-bed* ſecured his *Sons ſucceſſion*, as much as might be, by ſwearing the *Principal Peers* unto him in his abſence.
2. The moſt active and dangerous *Military men*, the *Prince* had politickly carried away with him into *Paleſtine*.
3. *Prince Edward* his fame (preſent here in the abſence of his perſon) preſerved the *Crown* for him, as due to him, no leſs by *deſert* then *deſcent*.

The premiſſes meeting with the love and *Loyalty* of many *Engliſh hearts*, paved the way to *Prince Edward* his peaceable entrance without any oppoſition.

His atchievements againſt the Turks.

4. *King Edward* was a moſt *worthy Prince*, coming off with honour in all his atchievements againſt *Turke*, and *Pope*, and *Jews*, and *Scots*, and againſt whomſoever he encountred. For the *Turks*, he had lately made a voyage againſt them, which being largely related in our *Holy War*, we intend not here to repeat. Onely I will add, that this Forein *expedition* was politickly undertaken, to rid the *Land* of many *Martialiſts*, wherewith the late *Barons wars* had made it to abound. Theſe *Spirits* thus *raiſed*, though they could not preſently be *conjured down*, were ſafely removed into another room. The fierceſt *Maſtiff-Dogs* never fight one with another, whileſt they have either *Bull* or *Bear* before them to bait; the common foe imploying that fury, which otherwiſe would be active againſt thoſe of their own kinde. This diverſion of the *Engliſh ſouldiery*, gave a vent to their animoſities, which otherwiſe would have been mutually miſ-ſpent amongſt themſelves.

The Popes preſent power in *England.*

5. Great at this preſent was the *Popes power* in *England*, improving himſelf on the late *tumultuous times*, and the *eaſineſs of King* Henry *his nature*, inſomuch that within theſe laſt ſeven years *ex plenitudine*, (or rather *ex abundantia & ſuperfluitate*) *poteſtatis*, he had put in two *Arch-Biſhops* of *Canterbury*, *Robert Kilwarby*, and *John Peccam*, againſt the mindes of the *Monks*, who had legally choſen others. Probably *the third time* would have created a *Right* to the *Pope*; and his *Holineſs* hereafter preſcribe it as his juſt due, had not *King Edward* ſeaſonably prevented his encroachment, by moderating his power in *England*, as hereafter ſhall appear. Mean time we are called away on a welcome occaſion, to behold a grateful object; namely, the *Foundation of one of the firſt and faireſt Colledges in Chriſtendom.*

Merton Col. in *Oxford* founded.

6. For in this year *Walter de Merton*, *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter* and *Chancellour* of *England*, finiſhed the *Colledg* of his own name in *Oxford*. This *Walter* was born at *Merton* in *Surrey*, and at *Maldon* in that *County* had built a *Colledg*, which on ſecond thoughts (by Gods counſel no doubt) he removed to *Oxford*, as it ſeems for the more ſecurity; now if the *Barons Wars*, then (ſome 1274. 3.

fifteen

Anno Regni Edw. 3. Anno Dom. 1274.

fifteen years since) in height, and heat, were as it is probable, any motive of this Translation, it was one of the best effects which ever so bad a cause produced; For otherwise, if not removed to *Oxford*, certainly this Colledg had been swept away, as *Rubbish of superstition*, at the *Dissolution of Abbies*.

7. Amongst the many *Manors* which the first [a] *Founder* bestowed on this *Colledg*, one lay in the *Parish* of S^t *Peters* and *West suburbe* of *Cambridg*, beyond the *Bridg*; anciently called *Pythagoras house*, since *Merton Hall*. To this belongeth much good Land thereabout (as also the *Mills* at *Grantchester* mentioned in *Chaucer*) those of *Merton Colledg* keeping yearly a *Court Baron* here. Afterwards King *Henry the sixth* took away (for what default I finde not) this *Manor* from them, and bestowed it upon his own *Foundation* of *Kings* [b] *Colledg* in *Cambridg*. But his *successor*, *Edward the fourth*, restored it to *Merton Colledg* again. It seemeth equally admirable to me, that *Holy King Henry the sixth*, should do any wrong, or *Harsh Edward the fourth*, do any Right to the *Muses*, which maketh me to suspect that there is more in the matter then what is generally known, or doth publickly appear.

A Manor in *Cambridg* given thereunto.

a *Brian Twyn Ant. Acad. Ox.* p. 319.

b *Caius Hist. Cant. Acad.* p. 68.

8. S^r *Henry Savill* the *most learned Warden* of this *Colledg*, three hundred and more years after *Mertons death*, plucked down his *old Tombe* in *Rochester Church* (near the *North wall*, almost over against the *Bishops Chair*) and built a neat new *Monument* of *Touch* and *Alabaster*, whereon after a large inscription in Prose, this Epitaph was engraven.

Merton his Monument renewed.

Magne senex titulis, Musarum sede sacrata
Major, Mertonidum maxime progenie
Hæc tibi gratantes post sæcula sera nepotes
En votiva locant marmora sancte Parens.

And indeed malice it self cannot deny, that this Colledg (or little *University* rather) doth equal, if not exceed any one *Foundation* in *Christendom*, for the *Famous* men bred therein, as by the following Catalogue will appear.

Wardens.

1. *Pet. Abyngdon.*
2. *Rich. Warblisdon.*
3. *Jo. de la More.*
4. *Jo. Wantinge.*
5. *Rob. Trenge.*
6. *Gul. Durant.*
7. *Jo. Bloxham.*
8. *Jo. Wendover.*
9. *Ed. Beckingham.*
10. *Tho. Rodburne.*
11. *Rob. Gylbert.*
12. *Hen. Abingdon.*
13. *Elias Holcot.*
14. *Hen. Sever.*
15. *Jo. Gygur.*
16. *Ric. Fitz-James.*
17. *Tho. Harper.*
18. *Rich. Rawlins.*
19. *Rowl. Philips.*
20. *Jo. Chamber.*

Bishops.

Rob. Winchelsey, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Ann. 1294.

Simon Mepham, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Ann. 1327.

Simon Isslip, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1349.

John Kemp, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1462.

Ralph Baldock, Bishop of *London*, Anno 1305.

Benefactors.

John Willet (bred in this Col.) *D. D.* & Chancellour of *Oxford*, founded the * *Portionists Hall*, and exhibitions.

Will. Read (an excellent Mathematician) built the Library.

Thomas Rudburne, Warden, built the Tower over the Gate.

Richard Fitz-James, Warden, built the Wardens Lodgings.

Learned Writers.

1. Roger Bacon a famous Mathematician.
2. John Dunce *Scotus*.
3. Walter Burley.
4. William Ocham.
5. Tho. Bradwardine, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.
6. *John Gatisden.*
7. *Dumbleton.*
8. *Nicholas Gorrham.*
9. *William Gryfant*, Father to *Grimoald Gryfant*, *Hen. Tindal.*

* The same with *Postmasters.*

Wardens.	Bishops,	Benefactors.	Learned Writers.	Anno Dom. 1274.	Anno Regis Ed. I. 3.
21. *Hen. Tindal.* 22. *Tho. Raynolds.* 23. *Jac. Gervase.* 24. *Jo. Man.* 25. *Tho. Bickley.* 26. Hen. Savill. 27. S[r] *Nathaneel Brent.* 28. D[r] *Goddard.*	*Henry Gower*, Bishop of S[t] *Davids*, Ann. 1328. *William Read*, Bishop of *Chichester*, Ann. 1369. *Robert Gilbert*, Bishop of *London*, Anno 1435. *Thomas Rodeburn*, Bishop of S[t] *Davids*, Ann. 1440. *John* * *Chadworth*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, Ann. 1452. *John Marshal* Bishop of *Landaff*, Anno 1478. *Rich. Fitz-James*, Bishop of *London*, Ann. 1500. *William Sivcyer*, Bishop of *Durham*, Ann. 1502. *Richard Raulins*, Bishop of S[t] *Davids*, Ann. 1523. *John Parkehurst*, Bishop of *Norwich*, Ann. 1560. *Thomas Bickley*, Bishop of *Chichester*, Ann. 1585. *George Carleton*, Bishop of *Chichester*, 1626.	*Henry Abingdon*, Warden, gave Bells to the Church. *Richard Rawlins* wainscoted the inside, and covered the roof thereof with Lead. *Thomas Leach.* S[r] Tho. Bodley. D[r] *Wilson.* M[r] *John Chambers*, sometime Fellow of *Eaton.* Doctor *Jervice.* Doctor *Jesop.* S[r] Hen. Savil.	Pope by the name of *Urbane* the fift. 11. *Roger Switzet.* 12. John Wiclif. *Henry Cuffe*, an able Scholar, but unfortunate. S[r] Tho. Bodley, who built *Oxford* Library. S[r] Hen. Savil. S[r] *Isaac Wake* University Orator, and Embassadour to *Venice.* *Henry Mason*, who worthily wrote *De Ministerio Anglicano.* *John Greaves*, an excellent Mathematician. D[r] *Peter Turner*, active in composing the new Statutes of the University.		

* He was provost also of Kings Col. in *Cambridg.*

* The Living passed over in silence.

* I purposely Omit such as still, (and may they long) survive, whereof some (as D[r] *Edward Reynolds*, D[r] *John Earles*, D[r] *Francis Cheynel*, M[r] *Doughty*, M[r] *Francis Rouse*, &c.) have already given the world a Testimony of their great Learning and endowments. Others may in due time, as D[r] *Higgs*, late Dean of *Lichfield*, D[r] *Corbet*, &c. And surely M[r] *John Hales*, formerly *Greek Professor*, will not envy Christian man-kinde, his *Treasury of Learning*; nor can conceive, that onely a *Sermon* (owned under his name) can satisfie the just expectation from him, of the *Church* and *Common-wealth.*

* The Original of Post-masters.

* There is a *By-Foundation* of *Postmasters* in this House, (a kinde of *Colledg* in the *Colledg*) and this Tradition goeth of their Original. Anciently there was over against *Merton Colledg*, a small un-endowed *Hall*, whose Scholars had

Anno Regni Ed. 1. 3. Anno Domi 1274.

had ſo run in arrears, that their oppoſite neighbours, out of charity took them into their Colledg, (then but nine in number) to wait on the Fellows. But ſince they are freed from any attendance and endowed with plentiful maintenance, Mr *Willet* being the firſt Benefactor unto them in that nature, whoſe good example *hath provoked many* to follow his liberality. Theſe moſt juſtly conceive themſelves much honoured, in that *Biſhop Jewel* was a *poſtmaſter* before removed hence to be Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledg. We take our farewell of this Houſe, when we have told it conſiſted lately (*viz.* 1635.) of one *Warden*, twenty one *Fellows*, fourteen [a] *Scholars*, beſides Officers and Servants, of the foundation, with other Students, the whole number being eighty.

a The ſame I conceive with the Poſtmaſters.

9. Come we now to the Kings retrenching the Popes power, grown ſo exorbitant in *England*. A principal part whereof conſiſted in the multitude of Monaſteries, daylie increaſing in wealth, and all at the Popes abſolute devotion. If poſterity had continued at this rate, to build and endow *Religious Houſes*, all *England* would, in ſhort time, have turned one entire and continued Monaſtery; and the inhabitants thereof become either *Friers*, or *Founders*. Where then ſhould be any *Souldiers* to fight the Kings battles? *Seamen* to ſteer his ſhips? Husbandmen to plough the Kings land? or rather any land of his to be ploughed by husbandmen?

The Church ready to eat up the Common-wealth.

10. Beſides, though theſe *Friers* had a *living-hand*, to take and receive from any; they had *Mortmaine*, a *dead-hand*, to reſtore and return any profit to the King again. Yea, ſuch *alienation of lands* in *Mortmaine*, ſetled on Monaſteries (which as Corporations neither married nor died) afforded neither *Wards*, *Marriages*, *Reliefs*, nor *Knights-ſervice*, for the defence of the Realm; in a word, enriched their private coffers, impoveriſhed the *publick Exchequer*. It was not therefore ſuch a *dead hand*, which could feed ſo many *living mouthes*, as the King for his ſtate and ſafety muſt maintain. Wherefore for the future he reſtrain'd ſuch *unlimited Donatives* to *Religious Houſes*.

The miſchief of Mortmain to the Crown.

11. Ignorance makes many men miſtake meer *tranſcripts* for *Originals*. So here, the *ſhort-ſighted vulgar ſort*, beheld the *Kings Act* herein as new, ſtrange, and unprecedented, whereas indeed former times, and forein Princes had done the like on the ſame occaſion. Firſt, we finde ſome countenance for it in [a] Scripture, when *Moſes* by proclamation bounded the overflowing bounty of the people to the *Tabernacle*. And in the Primitive times, *Theodoſius* the Emperor (although moſt loving and favourable to the Clergie) made a Law of *A Mortiſation* or *Mortmain*, to moderate peoples bounty to the Church. Yet a great Father, *Jerome* by name, much diſliked this Act, as appears by his complaint to *Nepotian* of that Law; *I am aſhamed to ſay it, the Prieſts of Idols, Stage-players, Coach-men, and common Harlots, are made capable of inheritance, and receive Legacies, only Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Monkes are barred by Law thus to do; and that not by Perſecutors, but by Chriſtian Princes.* But that paſſionate Father comes off well at laſt; *neither do I complain of the Law, but I am ſorry we have deſerved to have ſuch a Law made againſt us.*

This Law not new but renewed.

a *Exod* 36.6.

12. [b] S[t] *Ambroſe* likewiſe expreſſeth much anger on the ſame occaſion, out of his general zeal for the Churches good. But, had the aforeſaid Fathers (men rather *pious* then *politick*; good *Church-men*, no *States-men*) ſeen the Monaſteries ſwollen in revenues from an *inch* in their dayes, to an *ell* (by peoples *fondneſs*, yea *dotage*, on the *four ſorts of Friers*) in King *Edwards* Reign, they would, no doubt, inſtead of reproving, have commended his, and the neighbouring Kings care for their *Common-wealths*.

Ambroſe angry with Mortmaine.
b In his 31. Epiſt.

13. For the like laws for limiting mens liberality, were lately made in *Spain* and *France*, and now at laſt followed by King *Edward*, according to the tenour enſuing;

The Statute of Mortmaine.

Where

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WHere of late it was provided, that religious men ſhould not enter into the fees of any without licence and will of the chief Lords of whom ſuch fees be holden immediately: And notwithſtanding ſuch religious men have entered as well into their own fees, as in the fees of other men, appropriating and buying them, and ſometime receiving them of the gift of others, whereby the ſervices that are due of ſuch fees, and which at the beginning were provided for defence of the Realme, are wrongfully withdrawn, and the chief Lords do leeſe their Eſcheats of the ſame; we therefore to the profit of our Realm intending to provide convenient remedy, by the advice of our Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other our ſubjects, being of our Councel, have provided, made, and ordained, That no perſon, Religious or other, whatſoever he be, that will buy or ſell any Lands or Tenements, or under the colour of Gift or Leaſe, or that will receive by reaſon of any other title, whatſoever it be, Lands or Tenements, or by any other Craft or Engine will preſume to appropriat to himſelf, under pain of forfeiture of the ſame, whereby ſuch Lands or Tenements may any wiſe come into Mortmaine. *We have provided alſo, That if any perſon, religious or other, do preſume either by Craft or Engine, to offend againſt this Statute; it ſhall be lawful to Us and other chief Lords of the Fee, immediately to enter in the land ſo aliened, within a year from the time of their alienation, and to hold it in fee, and as Inheritance. And, if the chief Lord immediately be negligent, and will not enter into ſuch Fee within the year, then it ſhall be lawful to the next chief Lord immediate of the ſame Fee, to enter in the ſaid land within half a year next following, and to hold it as before is ſaid; and ſo every Lord immediate may enter into ſuch Land, if the next Lord be negligent in entering into the ſame Fee, as is aforeſaid. And, if all the chief Lords of ſuch Fees being of full age, within the four Seas, and out of priſon, be negligent or ſlack in this behalf, we immediately after the year accompliſhed, from the time that ſuch purchaſes, Gifts or Appropriations hap to be made, ſhall take ſuch tenements into our hand, and ſhall enfeoffe others therein, by certain Services to be done to Us, for the defence of our Realm, ſaving to the chief Lords of the ſame Fees, their Wardes and Eſcheats, and other Services thereunto due and accuſtomed. And therefore We command you, that ye cauſe the foreſaid Statute to be read before you, and from henceforth to be kept firmly and obſerved.*

Witneſs my ſelf at *Weſtminſter*, &c.

Date we from this day, the *acme* or vertical height of *Abbeys*, which henceforward began to ſtand ſtill, & at laſt to decline. Formerly it was *Endow Monaſteries who would*, hereafter, *who could*, having firſt obtained licence from the King. Yet this Law did not *ruine*, but *regulate*, not *deſtroy*, but *direct* well grounded liberality, that *bounty* to ſome, might not be *injury* to others. Here I leave it to *Lawyers by profeſſion*, to ſhew how many years after, (*viz.* the eighteenth of of *Edward the third*) *Prelates Impeached before the Kings Juſtices* for purchaſing land in *Mortmain*, ſhall be diſmiſſed without further trouble, upon their producing a *charter of licence*, and proceſs thereupon made, *by an Inqueſt, ad quod damnum*, or, (in caſe that cannot be ſhewed) by making a *convenient Fine* for the ſame.

Who the active Prelats of this age.

14. The late mention of the *Prelates adviſe*, in paſſing a Law ſo *maleficial* unto them, giveth me juſt occaſion to name ſome, the principal perſons of the Clergie, preſent thereat; namely,

1. *John Peckam*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, a ſtout man. He afterwards excommunicated the Prince of *Wales*, becauſe he went a long journey to perſwade him to peace with *England*, but could not prevaile.

2. *William*

Anno Regis Ed. I. 11. | Anno Dom. 1283.

2. *William Wickwane*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, accounted a great Scholar, (Author of a Book called *Memoriale*) and eſteemed a *petty-ſaint* in that Age.

3. *Anthony Beake*, ſoon after Biſhop of *Durham*; the richeſt and proudeſt, (alwayes good manners to except *Cardinal Wolſey*) of that place; *Patriarch titular* of *Jeruſalem*, and Prince of the Iſle of *Man*. Yet in my minde, *Gilbert Sellinger*, his contemporary, and Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, had a far better Title, as commonly called, *the Father of Orphans, and Comforter of the widdows.*

Theſe, with many more Biſhops conſented (though ſome of them *reſorbentes ſuam bilem* as inwardly angry) to the paſſing, (or confirming) of the Statute of *Mortmain*. To make them ſome amends, the King not long after favourably ſtated, what cauſes ſhould be of ſpiritual cognizance.

13. 1285. 15. For a Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter*, eminent on this account, that it laid down the limits, and fixed the boundaries betwixt the *Spiritual* and *Temporal Juriſdictions*, *Hitherto ſhall you come and no farther*; though before and ſince, both *powers* have endeavoured to enlarge their own, and contract their *Rivals authority*. We will preſent firſt the *Latin* out of the *Records*, and then the *Engliſh* out of our printed *Statutes*, and make ſome neceſſary obſervations on both.

The Spiritual and Temporal Courts bounded by Parliament.

REX talibus Judicibus Salutem. Circumſpectè agatis de negotiis tangentibus Epiſcopum Norwicenſem, & ejus Clerum, non puniend. ecs ſi placitum tenuerint in Curia Chriſtianitatis de his quæ merè ſunt ſpiritualia, viz. de correctionibus quas Prelati faciunt pro mortali peccato, viz. pro fornicatione, adulterio & hujuſmodi, pro quibus aliquando infligitur pœna corporalis, aliquando pecuniaria, maximè ſi convictus fuerit de hujuſmodi liber homo.

Item, *Si Prælatus puniat pro cemeterio non clauſo, Eccleſia diſcooperta, vel non decenter ornata, in quibus caſibus alia pœna non poteſt infligi quàm pecuniaria.*

Item, *Si Rector petat verſus parochianos oblationes, & decimas debitas vel conſuetas, vel ſi Rector agat contra Rectorem de decimis majoribus, vel minoribus, dummodo non petatur quarta pars valoris Eccleſiæ.*

Item, *Si Rector petat mortuarium in partibus ubi mortuarium dari conſuevit.*

Item, *Si Prælatus alicujus Eccleſiæ, vel advocatus petat à Rectore penſionem ſi debitam, omnes hujuſmodi petitiones ſunt faciend. in foro Eccleſiaſtico. De violenta manuum injectione in Cleri-*

THE KING to his Judges ſendeth Greeting. Uſe your ſelf circumſpectly in al matters concerning the Biſhop of *Norwich*, & his Clergie, not puniſhing them, if they hold plea in Court Chriſtian, of ſuch things as be meerly ſpiritual, that is to wit of penance enjoyned for deadly ſin, as fornication, adultery, and ſuch like; for the which many times, corporal penance or pecuniary is enjoyned, ſpecially if a free man be convict of ſuch things.

Alſo if Prelates do puniſh for leaving Church-yards unciоſed, or for that the Church is uncovered, or not conveniently decked, in which caſes none other penance can be enjoyned but pecuniary.

Item, If a Parſon demand of his pariſhioners, oblations and tythes due and accuſtomed, or if any perſon plead againſt another for tythes, more or leſs, ſo that the fourth part of the value of the Benefice be not demanded.

Item, If a Parſon demand mortuaries in places where a mortuarie hath uſed to have been given.

Item, If a Prelate of a Church, or if a Patron demand a penſion due to themſelves, all ſuch demands are to be made in a Spiritual Court. And for laying violent hands on a Prieſt,

cum,

cum, & in cauſa diffamationis conceſſum fuit aliàs, quod placitum inde teneatur in Curia Chriſtianitatis, cum non petatur pecunia, ſed agatur ad correctionem peccati, & ſimiliter pro fidei læſione. In omnibus prædictis caſibus habet judex Eccleſiaſticus cognoſcere regia prohibitione non obſtante.

and in cauſe of defamation, it hath been granted already, that it ſhall be tried in a Spiritual Court, when money is not demanded, but a thing done for puniſhment of ſin, and likewiſe for breaking an oath. In all caſes afore rehearſed, the Spiritual Judg ſhall have power to take knowledg notwithſtanding the Kings prohibition.

Anno Dom. 1285 | Anno Regis Ed. 1. 13.

Something muſt be premiſed about the *validity* of this writing, learned men much differing therein.

Some make it
1. Onely a conſtitutiou made by the *Prelates* themſelves; much too blame, if they cut not large pieces, being their own *Carvers*.
2. A meer *writ* iſſued out from the King to his Judges.
3. A ſolemn *Act* of *Parliament*, compleat in all the requiſites thereof.

* Mr *Nath. Bacon* in his Hiſt. Diſ. of the Government of *England*, lib. 1. pag. 233

Hear what * a *Bacon* (but neither Sr *Nicolas*, nor Sr *Francis*, the two *Oracles of Law*) writes in this caſe; *A writing ſomewhat like a Grant of Liberties, which before times were in controverſie; and this Grant (if it may be ſo called) hath by continuance USURPED the name of a Statute, but in its own nature is no other then a Writ directed to the Judges. Preſently after he ſaith, It is therefore no Grant, nor Releaſe, but as it were a Covenant that the Clergie ſhould hold peaceable poſſeſſion of what they had, upon this ground.* And in the next page more plainly; For my part therefore I ſhall not apprehend it of a higher nature then the Kings Writ, which in thoſe dayes WENT FORTH AT RANDOM.

Judg *Cokes* deciſion a Second part of his Inſtitut. pag. 487.

16. Come we now to the calme judgment of Sr *Edward Cook*, on whoſe deciſion we may ſafely rely; *Though* a *ſome have ſaid that this was no Statute, but made by the Prelates themſelves; yet that this is an Act of Parliament, it is proved, not onely by our books, but alſo by an Act of Parliament.*

17. *The King to his Judges*] Were it of concernment, it were not difficult to name the *Prime Judges* of *England* at this time:

Viz.
1. In the *Kings*, or *Upper-Bench*, either *Ralph de Hengham*, or (which is more probable) one *Wymborne* was Judge.
2. In the *Common-Pleas*, *Thomas de Weyland*, on that token that he was guilty of *Bribery*.
3. In the *Exchequer*, *Adam de Stratton*, as faulty as the former.

But by the *Judges* named in this *Writ*, (for, as this was an Act of *Parliament*, ſo was there a *Writ* alſo founded thereon, called *Circumſpectè agatis*) we underſtand ſome peculiar Commiſſioners diſpatch'd and employed on this particular buſineſs.

b *Chronicon. Oſnienſe.*

18. *Concerning the Biſhop of Norwich*] It is needleſs to tell the Reader, that *William Middeton* was Biſhop thereof at this time, b charactred to be, *Vir in Jure Civili & Canonico peritiſſimus & elegantiſſimus*. But *Norwich* is here put onely for example, which equally extended to all the Biſhops of the Realme.

19. Si

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19. Si placitum tenuerint, *if they hold plea*] Placitum, *a Plea* ſo called, ſaith my [c] Author, *per antiphraſin, quia non placet*, none being pleaſed to go to Law ſave *Barreters*, who delight in brangling. But, what if it be called *placitum*, becauſe the Plaintife is *pleaſed* to ſubmit his right in queſtion to the *pleaſure* of the Court to decide it?

[c] *Linwood* his Conſtit. lib. 2. tit. *De Foro competenti.*

20. *In Court Chriſtian*] Theſe words are left out in *Linwood* his Conſtitutions, where all the reſt is *regiſtred*. And, where the *recording* thereof amongſt the *Provincial Canons* of *Canterbury*, gave the beſt countenance to their conjecture, who degrade this *Act* of *Parliament* into a meer *Church-Conſtitution*. It is called the *Court Chriſtian*, becauſe therein the Laws of Chriſt do, or ſhould bear the *deciſive ſway*, whileſt the Statutes of *Secular Princes* regulate the proceedings in other *Courts*.

21. *Such things as be meerly ſpiritual*] This furniſheth us with a neceſſary diſtinction of all matters;

Into { meerly and purely / mixtly and partly } *ſpiritual.*

Of the former we ſhall finde very few, *meerly ſpiritual*. For the Apoſtles ſometimes conceived, that the very diſtribution of Almes to the poor, had ſomething of worldly droſſineſs therein (called by them [d] *ſerving of tables*) as if onely the preaching of the word were a *ſpiritual* employment. Of the latter ſort many things are mixtly *ſpiritual*. For, ſeeing man conſiſts of two principles, *ſoul* and *body*, all his actions good or bad, as to the *minde-moiety* or *ſoul-part* thereof, muſt needs have at leaſt a glance of *ſpiritual* reflection. Here then the Quære will be in matters mixtly *ſpiritual*, whether the *ſpirituality* of them ſhall refine the reſt ſo as to exalt the ſame into *Church-cogniſance*; or the *corporality*, or *earthlineſs* of them, depreſs them ſo as to ſubject them to civil conſideration? the deciſion hereof dependeth on the practice and *cuſtom* of the *Land*, as will appear hereafter.

[d] *Acts* 6. 2.

22. *For deadly ſin*] Diſtinguiſh we here betwixt a ſin *deadly* to the ſoul, drawing damnation without repentance, and a *deadly* (commonly called a *capital*) crime, deſerving death by humane Laws. The former onely is here intended, the latter belonging wholly to the *Common-Law*. Nor did the puniſhment of every *mortal ſin* (to uſe the language of that age) belong to *Church-men*, ſeeing if ſo (as *Linwood* no leſs Learnedly, then modeſtly confeſſeth) *Sic periret temporalis gladii juriſdictio, Thereby the power of the temporal ſword will wholly be taken away*. Long ſince had *Doctors-Commons* eaten up all the *Inns* of *Court*, if all things reducible to deadly ſins had pertained to the *Court-Chriſtian*. And therefore the Caſuiſts themſelves do qualifie and confine theſe words of *indefinite* extent, to ſuch crimes, which *de ſui naturâ ſpectant ad Forum Eccleſiaſticum*.

23. *As firſt fornication*] Here, ſaith *Linwood*, thirteen caſes are in *ſpecie* recited, though I dare not reckon them up, fearing to make them (lying ſo confuſedly) moe or leſs. *Fornication*, that is (ſaith the Caſuiſt) *Soluti cum ſoluta*, the uncleanneſs of a looſe (underſtand unmarried) with a *looſe* perſon.

24. *Adultery*] Theſe two alone are ſpecified, becauſe lying in a middle diſtance, ſo the more conveniently to reach other ſins of this kinde, of higher or lower guilt;

1. Higher } as { Inceſt.
2. Lower } as { Soliciting a womans chaſtity.

If any ſay that *Adultery* doth not belong to the *Court-Chriſtian*, becauſe Chriſt himſelf

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himself would not punish an [a] *adulteress* taken in the *act*, waving it as an improper imployment. It is answered, that our Saviour appearing in privacy and poverty, and coming not to act but to suffer, not to judg but be judged, justly declined all *judicial power*. But we see afterward, how the Church of *Corinth*, by S^t *Paul* his command, proceeded against the *incestuous* person, and at this time *Church-men* cleanly carried the *cognisance* of such offences. I say at this time, it plainly appearing, that in the *Conquerors* time, *Fornication* and *Adultery* were punishable in the *Kings Court*, and the *Leets* especially, (by the name of LETHERWITE) and the fines of offenders assessed to the King, though now it meerly belonged to the Church. As for a *Rape*, being *Adultery*, or, at leastwise, *fornication* offered with violence, the *Common-Law* hath justly reserved to it self the trial and punishment thereof.

[a] *John* 8.4.11.

25. *And such like*] Here is an *interpretative et-cætera* inserted in the body of a *Parliament Act* (and a *Writ* grounded thereon) causing some differences about the Dimensions thereof. For, if these words, *And such like*, relate onely to the last foregoing, *Fornication* and *Adultery*, (in common construction most probable) then they onely fetch in such offences which have some tincture of *Carnal uncleanness*. But, if they also refer to the mediate preceding words, *deadly sins, behold a troop cometh*, beyond our power exactly to number them. And here *Forein Casuists* bring in a bundle of *mortal sins*, all grist for their own Mill, as of *Church-cognisance*; namely, *Sacriledg, Usury, Heresie, Simony, Perjury, Fortune-telling, consulting Astrologers, Drunkenness*, &c. But it matters not, how long and large their bills be from beyond the Seas, seeing our *Common-Law* brings their reckonings to a new account, defalking a great part of that measure, which they make to themselves in favour of *Church-Jurisdiction*.

26. *For that the Church is uncovered*] It belonged ever to the *Priests*, to provide for the decent reparation of *Gods-House*. Thus *Jehoiada* [b] was careful to amend the decayes of the *Temple*. But though it pertained to *Church-men* to see the thing done, yet several persons were to do it.

[b] 2 *Chro.* 24.

1. The *Steeple* with the *Body* of the *Church*, and all *Chappels* lying in common thereunto, are to be repaired at the joyn cost of the *Parish*.
2. *Private Chappels* wherein particular persons claim a propriety of sepulture at their own charges.
3. The *Chauncel* at the expence of the *Parson*.

However in all these, such respect is had to the *custom* of the place, *time out of minde*; that it often over-ruleth the premisses. Quære, Whether the *Fences* of the *Church-yard* be to be made on the *Parish-charges*, or on the purse of the several persons whose ground surroundeth it, or abutteth on the same.

* *Oblations and Tythes*] It is a question which I believe will never be decided to the contentment of both *Parties*, in what notion *Tythes* belong to the *Court-Christian*.

1. The *Canonists* maintaine,

That Originally and *ex sua natura*, they are of *Ecclesiastical cognizance*, as commonly avouched, and generally believed due, *Jure Divino*. Besides, such the near relation of the *Church* and its maintenance, that to part the oyl from the lamp were to destroy it. They produce also

2. The *Common-Lawyers* defend.

That *Tythes* in their own nature are a *civil thing*, and therefore by *Britton* (who being *Bishop* of *Hereford*, and learned in the *Laws* of this *Realm*, was best qualified for an *unpartial Judg* herein) omitted, when treating of what things the *Church* hath *cognizance*. They * affirm therefore that Tythes were annexed

* *Bracton*, lib. 5. fol. 401.

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the *Confeſſion* in the *Statute* of the firſt of *Richard* the *ſecond*, *That purſuit for Tythes ought, and of ancient time* did pertain to the *Spiritual Court*.

annexed to the *Spirituality*. Thus they expound thoſe paſſages in *Statutes* of *Tythes*, anciently belonging to *Court-Chriſtian*, as intended *by way of conceſſion*, and not otherwiſe.

But the Canoniſts are too ſturdy to take that for a gift which they conceive is their due, leſt thanks alſo be expected from them for enjoying the ſame, and ſo we leave the queſtion where we found it.

27. *Mortuary*] Becauſe ſomething of *hiſtory* is folded up in this word, which may acquaint us with the practice of this age; we will enlarge a little hereon, and ſhew what a *Mortuary* was, when to be paid, by whom, to whom and in what conſideration.

1. A *Mortuary* [a] was the ſecond beſt quick cattel whereof the party died poſſeſſed. If he had but two in all (ſuch forſooth the *charity* of the *Church*) no *Mortuary* was due from him.
2. It was often bequeathed by the dying, but however alwayes payed by his *Executors* after his death, thence called a *Mortuary* or *Corſe-preſent*.
3. *By whom*. No woman under *Covert-Baron* was lyable to pay it (and by proportion no children unmarried, living under their *Fathers tuition*) but *Widows*, and all poſſeſſed of an *Eſtate*, were ſubject to the payment thereof.
4. *To whom*. It was paid to the *Prieſt* of the *Pariſh* where the *party* dying received the *Sacrament* (not where he repaired to prayers) and if his houſe at his death ſtood in two *Pariſhes*, the value of the Mortuary was to be divided betwixt them both.
5. It was given in *lieu* of *ſmall* or *perſonal Tythes* (*Predial Tythes* are too great to be caſually forgotten) which the *party* in his *life-time* had, though ignorance or negligence, not fully paid. But in caſe the aforeſaid *Mortuary* fell far ſhort of full ſatisfaction for ſuch omiſſions, *Caſuiſts* maintain the *dying party* obliged to a larger reſtitution.

[a] *Linwood Conſtit. lib. 1. fol. 11. de Conſuetudine.*

So much of *Mortuaries*, as they were generally paid at the preſent, until the time of *Henry* the ſixth, when learned *Linwood* wrote his *Comment* on that *Conſtitution*. How *Mortuaries* were after reduced to a new regulation by a *Statute*, in the twenty firſt of *Henry* the eighth, pertains not to our preſent purpoſe.

28. *For laying violent hands on a Prieſt*] The Eccleſiaſtical Judg might proceed *ex officio*, and *pro ſalute animæ*, puniſh the offender who offered violence to a Prieſt; but dammages on *Action of Battery* were onely recoverable at *Common-Law*: Note, that the *arreſting* of a *Clergy-man* by *Proceſs* of *Law*, is not to be counted a violence.

29. *And in cauſe of Defamation*] Where the matter defamatory is ſpiritual, as to call one *Heretick*, or *Schiſmatick*, &c. the plea lay in *Court-Chriſtian*. But defamations with mixture, any matter determinable in the *Common-Law*, as *Thief*, *Murderer*, &c. are to be traverſed therein.

30. *Defamation it hath been granted*] From this word *granted*, *Common-Lawyers* collect (let them alone to husband their own right) that originally *defamations* pertained not to the *Court-Chriſtian*. From the beginning it was not ſo, until the *Common-Law* by *Acts* of *Parliament*, *granted* and ſurrendred ſuch ſuits to the *Spirituality*.

31. Thus by this *Act* and *Writ* of *Circumſpectè agatis*, King *Edward* may ſeem like an expert Artiſt, to *cleave an hair*, betwixt the *ſpiritual* and *temporal* juriſdiction, allowing the premiſſes to the former, and leaving whatever is not ſpecified

No end can end an everlaſting difference.

specified in this *Act*, to the *Cognizance* of the *Common-Law*, according to the known and common *Maxime*, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*. However, for many years after there was constant heaving and shoving betwixt the two *Courts*. And, as there are certain lands in the *Marches* of *England* and *Scotland* (whilest distinct Kingdomes) termed *Battable-grounds*, which may give for their *Motto*, not, *Dentur justiori*, but, *Dentur fortiori*, for alway the strongest sword for the present possessed them: So in *controversial cases* to which *Court* they should belong; sometimes the *Spirituality*, sometimes the *Temporality*, alternately seized them into their Jurisdiction, as power and favour best befriended them. But generally the *Clergie* complained, that, as in the blending of liquors of several colours, few drops of *red* will give a tincture to a greater quantity of *white*, so the least mixture of *Civil* concernment in *Religious* matters, so discolourated the *Christian candor* and purity thereof, that they appeared *in a temporal hue*, and under that notion were challenged to the *Common-Law*. Said, when *Courts* that should be *Judges*, turn themselves *Plaintiffs* and *Defendents*, about the bounds of their *Jurisdiction*.

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See more hereof on *Articuli Cleri*, in the Reign of *Edward* the second.

32. We long since mentioned the first coming in of the Jews into *England* (brought over by *William* the Conqueror) and now are come this year to their casting out of this Kingdome; having first premised some observables concerning their continuance therein. If hitherto we have not scattered our History with any discourse of the Jews, know it done by design: that as they were enjoyned by our Laws, to live alone in streets by themselves (not mixing in their dwellings with Christians) so we purposely singled out their story, and reserved it by it self, for this one entire relation thereof.

A transition to the entire story of our English Jews.

1290. 18.

33. They were scattered all over *England*. In *Cambridg*, *Bury*, *Norwich*, *Lin*, *Stanford*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *York*, and, where not? But their principal aboad was in *London*, where they had their Arch-Synagogue at the North corner of the *Old-Jury*, as opening into *Lothbury*. After their expulsion, their Synagogue was turned into the Covent of the *Friers of the Sack*, or, *De Penitentia Jesu*; and after their suppression, it became successively the house, first of a Lord, then of a Merchant; since of any man for his money, being turned into a *Tavern*, with the sign of the [a] *wind-mill*. A proper sign to express the moveableness of that place, which with several gales of success, hath been turned about, from so many *owners*, and to so many uses.

Their principal residence in *London*.

[a] *Stow* his Survey of *London*, pag. 288.

34. As for the civil government of Jews in *England*, the King set over them one principal Officer, called the *Justicer of the Jews*, whose place in honor was next to the *Baron of the Exchequer*. His office was to be the Patron & Protector of the Jews in their just rights, to decide all suits betwixt Christians and them, and to keep the seal of the Jews their Corporation, with the keys of their Treasury; I conceive of such moneys as they paid as Tribute to the King: otherwise the Jews had age enough to keep the Keys of their own coffers themselves, and wit too much to trust them with others. S^r *Robert de Hod*, and S^r *Philip Lovel* (afterward Treasurer of *England*) men of signal Nobility, successively discharged this place. These Justicers often acted very high in defence of their Clients, the Jews; insomuch as I finde it [b] complained of by the English Clergy, as a great grievance; that, when a Jew was convented before the Ecclesiastical Judg, for his misdemeanours (as Sacriledg, violence offered to some Priest, adultery with a Christian woman, &c.) their own Justicer would interpose, and, by a *Prohibition* obtained from the King, obstruct all legal proceedings against such a Jew, as onely responsible in his own jurisdiction.

The Justicer of the Jews.

[b] *Additamenta Matthæi Parisiensis* p. 202.

35. In their spiritual government they were all under one Pontifex, or *High Priest*. We finde his name was *Elias*, who *Anno* 1234. had that office. He was also called the Presbyter of the Jews, whose place was usually confirmed at least, if not constituted by the King, who by his *Patent* granted the same, as may appear by this copie of King *Johns*, as followeth.

The High Priest, or Presbyter of the Jews.

REX

Anno Regis Ed. I. 18. Anno Dom. 1290.

REX [a] omnibus fidelibus suis, & omnibus Judeis, & Anglis salutem. Sciatis Nos concessisse, & presenti Chartâ nostrâ confirmasse Jacobo Judæo de Londoniis *Presbyterio Judæorum*, Presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ, *habendum & tenendum quamdiu vixerit, liberè & quietè; & honorificè, & integrè, ita quòd nemo ei super hoc molestiam aliquam, aut gravamen inferre præsumat: Quare volumus, & firmiter præcipimus, quod eidem* Jacobo *quoad vixerit* Presbyteratum Judæorum per totam Angliam, *garantetis, manu teneatis, & pacificè defendatis; & si quis ei super eo forisfacere præsumserit, id ei sine dilatione (salva nobis emenda nostra) de forisfactura nostrâ emendari faciatis, tanquam Dominico Judæo nostro quem specialiter in servitio nostro retinuimus. Prohibemus etiam ne de aliquo ad se pertinente ponatur in placitum, nisi coram Nobis, aut coram Capitali Justitia nostrâ, sicut Charta Regis* Richardi, *fratris nostri, testatur. Teste S. Bathoniensi Episcopo &c. Dat. per manus H. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Cancellarii nostri apud Rothomagum* 31. *die Julii, Anno Regni nostri primo.*

[a] *Rot. Cart. 1 Reg. Joh. part. 1. memb. 28. Cart. 171.*

I have transcribed this Patent the rather for the rarity thereof, it being a strange sight, to see a Christian Arch-Bishop date an Instrument for a Jewish Presbyter.

36. Their livelihood was all on Usury. One Verse in [b] *Deuteronomy* (with their Comment thereon) was more beneficial unto them, then all the Old Testament besides. *Unto a stranger thou maiest lend upon usury, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury.* Now interpreting all *strangers* who (though neighbours at the next door) were not of their own nation, they became the universal Usurers of all *England*; and did our Kingdom this courtesie, that, because all *hated the Jews for their Usury sake*; all also *hated Usury for the Jews sake*, so that Christians generally disdained to be guilty thereof. Now, seeing there are two *wayes to wealth*, one *long and sure*, by saving at home; the other *short*, but not so *certain* (because probably it may meet with detection and punishment) by oppressing abroad, no wonder if the Jews, using both wayes, quickly arrived at vast estates.

Jews griping Usurers.

[b] *Deut. 23. 20.*

37. For, first for their fare, it was course in the quality, and yet slender in the quantity thereof. Insomuch, that they would, in a manner, *make pottage of a flint*. *Swines-flesh* indeed they would not eat, but *dogs-meat* they would; I mean, *beef* and *mutton*, so poor, and lean, that the *refuse* of all Christians, was the Jews *choice* in the Shambles. Clothes they wore so poor, and patch'd, beggars would not take them up to have them. Attendants they kept none, every one waiting on himself. No wonder then, if easily they did *over-grow* others in wealth, who basely did *under-live* themselves in all convenient accommodations. Nor were they less gripple in keeping, then greedy in catching of goods; who would as soon lose their fingers, as let go what they had clutched therein.

Their rapaciousness, and tenaciousness.

38. I was of the opinion (and perchance not without company in my mistake) that the Jews were not permitted to purchase Lands in *England*. I thought, onely the ground of their graves (generally buried without *Cripplegate*, in the *Jews garden*, on the West side of S^t *Giles*'s Church-yard, now turned into Tenements in *Red-cross-street*) could be termed theirs. But since I am informed, that *Benomy* [c] *Mittun*, a Jew (as certainly many more besides him) was possessed of much Land, and many houses in several parishes in *London*. Surely their purchases were limited within some restrictions. But the Jews generally more fancied letting-out of money, then buying in of Land, as which made their estates less subject to discovery, more plentiful in their encreasing, and more portable in the removing thereof.

Jews might purchase houses.

[c] *Stows Survey, pag. 288, and 289.*

39. It was an usual punishment legally inflicted on these Jews, for their offences not capital, to *Excommunicate* them. Thus such Jews should be Excommunicated, who, contrary to the Laws, kept *Christian-nurses* [a] in their houses; or, who cast off that *badg*, or *cognizance*, which they ought

Lay-excommunication, what it was.

[a] *Addhamend Matthei Paris. pag 202.*

to

to have worn over their upper garment, to be distinguished from Christians. Surely such *Excommunication* was no Ecclesiastical censure, needless to keep the Jews out of our Churches, who hated all coming into them. Rather it was a civil penalty (equivalent to the Universities *discommoning* a Townsman in *Cambridg*) whereby the Jews were debarred all commerce with Christians (worse to them then all the plagues of *Egypt*) and so the mart of their profit marred, dearer unto them then life it self. Anno Dom. 1290. Anno Regis Ed. 1. 18.

Jews unfortunate at feasts and frays.

40. Endless it were to reckon up the indignities offered unto these Jews, on occasion sometimes given, but oftner taken. Apprentices now adayes do not throw sticks *at Cocks* on Shrove-tuesday so commonly, as then on that day they used clubs on the Jews, if appearing out of their houses. A people equally unhappy at *feasts*, and at *frays*. For, whensoever the Christians at any *revels* made great entertainments, the Jews were made to pay the *reckoning*. And wheresoever any *braule* began, in *London*, it ended alwayes in the *Old-Jury*, with pillaging of the people therein. What good heart can without grief, recount the injuries offered to those, who once were the only people of God? These were they who preferred *Barabbas*, before *Christ their Saviour*, which *Barabbas was a* [b] *robber, a raiser of* [c] *insurrection, and a murderer*. And ever since that time, in all insurrections against them (when they desired, and sought safety, and deliverance) it hath been their constant portion to be robbed and murdered.

b *John* 18. 40.
c *Mark* 15. 7.

A sad Jewish Jubilee.

41. But the most terrible persecution fell upon them at the Coronation of King *Richard* the first, which, according to the Jewish computation was their Jubile; and then busie in the observance thereof, though (alas) they had not one merry day in the compass of the whole year. They were forbidden, for fear of their inchantments, to approach the Kings Coronation, upon heavy penalties denounced. Now, their curiosity was so far above their covetousness, or rather, their wilfulness so far above their curiosity herein, that, out of their old spirit of contradiction, some appeared there, which caused the killing of many, robbing of moe Jews in *London*. On the same account, within few dayes after (how quickly can cruelty *ride post* seven score and ten miles?) five hundred Jews besieged in a Tower at *York*, first beheaded their own wives and children, and then burnt themselves, to escape more cruel torments.

London-wall built with Jewish stones.
[d] *Stows* Survey of *London*, pag. 288.

42. In the seventeenth year of the Reign of King *John*, the Barons brake into the Jews houses, and rifled their coffers, and with the stone of their houses, repaired the gates, and [d] walls of *London*. Surely such stones must be presumed very hard, like the Jews, their owners, from whom they were taken, and yet they soon mouldred away with winde and weather. Indeed plundered-stone never make strong walls. And I impute it as a partial cause of the weakness of *London*-walls (which no enemy ever since assaulted, but he entered them) that a great part of them (enough to infect all the rest) was built with materials got by oppression.

Henry the third cruel to the Jews.
[e] *Mat. Paris* pag. 605.

43. But, of all our English Kings, none ground the Jews with exactions, like King *Henry* the third. Onely herein the Jews might, and did comfort themselves, that the English, his Native Subjects, also smarted soundly under his oppression. He not onely flead the skin, but raked the flesh, and scarrified the bones of all the Jews estates in *England*; *ut vivere fastidirent, that it was irksome for them to live*. [e] *Gold* he would receive of every Jewish man, or woman, alwayes with his own hand, but consigned other officers to receive the *silver* from them. One offensive act he wilfully did to their conscience, in giving them leave, at their own cost and charges, to build them a new Synagogue, and when they had finish'd it, He commanded them to dedicate it to the Virgin [f] *Mary*, whereby they utterly lost the use thereof; and afterwards the King gave it to be a *Cell of S*[t] *Anthony of Vienna*. A vexatious deed, meerly to despight them, who are (since their smarting for Idolatry in the captivity of *Babylon*) pertinacious worshippers of one God, and nothing

[f] *Stows* Survey, p. 192.

more

Anno Regis Ed. 1. 18. Anno Dom. 1290.

more retardeth their converſion to Chriſtianity, then the ſcandal given daylie unto them, by the Popiſh *Saint-ſhip* to their *images*.

44. It may juſtly ſeem admirable, whence theſe Jews ſo often pillaged to their bare skins, ſo ſuddenly *recruited* themſelves with wealth. What I have heard affirmed of ſome ground in *Gloceſter*-ſhire, that in a kindly ſpring, bite it bare over night, next morning the graſs will be grown to *hide a wande* therein, is moſt certainly true in application to the Jews, ſo full and faſt did wealth flow in upon them. Let their *eggs* not onely be taken away, but their *neſts* be pluck'd down; yet within few years we ſhall finde them hatching a new brood of wealth therein. This made many ſuſpect them, for clipping and coyning of money. But, to leſſen the wonder of theſe Jews their ſpeedy recovery, know, that (beſides ſome of their inviſible hoardes eſcaping their plunderers hands) the Jews in other places (where the perſecution for the preſent) furniſhed them to ſet up trading again. Indeed commendable was the Jews charity to their own Country-men, ſave that neceſſity commanded them to love one another, being hated of all other nations.

The wonder of the Jews ſpeedy recruiting their eſtates.

45. To avoid theſe miſeries, they had but one ſhift (and, as uſed by ſome of them, it was but a ſhift indeed) to pretend themſelves Chriſtian Converts, and to tender themſelves to be baptized. To ſuch perſons, in a temporal reſpect, *Baptiſm waſhed away all ſin*; they being cleared and quitted from all ante-facts how hainous ſoever, by their entrance into Chriſtianity. Thus *Anno* 1259. *Elias Biſcop*, a *London*-Jew, charged with many horrible crimes; and, amongſt others, that with poiſoned drinke he had cauſed the death of many Engliſh Gentlemen, eſcaped all puniſhment by being baptized. For the farther encouragement of their converſion, King *Henry* the third erected a ſmall houſe in *Chancery*-Lane (where the office of the *Rolls* is now kept) for Convert-Jews to dwell in, allowing a daylie ſalary to them for their maintenance. It is to be feared many lived therein who were *Jews inwardly*, but not in the Apoſtles [a] acception thereof, *in the ſpirit, but in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God*; but I mean ſuch, who ſtill retained the dregs of Judaiſme under the fained profeſſion of Chriſtianity. Sure I am, King *Edward* at this time was ſo incenſed againſt the Jewiſh Nation, that now he reſolved the total and final extirpation of them, and theirs, out of his Dominions.

Crouds of counterfeit converts.

* *Mat. Paris* pag. 982.

a *Rom.* 2. 29.

46. Many miſdemeanours were laid to their charge, amongſt which theſe following were the principal. Firſt, *Enchantments*. This was an old ſin of the Jews, whereof the Prophets alwayes complained, [b] *the multitude of thy ſorceries, and the great abundance of thine inchantments*. And it ſeemes they ſtill retained their old wicked wont. Secondly, *Poiſoning*. To give the Jews their due, this was none of their faults, whileſt living in their own land, not meeting with the word in the whole Bible. It ſeems they learnt this ſin after their diſperſion in other Nations, and ſince are grown exquiſite in that art of wickedneſs. Thirdly, *Clipping of money*. Fourthly, *Counterfeiting of Chriſtians hands and ſeals*. Fifthly, *Extortion*. A Jew occaſioned a mutiny in *London*, by demanding from a poor Chriſtian, above two ſhillings for the uſe of twenty ſhillings for one week, being (by proportion) no leſs then five hundred and twenty pounds *per annum* for every hundred. Sxthly, *Crucifying of the children of Chriſtians* (to keep their hands in ure) *always about Eaſter*. So that the time pointed at their intents directly in deriſion of our Saviour. How ſufficiently theſe crimes were witneſſed againſt them, I know not. In ſuch caſes weak proofs are *of proof* againſt rich offenders. We may well believe, if their perſons were guilty of ſome of theſe faults, their eſtates were guilty of all the reſt.

Miſdemeanors charged on the Jews.

b *Iſai.* 47. 9.

See Tovey, p. 132.

47. *Now although it paſſeth for an uncontrolled truth, that the Jews were by the King violently caſt out of the Land, yet a great* [a] *Lawyer* ſtates the caſe *much otherwiſe* (viz.) *that the King did not directly expel them, but only prohibit them to put money*

Jews ſay others not caſt out, but craved leave to depart.

a Sir *Ed. Coke.*

money to use; which produced a petition from them to the King, that they might have leave to depart the Land; a request easily granted unto them: some will say it is all one in effect, whether one be starved *or* stabbed, *death inevitably following from both, as here the Jews were famished, on the matter, out of* England; *usury being their meat and drink, without which they were unable longer to subsist: However this took off much from the Odium of the act, that they were not immediately, but only indirectly and consequentially banished the Realm, or rather permitted a free departure on their own petition for the same. As for the sad accident that some hundreds of them being purposely shipped out of a spightful design, in a leaking vessel, were all drowned in the Sea, if true, it cannot but command compassion in any Christian heart.*

Anno Dom. 1290. Anno Regis Ed. 1. 18.

The King gets incredible wealth forfeited by the Jews.

48. It is hardly to be believed, what vast sums of wealth accrewed to the King, by this (call it ejection, or amotion, or) decession of the Jews. He allowed them only bare *viaticum* to bear their charges, and seised on all the rest of their estates. Insomuch, that now the King needed not to listen to the counsel of *William Marsh*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, and Treasurer of *England* (but therein speaking more like a Treasurer then a Bishop) advising him, if in necessity, *to take all the plate and money of Churches* [a] *and Monasteries, therewith to pay his souldiers.* The poor Jews durst not go into *France* (whence lately they had been solemnly banished) but generally disposed themselves in *Germany*, and *Italy*, especially in the Popes territories therein, where profit from *Jews* and *Stews*, much advance the constant revenues of his Holiness. 1293 21. 1294 22.

a *Polydore Virgil.*

King *Edward* arbitrator betwixt *Bailiol* and *Bruce.*

49. King *Edward* having done with the *Jews*, began with the *Scots*, and effectually humbled them, and their country. This the occasion. Two Competitors appearing for the Crown of *Scotland*, [*John Bailiol*, and *Robert Bruce*] and, both referring their title to King *Edward*'s decision, he adjudged the same to *Bailiol*, or rather to himself in *Bailiol*. For he enjoyned him to do homage unto him, and that hereafter the Scotish Crown should be held in fealty of the English. *Bailiol*, or his necessity rather (his person being in King *Edward*'s power) accepted the condition, owning in *England* one above himself, that so he might be above all in *Scotland*. But, no sooner was he returned into his own Kingdom, and peaceably possessed thereof, but instantly in a Letter of defiance, he disclaimeth all former promises to King *Edward*, appealing to the Christian world, whether his own *inforced obedience* were more to be *pitied*, or King *Edward*'s *insolence* (improving it self on a Princes present extremities) more to be condemned. 1295 23.

He proveth *malleus Scotorum.*

50. Offended hereat, King *Edward* advanceth into *Scotland*, with the forces he formerly intended for *France*. Power and policy make a good medly, and the one fareth the better for the other. King *Edward* to strengthen himself, thought fit to take in the title of *Robert Bruce*, (*Bailiols* corrival, hitherto living privately in *Scotland*) pretending to settle him in the Kingdom. Hereupon the Scots, to lessen their losses, and the English victories, [b] affirm, that in this expedition their own Country-men were chiefly conquered by their own Country-men, the *Brucian* party assisting the English. Sure it is that King *Edward* took *Barwick*, *Dunbar*, *Sterling*, *Edenburgh*, the Crown, Scepter, and (out of *Scone*) the Royal Chair, and prophetical Marble therein. And though commonly it be observed, that English valour hopefully budding and blossoming on this side of *Edenburgh-Frith*, is frost-bitten on the North thereof; yet our victorious *Edward*, crossing that sea, took *Montross*, and the best Counties thereabout. In a word, he conquered almost all the *Garden of Scotland*, and left the *wilderness* thereof to conquer it self. Then having setled *Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, Vice-Roy thereof, and made all the Scotish Nobility (*Doughty Douglas* alone excepted, who was committed to prison for his singular recusancy) swear homage unto him, and taking *John Bailiol* captive along with him, he returned triumphantly into *England*. 1297 25.

b *G. Buchanan Rerum Scot. libro octavo.*

The End of the Thirteenth Century.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

CENT. XIV.

TO
CLEMENT THROCKMORTON, the Elder,
OF
Haſeley in *Warwick-ſhire*, Eſq;

LEt *others boaſt of their* French *bloud, whileſt your* Engliſh *family may* vie Gentry *with any of the* Norman *Extraction.* 1. *For* Antiquity, *four Monoſyllables being, by common pronuntiation, crouded into your name*; THE, ROCK, MORE, TOWN. 2. *For* Numeroſity, *being branched into ſo many Counties.* 3. *For* Ingenuity, *charactered by* † Camden *to be* FRUITFUL OF FINE WITS, *whereof ſeveral inſtances might be produced.*

† Brit. in *Warwick-ſhire.*

But a principal conſideration, which doth, and ever ſhall command my reſpect unto your perſon, is, your faithful and cordial friendſhip, in matters of higheſt concernment, (whatever be the ſucceſs thereof) to the beſt of my Relations; which I conceived my ſelf obliged publickly to confeſs.

Ed. 1. 29. 1301.

1. AMidſt theſe cruel Wars, betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, Pope *Boniface* the eighth, ſent his Letters to King *Edward*, requiring him to quit his claim, and ceaſe his Wars, and releaſe his priſoners, of the *Scotch* Nation, as a people exempt, and properly pertaining to *his own Chappel.* Perchance the *Popes* right to the Crown of *Scotland* is written on the back-ſide of *Conſtantines Donation.* And it is ſtrange, that if *Scotland* be the *Popes* peculiar Demeanes, it ſhould be ſo far diſtant from *Rome*, his chief Manſion houſe; he grounded his *Title* thereunto, becauſe [a] *Scotland was firſt converted, by the reliques of St Peter, to the unity of the Catholick faith.* But it ſeemes, not ſo much ambition in his *Holineſs*, made him at this preſent to ſtart this pretence,

The Pope challengeth *Scotland* as peculiar to himſelf.

[a] Fox Acts & Monuments, lib. 1. p. 444, and 445.

but the ſecret ſolicitation of the *Scots* themſelves, who now to avoid the ſtorme of the *Engliſh*, ran under this *Buſh*, and put themſelves in the *Popes* protection. Anno Dom. 1301. Anno Regis Ed. 1. 29.

K. *Edward* aſſiſted by his Lords, ſtoutly maintaineth his own right.

2. Hereupon King *Edward* called a Councel of his *Lords* at *Lincoln*, where peruſing the contents of the *Popes* preſcript, he returned a large anſwer, wherein he endeavoured by evident reaſons, and ancient predceents, to prove his propriety in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. This was ſeconded by another from the *Engliſh Peerage*, ſubſcribed with all their hands, the whole [a] tenor whereof deſerves to be inſerted, but this *paſſage* muſt not be omitted, being directed to no meaner then his *Holineſs* himſelf.

[a] It is extant in *Fox* at *ſupra*, as alſo in *Holinſhed*, in the 29. of the reign of King *Edward* the firſt. pag. 311.

> *Wherefore, after treaty had, and diligent deliberation of the contents of your foreſaid Letters, this was the common agreement, and conſent with one minde, and ſhall be without fail, in time to come, by Gods grace, that our foreſaid Lord the King ought by no means to anſwer in judgment in any caſe, or ſhould bring his foreſaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to ſend any Proctors or meſſengers to your preſence. Eſpecially ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſheriting of the Crown of* England, *and the plain overthrow of the State of the ſaid Realm, and alſo hurt of the Liberties, Cuſtomes, and Laws of our Fathers; for the keeping and defence of which, we are bound, by the duty of the Oath made, and we will maintain them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods help) with all our ſtrength.*

The *Pope* perceived he had met with men, which underſtood themſelves, and that King *Edward* was no King *John*, to be frighted or flattered out of his Right, he therefore was loath to claſh his Keys againſt the others ſword, to trie which was made of the hardeſt mettal; but foreſeeing the *Verdict* would go againſt him, wiſely non-ſuited himſelf. Whereas had this unjuſt challenger, met with a timerous Defendant, it had been enough to have created an undeniable title to him and his ſucceſſors. The beſt is, *Nullum tempus occurrit Papæ, no proceſs of time doth prejudice the Popes due*; but whenſoever he pleaſeth to proſecute his *right*, *Scotland* lieth ſtill in the ſame place where it did before.

One condemned for a traitor for bringing the Popes Bull.

[a] *Brook tit. præmunire*, p. 10.

[c] 5 part of Sir *Ed. Cokes* Reports, *de jure Reg. Ecc. fol.* 12.

3. About this time a ſubject brought in a *Bull of Excommunication* againſt another ſubject of this Realm, and publiſhed it to the Lord Treaſurer of *England*, and this was by the ancient [a] Common-Law of *England* adjudged Treaſon againſt the King, his Crown and dignity, for the which, the offender ſhould have been drawn and hanged, but at the great inſtance of the chancelour and Treaſurer, he was onely abjured the Realm for ever. And this caſe is the more remarkable, becauſe he was condemned by the Common-Law of *England*, before any particular [c] Statute was enacted in that behalf. 1302 30.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* humbled by the King.

[d] *Annal. Eccl. Auguſt. Cant.*

Guiltineſs makes proud men baſe.

[e] *Antiq. Brita.* p. 207. *ex Tho. Walſingham.*

[f] *Harpsfield Hiſt. Eccl. Ang.* pag. 446.

[g] Worthily ſee *Godwin de Archipiſc. Cantuarienſ.* p. 145.

4. But the *courage* of King *Edward* moſt appeared in *humbling* and *ordering Robert Wincelſey*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*. He was an *inſolent* man, hated even of the *Clergie*, becauſe, though their *champion* to preſerve them from *Civil* and *Secular burdens*, yet the *Popes Broker*, to reſerve them for his *unconſcionable exactions*, as if keeping *Church-men* to be wrong'd by none, but himſelf. Long had the *King* looked on him with an angry *eye*, as oppoſite to his proceedings, and now at the laſt had him at his mercy, for plotting [d] *Treaſon* with ſome others of the *Nobility*, againſt him, projecting to *depoſe* him, and ſet up his Son *Edward* in his *Room*. 1305 33.

5. The *Arch-Biſhop* throwing himſelf proſtrate at the *Kings* feet, with tears and [e] lamentation, confeſſed his fault in a *poſture* of *cowardly dejection*, deſcending now as much beneath himſelf, as formerly he had arrogantly inſulted over others; [f] ſome are loath to allow him guilty of the *crime* objected, others

Anno Regis Ed. 1. 33. Anno Dom. 1305.

others conceive him onely to have done this, presuming on the *Kings noble disposition for pardon.* But such must yield him a *Traitor* either to the *Kings Crown*, or to his own innocence by his *unworthy acknowledging* his *offence.* Thus that man who confesseth *a debt*, which he knows not *due*, hoping his *Creditor* will thereupon give him an *acquittance*, scarce deserveth pitty for his *folly*, if presently sent to *prison* for *non-payment* thereof. Then he called the *King his Master*, a terme, wherewith formerly his *tongue* was unacquainted, (whom neither by word or letter he would ever acknowledg under that notion) tendering himself to be disposed at his pleasure.

6. No, Quoth the King, *I will not be both party and judg, and proceed against you as I might by the Common-Law of the Land. I bear more respect to your order, whereof you are as unworthy as of my favour: having formerly had experience of your malice in smaller matters, when you so rigorously used my Chaplains attending on me in their ordinary service beyond the Seas; so that though I sent my Letters unto you, you as lightly regarded what I wrot, as what they pleaded in their own behalf.* *Wincelsey* having but one *guard* for all *blows*, persisted in his *submission*, desiring (a president unparallel'd) *that the King would give him his blessing:* No, said the King, *it is more proper that you should give me your blessing. But, well, I will remit you to your own great Master the Pope, to deal with you according to your deserts.* But the *Arch-Bishop* loath belike to go to *Rome*, and staying longer in *England*, then the Kings *command*, and (perchance) his own *promise*, lurk'd in a *Covent*, at *Canterbury*, till fourscore [b] *Monks* were by the Kings *command* thrust out of their *places* for relieving him out of their *charity*; and were not restored till the aforesaid *Arch-Bishop* was *banished the Kingdom.*

The remarkable Dialogue betwixt the King and Arch-Bish. 1. *Antiquitates Britannica ut prius.*

b *Annal. Eccl. August. Cant.*

7. Not long after he appeared before *Pope Clement* the fift, at *Burdeaux*, where having been so great a *stickler* for his *Holiness*, (insomuch that his present disfavour with the King was originally caused by his *activity* for the *Pope*) he might rationally have expected some *courtesie.* But though he had used both his *hands* to scrape treasure for the *Church of Rome*; the *Pope* would not lend his least finger to his support, but suspended him from *office* and *benefit* of his *place*, till he should clear himself from the crime of *Treason* wherewith he was charged. Whether done to procure *reputation* to the Justice of the *Court of Rome*; where, in *publick causes*, men, otherwise privately well deserving, should finde, no more *favour* there, then they brought *innocence* thither: Or becaus (which is most probable) the *Pope* loved the *Arch-Bishoprick*, better then the *Arch-Bishop*; and knew during his *suspension*, both to increase his *profit*, and improve his *power* in *England*, by such cunning *Factors*, as he imployed in the business; namely, *William de Testa*, and *Peter Amaline*, both strangers, to whom the *Pope* committed the *sequestration* of *Canterbury*, whilest the cause of *Wincelsey* did as yet depend undetermined.

Wincelsey finds no favour from the Pope, and why.

8. These by Papal Authority, summoned before them *John Salmon* Bishop of *Norwich*, for exacting the *first-fruits* of *vacant Benefices*, from the Clergie of his *Dioces*. The case was this. Some sixty years since, *Pandulph*, an Italian, and Popes Legat (a perfect Artist in progging for money) being Bishop of *Norwich*, [c] pretending his Church to be in debt, obtained of his *Holiness* the *first-fruits* of vacant *Benefices* in *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, to discharge that engagement. This *Grant* to him, being but personal, local, and temporary, was improved by his Successors to a constant revenue; yea (covetousness being an apt *Scholar*, and profit an easie *lesson*) this example was followed by other English Bishops in their respective Dioceses. Behold here a piece of exemplary *Justice.* Who could have look'd for less (the illegality of these payments appearing) but that the Clergie should be eased of them? Whereas these forein *Sequestrators* did order, that generally throughout *England*, the *first-fruits* of all spiritual promotions falling void next, for three years should be paid over to the Popes Chamber at *Rome*; onely [d] *Cathedral*, and *Conventual-Churches* were excepted herein. No reason is rendered, why the burden fell on Parish-Churches; except any will say, that the Ass must bear more

A signal piece of Justice don by forein Sequestrators.

c *Harpsfield Hist. Eccl. Ang. in Seculo 13. cap. 15.*

d *Antiquitates Britan. p. 208.*

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more then the Horſe; and the load is beſt laid on that beaſt, which hath leaſt mettle to kick it off, and throw it down: the poor *Parochial* Clergie being moſt unable to reſiſt the uſurpation of his Holineſs.

Englands gald back exchanges a full flie for an hungry one.

9. Afterwards, this *William Teſta*, who according to his *name*, came over an *empty ſhell*, but departed with the *kernel* of the *Engliſh wealth*, complained of, for his extortion [a] to the Parliament, was called home, and *Peter* a Spaniſh Cardinal ſent in his room; where he concluded and celebrated a marriage, betwixt *Prince Edward* and *Iſabel*, the King of *France* his *Daughter*. Towards the bearing of his charges, this Cardinal required twelve *mark* of all *Cathedrals*, and *Convents*; and of Pariſh-Churches eight pence out of every *mark* of their *yearlie revenue*. But the King made him content with the moity of his demand.

[a] *Contra intemperantem Teſtæ avaritiam publicè in Parliamento querelæ quàd Clerum immoderatè emungeret*, Harpſfield, p. 431.

The infinite wealth *Rome* yearly drained from *England*.

10. Mean time intollerable were the taxes, which the Engliſh Clergie paid to *Rome*. The *Poets* faigne *Arethuſa*, a River in *Armenia*, to be ſwallowed up by the earth, and running many miles under the Ocean, in *Sicilie* (they ſay) it vents it ſelf up again. But (without any fiction) the *wealthy ſtreams*, flowing from a plentiful ſpring in *England*, did ſuddenly diſappear, and being inſenſibly conveyed in inviſible chanels, not under, but over the Sea, were found far off to ariſe afreſh at *Rome*, in the Popes Treaſury; where the *Italians*, though (being themſelves bred in a clear and ſubtile Climate) they ſcorn'd the dulneſs of the wits, and hated the groſs ayre of this Iſland, yet hugg'd the heavineſs of the gold thereof; this Kingdom being one of the beſt places for their profit. Although proud [b] *Harding* ſaith, that the Popes yearly *gains* out of *England* were but as a GNAT to an ELEPHANT. Oh the over-grown Beaſt of *Romes Revenues*!

[b] *In Confut. Apolog.*

The death & character of K. *Edward* the firſt.

11. The death of King *Edward* the firſt, gave a great advancement to the Popes incroaching. A worthy *Prince* he was, fixed in his generation betwixt a weak Father, and ſon; as if made wiſe and valiant by their *Antiperiſtaſis*. Equally fortunate in drawing, and ſheathing the ſword; in war, and peace: having taught the Engliſh loyaltie, by them almoſt forgotten; and the *Welſh*, ſubjection, which they never learn'd before. In himſelf religiouſly diſpoſed; founded the famous [c] *Abbey* of *Val-royal* for the *Ciſtercians* in *Cheſhire*, and by Will bequeathing thirty two thouſand pounds to the *Holy War*. Obedient, not ſervile to the *See* of *Rome*. A foe to the pride, and friend to the profeſſion of the Clergie: whom he watered with his bounty, but would not have to ſpread ſo broad, as to juſtle, or grow ſo high as to overtop the Regal Authority; Dying in due time for himſelf, almoſt ſeventy year old; but too ſoon for his Subjects, eſpecially for his *Son*, whoſe giddy youth lack'd a guide to direct him. In a word, As the Arm of King *Edward* the firſt was accounted the meaſure of a yard, generally received in *England*: ſo his actions are an excellent model, and a praiſe-worthy platform for ſucceeding Princes to imitate.

1307 | 35.

[c] *Camd. Brit. in Cheſhire.*

Wincelſey at the requeſt of K. *Edward* the ſecond reſtored to his Arch-Biſhoprick.

12. *Edward* his Son, by Letters to the *Pope*, requeſted, that *Robert Wincelſey* might be reſtored to his *Arch-Biſhoprick*, which was done accordingly, though he returned too late to Crown the King; which ſolemnity was performed by *Henry Woodlock*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Here let the peaceable Reader part two contrary reports from fighting together, both avowed by Authors of credit. [d] Some ſay, *Wincelſey*, after his return, receiv'd his profits maim'd and mangled, ſcarce amounting to half; and that poor pittance he was fain to beſtow to repair his dilapidated Palace. Others report, his revenues not leſs'ned in quantity, and increaſ'd in the intireneſs, were paid him all in a lump; inſomuch, that hereby (having learn'd thrift in exile to live of a little) he ſpeedily became the richeſt of all his [e] Predeceſſors; ſo that he gained by loſſes; and it was his common *Proverb*, that, *There is no hurt in adverſity, where there hath been no iniquity*; and many make his future ſucceſs, an evidence of his former innocence.

Ed. 2. 1.

[d] *Harpsfield Hiſt. Ecc. Ang. pag. 440.*

[e] *Antiq. Brit pag. 209. ex Adamo Murimuen.*

13. The

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13. The calamitous Reign of King *Edward* the Second, afforded little history of the Church, though too much of the Common-wealth except it had been better. A debauched Prince this *Edward* was; His beauty being the best (not to say onely) commendable thing about him: He had an handsome *man-case*, and better it had been *empty* with weakness, then (as it was) ill fill'd with viciousness. *Pierce Gaveston* first corrupted him, maugre all the
5. 1312 good counsel that *Robert*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and all his good friends, could give him. And, when *Gaveston* was *kill'd* and *taken away*, the Kings badness was rather doubled, then diminished; exchanging one *pandor to vice* for two, the two *Spencers*. In a word, the Court was turn'd *Taverne*, Stews, Stage, Play-house: wherein as many vain and wanton Comedies were acted before the King in his life time, so a sad, and sorrowful Tragedy was acted by him at his death.

The character of K. *Edward* the second.

14. *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, encouraged by the laziness of King *Edward*, thought this a fit time to recover his Country, and which the English detained from him. Whereupon he regained *Berwick*, inroaded *England*, invaded *Ireland*. King *Edward* in wrath advanceth against him, with an Army
7. 1314 rather dancing then marching, fitter for a Masque, then a Battel: their horses rather trapped then armed: In all points it appeared a triumphant Army, save that no field as yet was fought by them. Thus, excluding all influence of Divine Providence, and concluding 'twas Fortunes duty to favour them, at *Sterling* they bid the Scots battel, wherein ten thousand of our men are by our own Authors confessed to be slain. There fell the flowre of the English Nobility, the King with a few, hardly saving himself by flight. Thus, as *Malleus Scotorum, the Hammer*, or *mauler of the Scots*, is written on the Tomb of King *Edward* the first, in *Westminster*: *Incus Scotorum, the Anvile of the Scots*, might as properly be written on the Monument (had he any) of *Edward* the second.

The fatal defeat of the English in *Scotland*.

7. 1314 15. But leaving these fights, we proceed to other *Polemical Digladiations*, more proper for our Pen; namely, the disputes of SCHOOL-MEN, which in this Kings Reign were heightened to perfection; Formerly those were termed *Scholastici*, who in the *Schools* were *Rethoricians*, making therein *Declamatory Orations*. Such Exercises ceasing in this Age, the Terme was Translated to signifie those who busied themselves in *Controversial Divinity*, though some will have them so called, from *Scolion* a Commentary, their studies being generally nothing else then illustrations of the text of *Peter Lombard*, the Master of the Sentences. Take them here together at one view, intending to resume them again in their several Characters.

Nine Eminent Schoolmen of the English Nation.

Name.

Anno Dom. 1314. Anno Regni Ed. 2 7.

Name.	Flouriſhed.	Title.	Order.
1. *Alexander. Hales.*	1240. *Henry* the third.	Dr *Irrefragabilis*, or, Dr *Doctorum.*	*Franciſcan.*
2. *Roger Bacon.*	1280. *Edward* the firſt.	Dr *Mirabilis.*	*Franciſcan.*
3. *Richard Middleton*, or, *De Media Villa.*	1290. *Edward* the firſt.	Dr *Fundatiſſimus.*	*Franciſcan.*
4. *John Duns Scotus.*	1308. *Edward* the ſecond.	Dr *Subtilis.*	*Franciſcan.*
5. *Gualter Burley.*	1337. *Edward* the third.	Dr *Approbatus.*	*Secular Prieſt.*
6. *John Baconthorpe.*	1346. *Edward* the third.	Dr *Reſolutus.*	*Carmelite.*
7. *William Ocham.*	1347. *Edward* the third.	Dr *Singularis*, or, Pater *Nominalium.*	*Franciſcan.*
8. *Robert Holcot.*	1349. *Edward* the third.	Dr	*Dominican.*
9. *Thomas Bradwardine.*	1350. *Edward* the third.	Dr *Profundus.*	*Secular Prieſt.*

Born at,

Anno Regis Ed. 2. 7.	Anno Dom. 1314	Born at,	Bred in,	Buried in,
		Or nigh *Hales in Glocester*-ſhire.	*Hales*, ibidem.	The Franciſcan Church in *Paris*.
			Oxford, in *Merton* Col.	*Oxford*.
		Uncertain whether at *Middleton-Stony* in *Oxford*-ſhire, or *Middleton Cheny* in *Northampton*-ſhire.	*Oxford*, or, *Paris*.	*Paris*.
		Dunſtan (contracted *Duns*) in *Emildon* Pariſh in *Northumb*.	*Merton* Colledg in *Oxford*.	*Colen*.
			Merton Colledg in *Oxford*.	*Paris*.
		Baconthorpe in *Norfolk*.	*Blackney* Abbey in *Norfolke*.	The Church of his Order in *London*.
		Ocham in *Surrey*.	*Merton* Colledg.	*Munchin* in *Bavaria*.
		Holcot in *Northampton*-ſhire.	*Oxford*.	*Northampton*, where he died of the Plague.
		Bradwardine in *Hereford*-ſhire.	*Merton* Colledg in *Oxford*.	S^t *Anſelme's* Chappel in *Canterbury*.

Beſides

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Besides, many other School-men of inferiour note, which we pass by in silence; Now we may safely dare all Christendome besides to shew so many Eminent School-Divines, bred within the compass of so few years; insomuch that it is a truth what a forrein [a] writer saith, *Scholastica Theologia, ab Anglis, & in Anglia, sumpsit exordium, fecit incrementum, pervenit ad perfectionem.* And although *Italy* falsly boasteth that *Britain* had her Christianity first from *Rome*; *England* may truly maintain, that from her (immediately by *France*) *Italy* first received her School-Divinity.

[a] *Alexander Minutianus in Epistola.*

16. Of these School-men, *Alexander Hales* goeth the first, Master to *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Bonaventure*, whose *livery* in some sort, the rest of the School-men may be said to wear, insisting in his foot-steps. At the command of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, he wrote the body of all School-Divinity in four Volumes. He was the first Franciscan who ever took the degree of Doctor in the University (who formerly counted the height of a degree inconsistent with the humility of their order) as appeareth by the close of his Epitaph.

Alex. Hales their Father and Founder.

Egenorum sit primus Doctor eorum.

So great an honorer of the Virgin *Mary*, that he never * denied such who sued to him in her name: As since our Mr *Fox* is said never to have denied any who begged of him for Jesus Christ.

* *Pits descript. Ang.*

17. *Roger Bacon* succeeds. O what a sin is it to be more learned then ones Neighbours in a barbarous age! being excellently skilled in the Mathematicks (*a wonder-working Art*, especially to ignorant eyes) he is accused for a Conjurer by *Hieronymus de Esculo*, *Minister general* of his Order, and afterwards Pope, by the name of *Nicholas the fourth*. The best is, this *Hieronymus* before he was a *Pope* was not *Infallible*, and therefore our *Bacon* might be scandalized by him; however he was committed to Prison at *Rome*, by Pope *Clement* the fourth, and remained in durance a considerable time, before his own innocence, with his friends endeavours, could procure his enlargement.

Bacon accused for a Conjurer.

18. For mine own part, I behold the name of *Bacon* in *Oxford*, not as of an *Individual man*, but *Corporation of men*; No single *Cord*, but a twisted *Cable* of many together. And as all the Acts of *Strong men* of that nature are attributed to an *Hercules*: All the predictions of *Prophecying women* to a *Sibyll*; So I conceive all the atchievements of the *Oxonian Bacons* in their liberal studies, are ascribed to ONE, as chief of the name. And this in effect is confessed by the most learned and ingenious Orator [b] of that University. Indeed we finde one *Robert Bacon* who died *Anno*, One thousand two hundred fourty eight, a Learned Doctor, and *Trithemius* stileth *John Baconthorpe*, plain *Bacon*, which addeth to the probability of the former assertion. However this confounding so many *Bacons* in one, hath caused *Anticroniſmes* in many Relations. For how could this *Bacon* ever be a reader of Philosophy in *Brasen-Nose Colledg*, Founded more then one Hundred years after his death; so that his *Brasen head* (so much spoken of, to speak) must make *time past* to be again, or else these inconsistences will not be reconciled. Except any will salve it with the *Prolepsis* of *Brasen-Nose Hall*, formerly in the place where the Colledg is now erected. I have done with the *Oxford Bacons*, only let me add, that those of *Cambridg*, *Father* and *Son*, *Nicholas* and *Francis*, the one of *Bennet*, and the other of *Trinity Colledg*, do hold [*absit invidia*] the Scales of desert, even against all of their name in all the world besides.

Many *Bacons* in one, make a confusion.

[b] Sir *Isaac Wake* in his *Rex Platonicus*, pag. 209, 210.

19. *John Duns Scotus* succeeds, who some will have called *Scotus*, *ob* [c] *profundissimam dicendi obscuritatem, from his profound obscurity in writing*: Indeed there was one *Heracletus*, to whom *cognomen Scotinon* [d] *fecit orationis obscuritas*, but others conceive him so called, either from *Scotland* his Country, or *John Scott* his father. Nor was he called **Duns**, as some will have

Duns Scotus, why so called.

[c] *Sixtus Senensis.*

[d] *Seneca in Epist.*

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have it contractedly from **Dominus**, but from the place of his Nativity, though three Kingdoms earnestly engage to claim him for their Country-man.

England.	**Scotland.**	**Ireland.**
It is thus written at the end of his Manuscript works in *Merton* Colledg in *Oxford*, whereof he was Fellow; *Explicit* [a] *Lectura Subtilis in Universitate Parisiensi Doctoris Joannis Duns, nati in quadam villula parochiæ de Emildon vocata Dunston, in Comitatu Northumbriæ, pertinente Domui Scholarium de Merton-hall in Oxonia.*	Although *John Scott* dissembled himself an English-man, to finde the more favour in *Merton* Colledg, living in an age wherein cruel Wars betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; yet his Tomb erected at *Colen* is bold to tell the truth, whereon this Epitaph, [b] *Scotia me genuit, Anglia susceptit,* *Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.* Besides, the very name of *Scotus*, avoweth him to be a Scotch-man.	He is called *Joannes* **Dungs**, by abbreviation for **Dunensis**, that is born at * **Doune**, an Episcopal See in *Ireland*, where *Patricius*, *Dubricius*, and S[t] *Columba* lie interred. And it is notoriously known to Criticks, that *Scotus* signifieth an Irish-man in the most ancient exception thereof.

Three Kingdoms lay claim to his birth.

a *Camd. Brit.* in *Northumberland.*

b Arch-Bish. *Spotswood* in his History of the Church of *Scotland.*

* *Hugh Cavel. in vita Scoti.*

I doubt not but the Reader will give his verdict, that the very *Scotiety* of *Scotus* belongeth to *England* as his Native Country, who being born in *Northumberland*, which Kingdom in the Saxon Heptarchie extended from *Humber* to *Edenburgh Frith*; it was a facile mistake for Foreiners to write him a Scotch-man on his Monument. As for the name of *Scotus*, it is of no validity to prove him that Country-man; as a common-Sir-name amongst us, as some four years since, when the Scotch were injoyned to depart this Land, one M[r] *English* in *London*, was then the most considerable Merchant of the Scotch Nation. The sad manner of *Scotus* his death is sufficiently known, who being in a fit of a strong Apoplexie, was by the *cruel kindness* of his over-officious friends, buried whilest yet alive, and recovering in the grave, dashed out his brains against the Coffin, affording a large field to such wanton wits in their Epigrams, who could make sport to themselves on the sad accident of others.

20. I had almost over-seen *John Baconthorpe*, being so low in stature, as but one remove from a Dwarfe, of whom one saith,

Ingenio [c] *magnus, corpore parvus erat.*

His wit was *Tall*, in body *small.*

Low, but learned *Baconthorpe.*

c *Johannes Trissa Nemausensis in libro de viris illustribus.*

Insomuch that *Corpus non tulisset, quod ingenium protulit, his body could not bear the Books which his brain had brought forth.* Coming to *Rome* (being sent for by the Pope) he was once hissed [d] at in a Publick Disputation, for the badness forsooth of his Latin and pronunciation; but indeed because he opposed the Popes power in dispencing with Marriages, contrary to the Law of God, whose [e] judgment was afterwards made use of by the defenders of the divorce of King *Henry* the eight.

d *Baleus in ejus vita.*

e *Jacobus Calcus Papiensis.*

Occam a ſtiff Imperialiſt.

21. *William Occam* ſided with *Lewis of Bavaria* againſt the Pope, maintaining the Temporal power above the Spiritual; he was fain to flie to the Emperour for his ſafety, ſaying unto him,

Defende me gladio, & ego te defendam verbo.

Defend me with thy ſword, and I will defend thee with my word.

This *Occam* was *Luthers* chief (if not ſole) *School-man*, who had his works at his fingers end; loving him no doubt the better for his oppoſition to the Pope.

Holcots ſudden death.

22. *Robert Holcot* was not the meaneſt amongſt them, who died of the Plague at *Northampton*, juſt as he was reading his Lectures on the ſeventh of *Eccleſiaſticus*; wherein as many *Canonical truths*, as in any *Apocrypha chapter*; and although as yet in his publick reading he was not come to the laſt verſe thereof (ſo proper for mortality) wee may charitably believe he had ſeriouſly commented thereon, in his private meditations. *Whatſoever thou takeſt in hand, remember the end, and thou ſhalt never do amiſs.*

Bale deſcript. Brit. Cent. 5 fi. pag. 434.

23. *Thomas Bradwardine* bringeth up the rear, though in learning and piety (if not ſuperiour) equal to any of the reſt, witneſs his worthy book againſt Pelagianiſme, to aſſert the freeneſs of Gods grace in mans converſion, which he juſtly intituleth, *De cauſa Dei*, of Gods cauſe; for as God is a *Second* in every good cauſe, ſo he is a *Principal* in this, wherein his own honour is ſo nearly concerned. And though the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *plead thine own cauſe O Lord*; yet in this age (wherein Miracles are ceaſed) God pleadeth his cauſe, not in his *Perſon*, but by the proxie of the tongues, and pens, hands, and hearts, of his Servants. This *Bradwardine* was afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and how highly eſteemed, let *Chaucer* * tell you.

The juſt praiſe of *Tho. Bradwardine.*

* In the Nuns Prieſts tale.

But I ne cannot boult it to the bren,
As can the holy Doctour S^t Auſtin,
Or Boece, or the Biſhop Bradwardin.

This teſtimony of *Chaucer* by the exact computation of time, written within forty years after *Bradwardines* death, which addeth much to his honour, that in ſo ſhort a time his memory was in the peaceable poſſeſſion of ſo general a veneration, as to be joyned in company with S^t *Auguſtine* and *Boethius*, two ſuch eminent perſons in their ſeveral capacities.

School-men buſied in needleſs difficulties.

24. The School-men principally imployed themſelves in knotty and thorny Queſtions of Controverſial Divinity; Indeed as ſuch who live in *London*, and like populous places, having but little ground for their foundations to build houſes on, may be ſaid to enlarge the *bredth* of their houſes in *height* (I mean increaſing their room in many ſtories one above another; ſo the *School-men* in this age, lacking the latitude of general learning and languages, thought to enlarge their active mindes by mounting up. So improving their ſmall bottom with towring Speculations, though ſome of things myſtical, that *might not*, more of things difficult, that *could not*, moſt of things curious that *need not* be known unto us.

Excuſes for their bad latin.

* *Opus operatum*

25. Their *Latin* is generally barbarous, counting any thing *Eloquent* that is *Expreſſive*, going the neareſt way to ſpeak their own Notions, though ſometimes treſpaſſing on *Grammer*, *abuſing* if not *breaking* * *Priſcians* head therein: Some impute this their *bald* and *thred-bare* language, to a deſign that no *vermin of Equivocation* ſhould be *hid* under the *nap* of their words; whileſt

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whileſt others aſcribe it to their want of change, and their poverty in learning, to procure better Expreſſions.

Their ſeveral diviſions in judgment.

26. Yet theſe School-men agreed not amongſt themſelves in their judgments. For *Burley* being Scholar to *Scotus*, ſerved him as *Ariſtotle* did *Plato* his Maſter, maintaining a contrary faction againſt him. *Ocham* his Scholar, *father of the Nominals*, oppoſed *Scotus* the *founder of the Reals*; which two factions divided the School-men betwixt them; *Holcot* being a *Dominican*, ſtiffly reſiſted the *Franciſcans*, about the conception of the Virgin *Mary*, which they would have without any original ſin. However the Papiſts, when preſſed that their Diviſions Mar their unitie, (a mark of the Church whereof they boaſt ſo much) evade it, by pleading that theſe poines are not *de fide* onely, in the out skirts of Religion, and never concluded in any Councel to be the Articles of faith.

All *Oxford*, moſt *Merton* Colledg.

27. All of theſe School-men were *Oxford*, moſt *Merton* Colledg men. As the ſetting up of an eminent Artiſt in any place of a City, draws Chapmen unto him to buy his wares, and Apprentices to learn his Occupation. So after *Roger Bacon* had begun School-Divinity in *Merton* Colledg, the whole Gang and Genius of that houſe ſucceſſively applied their ſtudies thereunto; and many repaired thither from all parts of the Land for inſtruction in that nature. Mean-time *Cambridg* men were not Idle, but otherwiſe imployed, more addicting themſelves to preaching, whereof though the world took not ſo much notice, *poſitive* Divinity not *making ſo much noiſe as controverſial* (where men ingage more earneſtneſs) yet might be more to Gods glory, and the ſaving of the ſouls of men.

Why School-Divinity not ſo uſed in *Oxford*, after this Age.

28. Some will wonder, ſeeing *School-Divinity* was ſo rife in *Oxford* in this Age, for ſome *hundred years* together (*viz.* from towards the end of *Henries*, to the end of *Edwards* Reign, both the third of their names) how the *ſtudy* thereof, ſhould ſink ſo ſodainly in that *Univerſity*, which afterwards produced not ſuch eminent men in that kinde. But hereof ſeveral reaſons may be aſſigned:

1. The Wars betwixt *York* and *Lancaſter* ſoon after began; a *Controverſie indeed*, which ſilenced *School-velitations*, Students being much diſheartened with thoſe martial diſcords.
2. Once in an *Age* the *appetite* of an *Univerſity* alters, as to its *diet* in learning, which formerly *filled* (not to ſay *ſurfeited*) with ſuch hard queſtions, for variety ſake, ſought out other imployments.
3. The *ſparks* of Scholars wits, in School-Divinity, *went out* for *want of fuel* in that ſubject, grown ſo *trite* and *thred-bare*, nothing *could be*, but what *had been* ſaid of the ſame before. Wherefore fine wits, found out other wayes to buſie themſelves.
4. Onely information of the *brain*, no benefit to the *purſe*, accrued by ſuch *ſpeculations*, which made others in after ages, to divert their ſtudies, *à Quæſtionibus*, *ad Quæſtum*, from *Metaphyſical Quæries*, to *Caſe-divinity*, as more gainful, and profitable; beſt inabling them for hearing *Confeſſions*, and proportioning *Pennance* accordingly.

Since the *Reformation*, *School-Divinity* in both the *Univerſities*, is not uſed (as anciently) for a *ſole-profeſſion* by it ſelf, to ingroſs all a mans life therein, but onely taken as a *preparative quality* to *Divinity*; Diſcreet men not *drowning*, but *dipping* their mindes in the ſtudy thereof.

The ſad diſtemper of *England* at this time.

28. Return we now to the Common-wealth which we left bad, and finde amended, as an old ſore without a plaiſter in cold weather; King *Edward*

ward rather *wilful* then *weak*, (if *wilfulness* be not *weakness*, and sure the same effects are produced by both, *ruin* and *destruction*) slighted his Queens company, and such a Bed, if left (where *Beauty* without *Grace*) seldom standeth long empty. Queen *Isabel* blinded with fury, mistook the party who had wronged her, and revengeth her husbands faults on her own conscience, living incontinently with *R. Mortimer*; a man martial enough, and of much merit otherwise, save that an Harlot is a *deep pit*, therein invisibly to bury the best deserts. The two *Spencers* ruled all at pleasure; and the King was not more forward to bestow favours on them, as they free to deal affronts to others their superiours in birth and estate. Thus *men of yesterday*, have Pride too much to remember what they were the *day before*; and providence too little to fore-see what they may be *to morrow*. The Nobility (then petty Kings in their own Countreys) disdained such *Mushrooms* should insult over them; and all the *Spencers* insolencies being scored on the Kings account, no wonder if he (unable to discharge his own engagements) was broken by suretiship for others.

Anno Dom. 1314. Anno Regis Edw. 7.

King *Edward* accused for betraying his priviledges to the Pope.

29. I finde it charged on this King, that he suffered the Pope to encroach on the dignity of the Crown, to the great damage, and more dishonour of the Nation. Indeed his father left him a fair stake, and a *winning hand*, (had a *good* Gamester had the *playing* thereof) having recovered some of his priviledges from the Papal usurpation, which since it seems his Son had lost back again, though the particulars thereof in History do not so plainly appear. Onely it is plain, that to support himself, and supply his necessities, he complyed with the Clergy (a potent party in that age) favourably measuring out the causes of their cognizances; for although in the Reign of his Father, an hedg was made by an Act in that nature, betwixt the Spiritual and Temporal Courts; yet now a Ditch (an new act) was added to the former scene. So that hereafter (except wilfully) they could not mutually trespass on each others Jurisdictions.

Now

RICHADO SEYMERE,

Neceſſario meo.

INter Amicum *meum &* Neceſſarium *hoc pono diſcriminis, quod* ille *ad* bene eſſe, Hic, *ad* meum eſſe *quodammodo requiratur; Quo nomine Tu mihi es ſalutandus, qui ſine te planè* mancus *mihi videor. Tuâ enim artifici dextrâ, uſus ſum, per totum hoc opus in* ſcutis Gentilitiis *depingendis. Macte,* vir Ingenue, *ac Natales tuos, Generoſos ſatis, novo ſplendore illuſtriores reddito.*

Anno Regis Ed. ſecun 9 — Anno Dom. 1316. — 1 COlledges, yet, were few, and *Students* now many in *Oxford:* whereupon *Walter Stapleton*, (Biſhop of *Exeter*) *founded* and endowed one therein, by the name of *Stapletons Inn*, ſince called *Exeter Colledge*. This Biſhop was one of high Birth and large Bounty, being ſaid to have expended a years revenews of his (this rich) Biſhoprick in the Solemnity of his *inſtalement*. He alſo founded *Hart-Hall* in *Oxford*. But oh the difference betwixt the *Elder* and *Younger* Brother, though Sons to the ſame Father! the one carrying away the whole Inheritance, whilſt the other ſometimes hath little more than *himſelf* left unto *Him*, as here this *Hall* is altogether unindowed.

Exeter Colledg founded by Biſhop *Stapleton.*

Anno Dom. 1316 | Anno Regis E. secun. 9

Who afterwards was barbarously murdered.

2. This *worthy* Bishop had an *unworthy* and untimely death some ten years after. For being *Lord Treasurer*, and left by the King in his absence, to govern, the (then mutinous) citty of *London*, the Citizens, (not without incouragement from the *Queen*) furiously fell upon him, and in *Cheapside* most barbarously butchered him, and then (as hoping to bury their *murder* with his *body*) hudled him obscurely into a hole. But afterward to make his Ghost some reparation and stop the clamour of the *Clergy*, the *Queen* ordered the removing and interring of his Body and his Brothers (a valiant *Knight* slain on the same account) in the Cathedral of *Exeter*. One would wonder this Bishop was not made a *Martyr* and *Sainted* in that Age, save that his suffering was of civill concernment, and not relating to Religion.

Sir *William Petre* his bounty

3. This House hath since found two eminent Benefactors, first, Sir *William Petre* (born of honest Parentage in *Exeter*) principal Secretary to four successive Kings and Queens. One who in *tickish* and turning *times*, did good to himself, (got a great estate) injurious to none, (that I ever heard, or read of) but *courteous* to many, and eminently to this *Colledge*, wherein he bestowed much building, and augmented it with eight Fellowships.

Dr *Hackwel* built this Chappel.

4. The other *George Hackwel* Doctor of Divinity, late Rector thereof, who though married, and having children, (must it not be a *quick* and *large fountain*, which besides filling a *Pond*, had such an overflowing stream?) bestowed more than one thousand pounds in building a beautiful *Chappel*. This is He who wrote the Learned and Religious *Apologie for Divine Providence*, proving that the World doth not decay. *Many* begin the reading thereof with much *prejudice*, but *few* end it, without full *satisfaction*, converted to the *Authors* Opinion, by his unanswerable Arguments.

Western men here most proper.

5. This Colledge consisteth chiefly of *Cornish* and *Devonshire* men, the *Gentry*, of which latter, Queen *Elizabeth* used to say, were *Courtiers by their birth*. And as these *Western* men do bear away the Bell for *might* and *sleight* in *wrastling*, so the Schollars here have alwayes *acquitted* themselves with credit in *Palæstra literaria*. The *Rectors* of this House anciently were *annual*, (therefore here omitted) fixed, but of latter years, to continue the term of their lives.

* I am informed that Dr. *Prideaux* in a Dedication to one of his Sermons, hath reckoned all the Worthy Writers of this house, but as yet I have not seen it.

Rectors.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned Writers.
1 *John Neale.*		*Edmund Stafford*, Bishop of *Exeter.*	Judge DODDERIDGE.
2 *Tho. Glasier.*		Mr. *John Piriam*, Alderman of *Exeter.*	*George Hackwell.*
3 *Tho. Holland.*		Sir *John Ackland* Knight, expending (besides other Benefactions) 800. pound in building the Hall.	*John Prideaux.*
4 *John Prideaux.*	*John Prideaux* Bishop of *Worcester.*		Sir *Simon Baskervil.*
5 *George Hackwel.*	*Tho. Winniff* Bishop of *Lincoln.*		Dr. *Velsain.*
6 *Conant.*			*Nath.* {*Carpenter* *Norrington.*
			George Kendal.

So that lately therein were maintained, one *Rector*, twenty three *Fellowes*, a *Bible-Clerk*, two Pensioners, Servants, Commoners and other Students to the number of *two hundred.*

6. Clergy-

Anno Regis Ed. secun 9 | Anno Dom. 1316.

6. *Clergy-men* began now to complain, that the Lay-Judges entrenched on their Priviledges, and therefore they presented a Petition to the King in his Parliament at *Lincolne*, requesting the redresse of sixteen grievances. To most of them the King returned a satisfactory answer, and so qualified his denyals to the rest, that they could not but content any reasonable dispositi-on.

The Kings courteous answer to the Prelates complaints.

7. These *Concessions* of the King were digested into Laws, and are printed at large in the Statutes known by the title of *Articuli Cleri*. Whereon Sir *Edward Coke* in the second part of his Institutes, hath made no lesse learned then large Commentary. So that though the Law of *circumspectè agatis* had stated this difference; Yet it seems this Statute (as *Circumspectius agatis*) was conceived very requisite.

Made a Printed Statute under the title of *Articuli Cleri*.

8. Moreover, these Statutes did not so clearly decide the difference betwixt the *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Jurisdictions, but that many contests happened afterwards betwixt them, no longer ago then in the fift of King *James*, when the Doctors of the Commons under *Richard Bancroft* (Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* their General) opposed the Judges about the indeterminable controversies of *Prohibitions*. Adde hereunto, that the Clergy claimed to themselves the most favourable interpretation of all Statutes in their own behalf, whilst the Temporal Judges (in the not sitting of Parliaments) challenged that priviledge to themselves.

Yet the controversie between the two Jurisdictions still continued.

17 | 1324

9. The most lasting Monument of the memory of wofull King *Edward* the second, was the building of *Orial Colledge* in *Oxford*. Indeed some make *Him*, and others *Adam Brown* his *Almoner Founder* thereof, and both perchance truly, the *King* allowing, his *Almoner* issuing money for the building and endowing thereof. Others will have it, that his Almoner perswaded him on consciencious Principles to this good work, pertinently alleadging and pressing this instance, to prove that the Kings nature not bad in it self, but too yielding to the impressions of others. Now whereas the other *Alms* of this King were perishing, as relieving only poor for the present, these, as more lasting, have done good to many Generations.

Orial Colledg built by King *Ed.* the 2.

10. I meet with no satisfactory reason of the name which some will have to contain something of *Easterne∫* therein: So scituated comparatively to some more ancient Foundation. Others deduce it from *Criolium* an eminent room in * *Monasteries*, and I cannot but smile at such who will have O *Royal*, as a Pathetical admiration of Princely Magnificence.

Quere about the name thereof.

* *M. Paris in vitis* 23. *Ab.* 5 *Albani* p. 100. Kings nursing Fathers to this house.

11. However, I do not deny, but that the Kings of *England* have been very indulgent to this Foundation. For besides, King *Edward* the second the Founder thereof, his Son King *Edward* gave unto them the Hospital of Saint *Bartholmews* nigh *Oxford*, with Lands to maintain eight poor people, subject to the government of the Provost and Fellows of this Colledge. Besides, King *James* being informed of some Legal defects in this Foundation, granted them a new Corporation *Cavill-proof* against all exceptions.

12. This Colledge being much decayed, *Anthony Blencow* late Provost, bequeathed twelve *hundred pounds* to the new building of a Front thereof: Which being done, lest it should be a disgrace to the rest of the Fabrick, the whole Colledge is rebuilt in a most decent manner.

Lately rebuilded most decently.

Anno Dom. 1324 | Anno Regni Ed. 17

Provosts.	Benefactors.	Bishops.	Learned Writers.
Adam Brown.	*John Frank* gave four Fellowships.		*William Allen*, Cardinal.
William de Leverton.	*John Carpenter* Bishop of *Worcester*, gave one Fellowship.	*John Carpenter* Bishop of *Worcester.*	
William de Haukesworth.	*William Smith* Bishop of *Lincolne* gave one Fellowship.		
William Daventre.	*Richard Dudley* D. D. gave two Fellowships, & two Exhibitions.		
William Colyntre.			
John Middleton.			
John Possell.			
William Corff.			
Thomas Lintlewarden.			
* Before or after of *Christ-church.* *Henry Kayle.*			*Sr Walter Rawleigh.*
Nicholas Barry.			
John Carpenter.			
Walter Lyhart.			
John Hales.			
Henry Sampson.			
Thomas Hawkins.			
John Taylower.			
Thomas Cornish.			
Edmund Mylforde.			
James More.			
Thomas Ware.			
Henry Myn.			*William Prin.*
William Haynes.			
John Smith.			
Roger Marbeck.			
John Belly.			
Anthony Blencowe.			
Dr. Lewes.			
Dr. Tolson.			
Dr. Sanders.			

So that lately were maintained therein, one Provost, eighteen Fellows, one Bible-Clerk, twelve Exibitioners, with *Commoners* and Colledge Officers amounted to one hundred and sixty.

War between the Queen and King.

13. Let us cast our eye on the Common-wealth only, as it is the *Ring* wherein the *Diamond* of the Church is contained, and that now full of *Cracks*, caused by the severall state-factions. The two *Spencers* ru'ed all things till the Queen and her Son (who politiquely had got leave to go beyond the Seas) returned into *England* with a Navy and Army landing in *Suffolk*; She denounceth open war against her Husband, unlesse he would presently conform to her desires.

Counter-proclamations, and counter-rumours.

14. The King proclaimed that a *thousand pound* should be given to *Him* that brought the head of *Roger Mortimer*. The Queen proclaimed (such who had the *better purse* may give the *greater price*) that whosoever brought the head of the young *Spencer* (it seems his Father was not so considerable) should have *two thousand pounds*. The Queens party gave out that the King

of

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of *Prance* had sent over a vast Army for her assistance, and the Kings side *Arch-rumoured* (who could raise *reports* easier then *Armies*) that the Pope had excommunicated all such who sides against him: now though both reports were *false*, they made *true* impressions of hope in such hearts as believed them.

15. Three wayes were presented to King *Edward*, *Fight*, *Flight*, and *Concealment*, the first he was unable to doe, having no effectuall Forces, only able for a time to defend the Castle of *Bristol*, till many of his Complices were taken therein: a Tower therein given out to be *undermined*) being indeed *undermoniel* with bribes to the defenders thereof. Here the *elder Spencer* was taken and executed. The King unable to fight,

16. *Flight* was no lesse *unsafe* then *dishonourable*. For his Kingdome being an Island, the Sea would quickly put a period thereunto. Indeed there was some thoughts of his flight into *Ireland*, which was no better then out of a *dirty way*, into a very *Bogg*, besides great the difficulty to recover the Sea, and greater to passe over it, all Ports and passages were so way-layed. And flee,

17. *Concealment* was at the last resolved on, not as the *best*; but *only* way of his *security*, for a time he lay hid amongst the *Welsh* (not able to help, but willing to pitty him as a Native of their Countrey) concealed in the Abby of *Neath*, till men are sent down with money (no such *light* as the *flame of silver* wherewith to discover a person enquired for) and soon after he was betrayed into their hands. The *younger Spencer* taken with him, is hung on a Gallows fifty foot high, and the *promised two thousand pounds* were duly payed, and equally parted betwixt severall persons imployed in his apprehension. After a short concealment is taken,

18. Many Persons of quality were sent down from the Parliament then sitting, to King *Edward*, to *Kenelworth Castle*, *to move* (*alias* to command) him to resign the Crown, which at last he sadly surrendred. Sir *William Trussel* a Lawyer of great [abused] abilities (being rather to *make* then *finde* a *precedent* in this kinde) improved his witts in the formalities thereof. Soon after, *Prince Eward* his Son is Crowned *King*, whose Father is now no more then plain *Edward* of *Caernarvon*, though his mother (whose title was *Relative* to, and a *Derivative* from her Husband the dethroned *King*) was now more *Queen Isabel* then ever before. Thus the *degradation* of a *Knight* (as some have informed me) extendeth not to his Wife, who by the *courtesie* of *England*, if *once*, is ever a Lady. King *Edward* resigneth his Crown.

19. *Edward* late King, with many Letters Solicited to be admitted into the Queens company. All in vain, she found embraces at a lesse distance, dearer unto her, preferring the society of a *Lord*, who, in effect, had deposed a *King*, before a King, who had deposed himself: She made many excuses of *sickness*, and *indisposition* to enjoy him. So easily can that *Sex* make plausible pretences, that they *cannot*, what they *will not* do. He is rejected by his own wife.

20. *Roger Mortimer*, whose lust and revenge was equally unsatiable, could not be quiet whilst King *Edward* was alive: he feared King *Edward* was might play an *after game* of affection in his Subjects, in order therefore to his death, he is removed from *Kenelworth* (where the Earl of *Leicester* his Keeper was suspected too, sympathising with his sorrow) unto *Berkley Castle*, where he was barbarously butchered, being struck into the *Postern* of his body with a hot spit, as it is generally reported. And cruelly murthered.

21. Nothing now remaineth in this *Kings* reign, save to take notice, how the *Clergy* (understand such who were *Active* (for *Neuters*, shall passe for *none*) stand affected in this great *State-difference*. I find not *enough* to call a *number* of the *Bishops* cordial to the *King*. For besides *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter* (of whom before) only *John Stratford Bishop* of *Winchester* heartily adhered unto him, and yet this *Stratford* was imployed on a message from the *Parliament* to the *King* at *Kenelworth*, to perswade him to resign A brace of loyal Subjects.

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ſign the *Crown*, though having no other *deſign*, then the Kings ſafety therein. He hoped that in this tempeſt the caſting out of the *Lading*, would ſave the *Hulke* of the Ship, and the ſurrendring of the *Scepter*, ſecure the *Kings* perſon.

And a Loyal Prieſt-Chancelour.

22. With *John Stratford* let me couple *Robert de Baldock* (though no *Biſhop*, a *Biſhops* mate) as a *Prieſt* and *Chancelour* of *England*. This man unable to *aſſiſt*, reſolved to *attend* the *King*, and was taken with him in *Wales*. Hence was he brought up to *London*, and committed to *Adam Tarleton* Biſhop of *Hereford*. Here the ſhadow of *Tarleton Miter*, (if pleaſed to put forth his power) might have ſecured this his *Gueſt-priſoner* from any danger, whereas on the contrary, it is more then ſuſpicious that he gave a ſignall, to the tumultuous people to ſeize his perſon. For he was dragged to Newgate, and there payed his life for his *Loyalty*: yet was never heard to complain of the *dearneſſe* of his *penyworth*. If any violence was ſecretly offered unto his perſon, he might endure it the more patiently, having read, * *that the Diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the ſervant better then his Lord.* This *Baldock* was a good *Juſticer*, nor charged in our *Chronicles* with any miſdemeanour, ſave faithfulneſſe to an unfortunate *Maſter*, and his *Memory* will *travers* his *Innocence*, as confeſſing the *Fact*, but denying any *fault* therein.

* St. *Mat.* 10. 24.

W. Reinolds unthankful to the King.

23. But we have more then a *good number* of ſuch Biſhops, which *ungratefully* ſided with the *Queen*, againſt her *Husband*, and their *Soverain*. *Walter Reynolds* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* leads their *Van*, preferred to that See, at the *Kings* great importunity, and by the *Pope* his **Power of Proviſion.** On the ſame token that, a **far better Man**, *Thomas Cobham* by name, *Deane* of *Salisbury*, (ſo learned and pious a perſon, that he was generally called the *good Clergy-man*) legally elected by the *Commons*, was put by, by the Pope, to make room for this *Reinolds*. He afterwards complied with the Queen, (his new *Miſtreſs*) againſt his old *Maſter*, active to perform his deſires. This ſome ſeek in vain to excuſe, by pleaſing *Her imperious ſpirit*, and this Arch-Biſhops *fearfulneſs*, alleadging, that cowardlineſſe is rather a *defect in nature*, then *default* in *Morality*.

The nature of the Popes proviſions.

24. A word by the way of the nature of the *Popes proviſions* (lately mentioned) which now began to be a *general grievance* of our Nation. When any Biſhoprick, Abbots place, Dignity or good Living (*Aquila non capit muſcas*) was like to be void, the *Pope* (by *a profitable Prolepſis to himſelf*) prediſpoſed ſuch places to ſuch ſucceſſors as he pleaſed. By this *deviſe* he defeated (when ſo pleaſed) the Legal election of all *Convents*, and rightful preſentation of all Patrons. He took up *Churches before they fell*, yea, before they ever *ſtumbled*: I mean, whilſt as yet no *ſuſpition of ſickneſſe*, in *Incumbents* younger and healthier than his *Holineſs himſelf*. Yea, ſometimes no Act of Proviſion, was *entered in ſcriptis* in the Court, only the Pope was pleaſed to ſay by word of mouth, (and who durſt confute him?) he had done it. So that Incumbents to Livings, who otherwiſe had a rightful Title from their Patrons, were, (to purchaſe their peace) glad to buy of the *Popes proviſions*. Yea, his Holineſs ſold them aforehand to ſeveral perſons, ſo that not he who gave the *firſt*, but the *moſt* Money, carried away the preferment

Hen. Biſhop of *Lincoln* bad.

25. Next we take notice of *Henry Burwaſh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, lately reſtored to the favour of *King Edward*, and by him lately eſteemed. Yet no ſooner did the *Queen* appear in the field, with an army, againſt him, but this Biſhop was the firſt, and forwardeſt, who publiquely repaired unto Her. This *Burwaſh* was he, who by meere might, againſt all right and reaſon, took in the Land of many poor people, (without making alſo the leaſt reparation) therewith to compleat his *Park* at *Tinghurſt*. Theſe wronged perſons, though ſeeing their own *Bread*, *Beef*, and *Mutton*, turned into the Biſhops *Veniſon*, durſt not conteſt with him who was *Chancelour of England*, though neither

Law,

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Law, nor *equity* in this his Action; only they loaded him with *curses* and *execrations*. This mindeth me of a Modern accident, when, (some *twenty years* since) a *Knight* went about injuriously to inclose the Commons of a Town, and demanded of his *Bailiffe* what the railing in of the same would amount to; to whom his servant answered, *that if he would take in the Commons, the Country would find him railings*, as here they did this injurious Bishop. Otherwise let me say, that inclosures made without oppression, are a grand inriching both to *private persons* and to the *Commonwealth*.

Smile or frown.

26. Here let the Reader *smile* or *frown*, I am resolved to write what I find recorded in a * *Grave Author*, deriving it no doubt from good intelligence. This Bishop *Burwash* is said after his death, to have appeared to one of his former familiar friends, apparelled

* *Godwin* in the Bishop of *Lincoln*.

Like a Forester all in Green-a,

with his Bow and Quiver of Arrows, and his *Bugle horn* hanging by his side: to him he complained that for the injuries done by him to poor, whilst living, he was now condemned to this penance, to be the *Park-keeper* of that place, which he so wrongfully had enclosed. He therefore desired him to repair to the Canons of *Lincoln*, and in his name to request them, that they would take order, that all *hedges* being cut down, *and Ditches filled up*, all might be reduced to their *property*, and the poor men be restored to their inheritance. It is added moreover, that one *W. Batheler*, was imployed by the *Canons aforesaid*, to see the premises performed, which was done accordingly.

A grave foolery.

27. This pretended *Apparition* seems inconsistent with the nature of *Purgatory*, as usually by *Papists* represented to people. Surely the *smoake* thereof would have *footed* his *Green suit*, and the Penance seems so slight and light for the offence, as having so much liberty and pleasure in a place of Command. Some Poets would have fancied him rather conceived himself turned *Actæon-like*, into a *Deere*, to be daily *hunted* by his own *Hounds* (*guilt of Conscience*) untill he made restitution. But it seems there be degrees in *Purgatory*, and the Bishop not in the *Prison* itself, but only within the *Rules* thereof, priviledged to go abroad, (whether on his *Parol*, or with *his Keeper*, uncertain) till he could procure *Suffrages* for his *Plenary relaxation*.

A Divell preaching.

28. *Adam Tarlton* Bishop of *Hereford*, is the last we will insist on, born in that City, where afterward he became Bishop, yet not *honoured*, but hated, and feared in the place of his Nativity. He was the grand *Engineer*, and *contriver* of all mischief against the *King*. Witnesse the Sermon preached by him at *Oxford*, before the *Queen* (then in hostile pursuit after her Husband) taking for this Text the words of the sick Son of the *Shunamite*) *My head, my head*. Here his *wit* and *malice* endeavoured to *reape*, what Gods Spirit did never intentionally *sowe*, and urged that a *bad King* (the distempered head of a State) is past *Physick*, or *Chirurgery* to be cured by *Receits* or *Plaisters*, but the only way is to *cut it* off from the *Body*.

And as bad writing.

29. His *writing* was worse then his *Preaching*: For when such *Agents* set to keep *King Edward* in *Berkley* Castle, were (by secret *Order* from *R. Mortimer*) commanded to kill him, they by letters addressed themselves for advice to this Bishop (then not far off at *Hereford*) craving his Counsel, what they should do, in so difficult and dangerous a matter. He returned unto them a *Ridling Answer*, altogether unpointed, which carried in it *Life* and *Death*, yea, *Life* or *Death*, as variously construed, resolved to be guided and governed wholy by his direction, not to *dispute*, but *do* what from him was recommended unto them, as knowing him able both in *Conscience* and *Policy* to advise them.

Life.

Anno Dom. 1326 Anno Regis Ed. secun. 19.

Life, and Death.

A strange apparition.

To kill King Edward you need not to fear it is good.

Life.	Death.
To kill King Edward you need not, to fear it is good.	*To kill King Edward you need not to fear, it is good.*

Arraigned for treason, he escapes the the first time.

30. This *Adam Tarlton* was afterwards accused of Treason, in the beginning of the reign of King *Edward* the third, and arraigned by the Kings Officers, when in the presence of the King, he thus boldly uttered himself,

My Lord the King, with all due respect unto your Majesty, I Adam, *an humble Minister and member of the Church of God, and a consecrated Bishop, though unworthy, neither can, nor ought to answer unto so hard Questions, without the connivence, and consent of my Lord Arch-bishop of* Canterbury, *my immediate Judge under the Pope, and without the consent of other Bishops who are my Peers.*

Three Arch-Bishops were there present in the place, *Canterbury*, *York*, and *Dublin*, by whose intercession, *Tarlton* escaped at that time.

Arraigned again, and protected by the Clergy.

31. Not long after, he was arraigned again at the *Kings Beneh*, the news whereof so startled the *Clergie*, that the foresaid Arch-Bishops *erected their standards*, I mean, *set up their Crosses*, and with ten Bishops more, attended with a numerous train of well-weaponed servants, advanced to the place of judicature. The Kings Officers *frighted* at the sight, *fled* away; leaving *Tarlton* the Prisoner alone at the Bar; whom the Arch-Bishops took home into their own custody, denouncing a curse on all such who should presume to lay violent hands upon him.

Cast the third time by a Lay-jury and proscribed.

32. The King offended hereat, caused a jury of Lay-men to be impannelled, and to enquire according to form of Law, into the actions of the *Bishop of Hereford*. This was a leading case, and the first time that ever Laymen passed their verdict on a Clergy-man. These Jurors found the Bishop guilty, whereupon the King presently seized on his *Temporals*, he proscribed the Bishop, and dispoiled him of all his moveables. However, afterwards he came off, and was reconciled to the King, and by the Pope made Bishop of *Winchester*, where he died, a thorow old man and blinded with age, many envying so quiet a death, to one who living had been so turbulent a person. But these things happened many years after.

SECT.

SECT.

To Master

THOMAS WILLIAMS

And Master

WILLIAM VANBRUG

of *London* Merchants.

ASTronomers *affirm that ſome* Planets; [Saturn, Jupiter, &c.] *are by many degrees greater then the Moon it ſelf; And this they can eaſily evidence by* Demonſtration. *However the* Moon *is* bigger, *and ſhews* brighter *to mens eyes, becauſe of the* Vicinity *thereof; Whilſt other* Stars *are* dimmed, *and* diminiſhed *by their* diſtance.

He is not the happieſt *man who has the* Higheſt *friends (too remote to aſſiſt him) whilſt others* leſſer *might be* nearer *at his* need. *My own* experience *can avouch the truth thereof, in relation to* your Courteſies *beſtowed upon* me.

Anno Regis Ed. tertii 1 — Anno Dom. 1326.

SOonafter his death, King *Edward* was much *lamented* by thoſe of whom in his life time he was never *beloved*. Whether this proceeded from the meer *mutability of mens minds* (weary to *loyter* long in the *lazie* poſture of the *ſame affection.*) Or whether it proceeded from the pride of *Mortimer*, whoſe inſolence grew intolerable. Or whither it was becauſe his *puniſhment* was generally apprehended to be too heavie for his fault; So that *Depoſition* without *death*, or (at the worſt) *death* without ſuch *unhumane cruelty* had been ſufficient.

Defunctus amabitur Idem.

One of our *Engliſh* * *Poet-Hiſtorians* acquainteth us with a paſſage, which to my knowledge appeareth not in other Authors.

King *Edward* the ſecond half-ſainted.

Anno Dom. 1326 | Anno Regn Ed. tertii 1.

King *John Harding* in the life of K. *Ed.* the second.

At Glouceſter entombed faire, and buried
Where ſome ſay God ſhewed for him great grace
Sith that time, with Miracles laudified
Oft times, in diverſe many caſe
As is written there, in that ſame place.
For which King Richard, called the ſecond
To tranſlate him was purpoſed whole and ſound.

It is much that one but a ſmall Saint whilſt alive, ſhould be ſo great an one when dead, as to be miraculouſly illuſtrious. But every man may believe his proportion.

A paire of Kings well matched.

2. Indeed great was the conformity betwixt this King *Edward* and that King *Richard*, both being *ſecundi*, the ſecond of their name: but not *ſecundi*, happy in their ſucceſſe. And had King *Richard* the ſecond known aforehand what caſualtie did attend him, no wonder if he ſecretly ſympathized with his condition. Both ſons of valiant and beloved Fathers, both of proper and amiable perſons. Both debauched by the ill Counſel of their diſſolute companions. Both depoſed from their Crowns. Both murdered, whilſt priſoners in a Clandeſtine (and as ſome report ſelf ſame) way of Cruelty.

King *Edward* not active in his fathers depoſing.

3. Ingenuous people are very loath to believe King *Edward* the third acceſſary to his Fathers death, otherwiſe then by accepting the Crown which he ſhould have refuſed, and antedating his own Soveraignty. Which may be excuſed by his tender years, *thirteen* as ſome, *fifteen* as others compute them. Nor is it a weak argument of his innocence with impartiall people, becauſe he reigned above fifty years, and lived to be a *thorow old* man. An happineſs promiſed by God to ſuch who are obedient to their Parents. Beſides, it is conſiderable, that this King having a numerous iſſue of active children of both Sexes none viſibly appear a croſſe untohim, for any notorious undutifulneſſe.

His admirable ſucceſſe in his wars.

4. The former part of this Kings reign affords but little *Church-Hiſtory*, as totally taken up with his atchievements in *Scotland* and *France*, where his ſucceſſe by Sea and Land was *above* beliefe and even to admiration. He conquered both *before his face* and *behind his back*, *Whence he came* and *whither he* went. *North* and *South*, the one in his perſon, the other by his ſubſtitutes in his abſence. Inſomuch that he got more then he knew what to do with, exhauſting the Land to man, the Cities which he had gained. Herein he ſtands without a parallel, that he had both the Kings he fought againſt, *viz.* *John de Dalois* of *France*, and *David* the King of *Scotland* his priſoners at one time, not taken by any cowardly ſurprize, but by fair fight in open field.

And humility.
* Others ſay in London Town.

5. It ſoundeth much to the commendation of his modeſty and moderation, that intending to found an Order of *Knight-hood* at his Caſtle of *Windſor*, where he had theſe two Royall priſoners. In the inſtitution thereof he neither had any inſolent relation to his own conqueſt, nor opprobrious reflection on his enemies captivity, but began the innocent Order of the Garter, unreferring to any of his former atchievements. *But more hereof in due time.*

England hitherto ignorant in curious Cloathing.

6. The King and State began now to grow ſenſible of the great gain he Netherlands got by our *Engliſh* Wool, in memory whereof the *Duke* of *Burgundy* not long after inſtituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, wherein indeed the *Fleece* was ours, the *Golden* theirs, ſo vaſt their Emolument by the Trade of Clothing. Our King therefore reſolved, if poſſible to reduce the Trade to his

Anno Regni Edwardi 3. vicesimo.

Anno Domini 1336.

his own Country, who as yet were ignorant of that Art, as knowing no more what to do with their Wool, then the sheep that weare it, as to any Artificiall and curious *Drapery*, their best *Cloathes* then being no better then *Freezes*, such their coursnesse for want of skill in their making. But soon after followed a great alteration, and we shall enlarge our selves in the manner thereof.

The Kings Agents tempt the Dutch apprentices.

7. The intercourse now being great betwixt the *English* and the *Netherlands* (increased of late since King *Edward* married the Daughter of the Earl of *Hainalt*) unsuspected *Emissaries*, were imployed by our King into those Countries, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such *Dutchmen* as were Absolute *Masters of their Trade*, but not *Masters of themselves*, as either *Journeymen* or *Apprentices*. These bemoaned the slavishnesse of these poore servants, whom their Masters used rather like *Heathens* then *Christians*, yea rather like *Horses* then *Men*. Early up and late in bed, and all day hard work, and harder fare (a few *Herrings* and mouldy *Cheese*) and all to inrich the *Churles* their *Masters* without any profit unto themselves.

To come over into England.

8. But oh how happy should they be if they would but come over into *England*, bringing their *Mystery* with them, which would provide their welcome in all places. Here they should feed on *fatt Beef* and *Mutton*, till nothing but their fulnesse should stint their stomacks: yea they should feed on the labours of their own hands, enjoying a proportionable profit of their pains to themselves, their *beds* should be good, and their *bedfellows* better; seeing the richest Yeomen in *England* would not disdain to marry their Daughters unto them, and such the *English* beauties, that the most envious Forreigners could not but commend them.

And obtain their desire.

9. Liberty is a Lesson quickly *conn'd by heart*, men having a principle within themselves to *prompt them* in case they forget it. Perswaded with the premises, many *Dutch servants* leave their Masters and make over for *England*. Their departure thence (being pickt here and there) made no sensible vacuity, but their meeting here altogether amounted to a considerable fulnes. With themselves, they brought over their *Trade* and their *Tools*, namely, such which could not [as yet] be so conveniently made in *England*.

Their welcome reception.

10. Happy the *Yeomans* House into which one of these *Dutchmen* did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within their doors, soon after went out *Bridegrooms*, and returned *Son in laws*, having married the Daughters of their Landlords who first entertained them. Yea, those Yeomen in whose houses they harboured, soon proceeded Gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, *arms* and *worship* to their estates.

The King politickly disperseth the Dutch.

11. The King having gotten this Treasury of Forreigners, thought not fit to continue them all in one place, lest on discontent they might imbrace a generall resolution to return, but bestowed them thorow all the parts of the Land, that Cloathing thereby might be the better dispersed. Here I say nothing of the *Colony* of *old Dutch*, who frighted out of their own Country with an *Inundation*, about the reign of King *Henry the first*, (possibly before that Nation had attained the *cunning of Cloath-making*) were seated only in *Pembroke-shire*. This new *Generation* of *Dutch* was now sprinkled every where, so that *England* (in relation, I mean to her own *Counties*) may bespeak these *Inmates* in the language of the Poet,

Quæ regio in terris vestri non plena laboris?

though generally (where left to their own choice) they preferred a *Maritime Habitation*.

Anno Dom. 1336

Anno Regni Edwardi 3. decimo.

East.	West.	North.	South.
1. *Norfolk*, *Norwich* Fustians.	1. *Devonshire* Kirsies.	1. *Westmerland*, *Kendall Cloth.*	1. *Somersetshire*, *Taunton Serges.*
2. *Suffolk*, *Sudbury Bayes.*	2. *Glocestershire* } Cloth	2. *Lancashire*, *Manchester Cotton.*	2. *Hamshire* } Cloth.
3. *Essex*, *Colchester Sayes and Serges.*	3. *Worcestershire* } Cloth	3. *Yorkshire*, *Halifax Clothes.*	3. *Berkshire* } Cloth.
4. *Kent*, *Kentish Broad-clothes.*	4. *Wales*, *Welsh Friezes.*	4.	4. *Sussex* } Cloth.

I am informed that a prime Dutch Cloth-maker in *Glocestershire*, had the Sirname of Webb given him by King *Edward* there: a Family still famous for their manufacture, Observe we here that mid-*England*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *and Cambridge*, having most of *Wool*, have least of *cloathing* therein.

Fullers earth a precious commodity.

12. Here the *Dutchmen* found *Fullers earth*, a precious Treasure, whereof *England* hath (if not *more*) *better* then all Christendom besides: a great Commodity of the *Quorum* to the making of good Cloath, so that Nature may seem to point out our *land* for the *Staple* of *Drapery*, if the idleness of her inhabitants be not the only hinderance thereof. This *Fullers Earth* is clean contrary to our *Jesuites*, who are needlesse *Drugs*, yet still staying here though daily commanded to depart, whilst Fullers earth, a precious ware is daily *scowred hence*, though by law forbidden to to be transported.

woollen cloth the *English* wealth.

13. And now was the *English* Wool improved to the highest profit, passing through so many hands, every one having a *fleece* of the *Fleece*, *Sorters*, *Kembers*, *Carders*, *Spinsters*, *Weavers*, *Fullers*, *Dyers*, *Pressers*, *Packers*, and these Manifactures have been heightned to a higher perfection since the cruelty of the *Duke de Alva* drove over more *Dutch* into *England*. But enough of this subject, which let none condemn for a *deviation* from Church-history; First, because it would not grieve one to goe a little out of the way, if the way be good, as this digression is for the credit and profit of our Country. Secondly, it reductively belongeth to the Church-History, seeing many poore people both young and old, formerly charging the parishes (as appeared by the accounts of the Church Officers) were hereby enabled to maintain themselves.

The Popes Italian Usurers turn Merchants.

14. The extortion of the Pope being now somewhat abated in *England*, the *Caursines* or *Lumbards*, formerly the money Merchants of his Holinesse, and the *grand Usurers* of *England*, did not drive so full a Trade as before. Whereupon they betake themselves to other Merchandize, and began to store *England* with forraign commodities, but at unreasonable rates, whilst *England* it self had as yet but little and bad shipping, and those lesse imployed.

But at last are prohibited by the King.

15. But now King *Edward*, to prevent the ingrossing of Trade into the hand of Forreigners, and to restore the same to his *native Subjects*, took order, that these Aliens should no longer prey on the *Radical moisture* of this Land, but began to cherish Navigation in his own Subjects, and gave a check to such Commodities which Forreiners did import as in ancient Poems

Anno Regni Ed. tertii 11. Anno Dom. 1338

eths is largely described, whereof so much as concerneth our purpose,

He made a Statute for Lombards in this Land,
That they should in no wise take on hand
Here to inhabit, here to charge and discharge,
But forty dayes no more time had they large,
This good King by wit of such appreise
Kept his Merchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Liber de custodia Maris extant, in Hacluits voyages, book 1. p. 191

But this was a work of time to perform, and took not full effect to the end of this Kings reign, yea the *Lombards* were not totally routed till the reign of King *Richard* the third.

16. About this time the *Clergie* were very bountifull in contributing to the Kings necessities, in proportion to their *Benefices*. Hereupon a *survey* was exactly taken of all their *Glebeland*, and the same (fairly ingrossed in parchment) was returned into the *Exchequer*, where it remaineth at this day, and is the most usefull Record for *Clergie men*, (and also for *Impropriators* as under their claim) to recover their right. Many a *straggling Acre*, wandring out of the way, had long since by *Sacrilegious Guides* been seduced into the possession of *false owners*, had not this *Record* directed them at last to their true *proprietary*.

A survey made of the Clergies Glebeland

17. The worst is, whilst some *Dioceses* in this *Terrier* were exactly done, and remain fairly legible at this day, others were so slightly slubbered over that (though kept with equall carefulnesse) they are useless in effect, as not to be read. Thus I was informed, from a *Clerk* in that *Office* *lately deceased, who when Living, was *older* and as *able* as any therein. And thus Manuscripts (like those men who wrote them) though *starting* with their *equals*, *hold not all out* to the same length, their *humidum radicale*, (their *inke* I mean) not lasting alike in all *Originals*.

Partly useless by ill engrossing.

* Walt. Hillam.

18. It was now generally complained of as a grand grievance, that the Clergie engrossed all places of Judicature in the Land. Nothing was left to Lay-men, but either *military* commands, *as General, Admiral, &c.* or such Judges places as concerned only the very *letter of the Common Law*: and those also scarcely reserved to the Students thereof. As for Embassies into forraine parts, *Noblemen* were imployed therein, when *expence*, not *experience* was required thereunto, and Ceremony the substance of the service: otherwise when any difficulty in *civil-law*, then *Clergy-men* were ever entertained. The *Lord Chancellor* was ever a Bishop,* (as if against *Equity* to imploy any other therein) yea, that Court generally appeared as a *Synod of Divines*, where the *Clerks* were *Clerks*, as generally in *Orders*. The same was also true of the Lord Treasurer and Barons of the *Exchequer*.

Clergie-men engrosse all offices.

* Against mistake.

19. Some imputed this to the pragmaticalnesse of the Clergie, active to insinuate themselves into all employment, how improper soever to their profession. Others ascribed it to the Kings necessities; The war engrossing the maine of his men of merit; so that he was necessitated to make use of *Clergie-men*. Others attributed it to the *Kings election* (no way weak in head or hand, plotting or performing) finding such the fittest to serve him; who being single persons, and having no design to raise a family, were as knowing as any in the *Mysteries of money*,* and safest to be entrusted therein. But more hereof hereafter.

Severall opinions of the causes thereof.

* Matters of weight.

20. *Robert Eglesfield* Batchelour of Divinity, Chaplain to Queen *Philippa*, wife

The founding of Q. Col. in Oxford by R. Englesfield.

wife to King *Edward* the third, founded a Colledge on his own ground, by the name of *Queens* Colledge (commending the Patronage thereof to his Lady the Queen, and to the Queens of *England* successively) which he endowed with Lands and Revenewes for the maintenance of a Provost and twelve Fellows, which were to be augmented as the Revenews increased.

Anno Dom. 1340. Anno Regni Ed. 3. tertio 14.

A paire of Princes bred therein. a *Rosse warwicensis Ms. in Henrico quinto*

21. Now though this was called *Queens*, from their *Honorarie Patroness*, it may be stiled *Princes* Colledge from those *paire of Students* therein. *Edward* the black Prince, who presently after his foundation had his Education therein, and *Henry* the fift (as yet Prince of *Wales*) under *Henry Beaufort* Chancelor of this University and his Uncle, his Chamber was over the Colledge gate, where his picture at this day remaineth in brass with this inscription under it

In perpetuam rei memoriam.
Imperator Britanniæ,
Triumphator Galliæ,
Hostium Victor, & sui,
Henricus quintus hujus Collegii,
Et cubiculi (minuti satis)
Olim magnus Incola.

which lodging hath for this sixteen years belonged to my worthy friend *Mr. Thomas Barlow*, that most able and judicious Philosopher and Divine, being a Library in himself, and keeper of another (that of Sir *Tho. Bodlyes* erection) out of which he hath courteously communicated to me some rarities of this University.

Queens nursing Mothers to this Colledge.

22. Now according to the care and desire of the founder. The Queens of *England* have ever been Nursing Mothers to this Foundation. O what advantage they have when lying in the bosoms of their Royall Consorts, by whom they cannot be denyed what is equall; and of whom they will not desire what is otherwise. Thus Queen *Philippa* obtained of her Husband *King Edward* the third, the Hospital of St. *Julians* in *Southampton*, commonly called *Gods House*. *Queen Elizabeth*, wife to King *Edward* the Fourth procured of him the Priory of *Sherbourn* in *Hampshire*, and *Queen Mary* by her intercession prevailed with King *Charles* for the perpetual Patronage of certain Benefices in the same County.

Queen *Elizabeths* singular bounty.

23. Nor let not our Virgin Queen be forgotten, as in effect Refoundresse of this from the third year of her reign, being informed that the Title of the Foundation thereof, with the lands thereunto belonging, were in question, and subject to *eviction*; by Act of Parliament conferred a sure Estate of the same.

This Colledg parted between two Arch-bishops. * *Ex Rot. Parl. Henrici quarti anno 13.* a *Tho. Arundel.* b *Henry Bowet.*

24. I meet in the Records of the Tower Rolls, with a passage concerning this Colledg, and though I do not perfectly understand, I will exemplifie it.

And * *a little after, upon divers matters moved between the said Arch-bishop, and the Arch-Bishop* b *of York, upon certain priviledges pretended by the said Arch-Bishop of York in the Colledge called* QUEEN-HALL *in the University of Oxford. The said Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in presence of the King and of the Lords promised, that if the said Arch-Bishop of* York *could sufficiently show any* Priviledge, *or specially of Record, wherefore the said Arch-Bishop of Canterbury ought not to use his* Visitation *of the said Colledge, he would then abstain. Saving to himself alwaies the Visitation of the said* Schollars *abiding in the said Colledge, according to the judgement and decrees, made and given by K.* Richard *the second, and by our Lord* K. Henry *that now is, as in the* * *Record thereof made, thereof more plainly is declared.*

* See this recorded at larg in the next Book, p. 164.

It seems hereby (so far as I can apprehend) this Colledge was so parted betwixt the two Metropolitans, *that the dead Moity, viz. the* Lands *and* Revenues) *thereof belonged to the inspection of the* Arch-Bishop of York, *whilst* the living half, *namely the* Schollars (*especially in matters concerning their* Religion) *pertained to the* Visitation *of the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury.

Pro bono

Anno Regis Ed. tertii	Anno Dom.	Provosts.	Benefactors.	Bishops.	Learned Writers.
12.	1340	*Richard de Rettesford.* *John de Hotham.* *Henry Whitfield.* *Thomas de Carlile.* *Roger Whelndale.* *Walter Bell.* *Rowland Byris.* *William Spenser.* *Thomas Langton.* *Christ. Bainbridge.* *Edward Rigge.* *John Pantry.* *William Denyse.* *Hugh Hodgeson.* *Thomas Francis.* *Lancelot Shaw.* *Alane Scot.* *Barthol. Bowsefield.* *Henry Robinson.* *Henry Airy.* *Barnabas Potter.* *Christopher Potter.* *Gerard Langbain.*	*Robert Langton.* *Thomas Langton.* *Edmund Grindal.* *Christo. Bainbridge.* *William Fettiplace.* *Henry Robinson.* *Henry Airie.*	*Henry Baufort* Bp. of *Winchester*, and Cardinall of St. *Eusebius.* *Christopher Bainbridge* Arch-Bishop of *York*, and Cardinal of St. *Praxes.* *Henry Robinson* Bp. of *Carlile.* *Barnabas Potter*, Bp. of *Carlile.*	1 *John Wickliffe.* 2 *John de Trevisa*, of whom hereafter, anno 1397. This house hath lately been happy in learned Lawyers, *Sir John Banks, Sir Ro. Berkley, Sir Tho. Tempest* Attorney General of Ireland, Judg *Atkins* courteous to all men of my profession, and my self especially. *Sr. Thomas Overbury.* *Christopher Potter* in his excellent work of Charity Mistaken. *GERARD LANGBAIN. THOMAS BARLOVV.

Bailiol Merton and Queens colledges claim him and all perchance rightly) at several times.

* Eminent for his *review* of the *Council of Trent.*

So that at this present are maintained therein, one Provost, fourteen Fellows, seven Schollars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and other Students about 160.

25. In the mean time the Pope was not idle, but laid about him for his own profit. Knowing King *Edward* could not attend two things at once. And therefore whilest he was busied about his wars in *France*, his Holinesse bestirred him in *England*, *cropping* the *flowers* of the best Livings in their bud before they were blown. Yea in a manner he may be said to *seethe the Kid in the Mothers milk.* So that before Livings were actually void, He provisionally pre-provided Incumbents for them, and those generally *Aliens* and his own Countreymen.

The Pope makes use of the Kings absence.

15 1343 26. Though late, the King got leisure to look on his own Land, where he found a strange alteration, for as *France* lately was made *English* by his Valour, *England* was now turned *Italian* by the Popes *Covetousnesse.* In prevention therefore of future mischief, this *Statute of Provision* was made: whereby such forestalling of Livings to Forrainers was forbidden.

The Statute of provisions reasonably made.

27. Our Authors assign another accidentall cause of the Kings displeasure with the Pope, namely, That when his Holinesse created *twelve* Cardinals at the request of the *King* of *France*, He denied to make *one* at the desire of this King of *England.* Surely it was not reasonable in proportion, that his Holinesse giving the *whole dozen* to the King of *France*, might allow the *advantage* to the King of *England.* However betwixt both, this statute was made to the great enriching of the Kingdom, and contentment of the Subjects therein.

Mans anger worketh Gods pleasure.

28. Yet this Law, of *Provisions* (as all others) did not at the first making meet with present and perfect obedience. The Papal party did struggle for a time, till at last they were patient per-force finding the Kings power predominant. True it is, this grievance did continue, and was complained of, all *this*, and most of the *next* Kings Reign, till the Statute of *præmunire* was made

Statutes of Provisions not presently obeyed.

made, which *clinted* the naile which now was *driven* in. So that afterwards the Land was cleared from the *incumbrance* of such Provisions. Anno Dom. 1345. Anno Regis Ed. tertii 15.

Papal power in *England* declines.

29. A good Author tells us, *Habent Imperia sues Terminos, huc cùm venerint, sistunt, retrocedunt, ruunt.* Empyres have their *bounds*, whither when they come, they *stand still*, they *go back*, they *fall down*. This is true in respect to the Papal power in *England*. It went forward untill the Statute of *Mort-maine* was made in the reign of King *Edward* the first, It went backward *slowly* when this Statute of provisions, *swiftly* when this Statute of *Præmunire* was made. It fell *down* when the Papacy was abolished in the reign of King *Henry* the eighth.

The Pope takes wit in his anger.

30. Three years after the *statute* against the *Popes Provisions* was made, the King presented unto him *Thomas Hatlife* to be Bishop of *Durham*, one who was the *Kings Secretary*, and when this is, all is said that can be, in his commendation, as utterly devoid of all other *Episcopal qualifications*. However the Pope confirmed him without any *dispute* or *delay*; and being demanded why he consented to the preferment of so worthlesse a person, he answered, that *rebus sic stantibus, if the King of England had presented an Ass unto him, he would have confirmed him in the Bishoprick*. Indeed as yet his *Holiness* was in hope, that either the K. would *revoke* the foresaid statute, or else *moderate* the execution thereof. 1346 21

The institution of the Knights of the Garter.

31. This year, Authors generally agree (some few making it later, *viz.* after *John* K. of *France* was taken prisoner) K. *Edward* instituted the *Order* of the *Garter*, consisting of 1350 25

1. One *Chief Guardian*, or *Soveraign*, being the *King of England*.

2. *Five and twenty* Knights, *whereof the first set were termed* Founders, *and their Successors ever since called* Fellows *or* Companions *of the* Order.

3. Fourteen *Canons resident* being *Secular Priests*.

4. Thirteen *Vicars*, or *Chorel Priests*.

5. Twelve *Military Gentlemen* of the meaner sort decayed in age, and estate, commonly called the poor *Knights* of *Winsor*.

6. *One* Prelate *of the* Garter, *being alwaies the Bishop of* Wincheſter.

7. *One* Chancelour *thereof, being antiently the Bishop of* Salisbury (*in whose* Dioceſſe Winsor *is*) *but lately a Lay-Person. The truly Honourable and well experienced* Statesman *and* Traveller *Sir* Thomas Row (*if I mistake not*) *was the last* Chancelour *of the* Garter.

8. *One* Register, *being alwaies the Dean of* Winsor.

9. *One* Usher, *who is one of the* Ushers *of the* King *his* Chamber) *called the* Black Rod.

10. *A chief* Herald *added for the more* Solemnitie *by* K. Henry *the* 5. *and called* Garter.

This *Order* the K. founded within his *Castle* of *Winsor*, to the *honour* of *Almighty God*, and the *blessed Virgin Mary*, and of the *glorious Martyr St. George*, and to the exaltation of the *holy Catholick Faith*.

The qualification of these Knights

32. Four Essentials are requisite in the Persons Eligible into this *Order*, that they be Gentlemen of *Name* and *Arms* by Fathers and Mothers side, for three descents. Secondly, that he be without *spot* or *foule reproach*, understand it not convicted of *Heresie*, or attainted of *Treason*. Thirdly, that he have a competent *estate* to maintain the dignity of the *Order*. Fourthly, that he never fled in the day of battle, his *Soveraign Lord* or his Lieutenant in being in the field.

Their habits.

33. Their habiliments are either ordinary, as a *Blew Ribbon* with the picture of *St. George* appendent, and the Sun in his *Glory* on the left shoulder of their Cloak) added as some say by *King Charles*) being for their daily wearing; or extraordinary, as their *Collar* of S. S. their *Purple Mantle*, their Gown, *Kirtle*, *Chaperon*, and chiefly their *Garter*. This being made of *Blew* is with, Hony Soit qui male pense in *Golden Letters*, enchased with precious stones, fastened with a *Buckle of Gold*, and worn on the left leg of the *Fellows* of this *Order*.

Their Oath.

34. They take an Oath, that *to their power, during the time that they are Fellows of the Order, they shall defend the honour, quarrel, rights, and Lordships of their Soveraign, that they shall endeavour to preserve the honour of the Order, and without fraud or Covin, well observe the Statutes thereof*. This is taken *absolutely* by the *Natives of this* Kingdom, but by Forrainers *relatively*, and in *part*, with their reference to some *former Order*.

Other Rites they are bound to observe.

35. They oblige themselves, first, to be personally present, (without a *just* cause *specified to*, and *accepted by* the *Soveraign* or his *Deputy*) at *Winsor* on the *Festival of St. George*. Secondly, that if coming within two miles of that place, (except hindered by some

Anno Regni Ed. tertii 26. Anno Dom. 1350

some important business) they repair thither, put on their *Mantles*, (lying constantly *Liegers* there) proceed to the *Chappel* and there make their *Offering*. Thirdly, that they be never openly seen without their GEORGE's, which they shall neither *engage*, *alien*, *sell*, nor *give away* on any necessity whatsoever. Lastly, that they take order their *Garter* at their death, be safely and solemnly sent back to the Soveraign, to confer the same on one to succeed him in the Order.

Order how voided.

36. I have done when I have told that their places may be *vacated*, on three occasions. First by *death*, which layeth this (as all other) *honour in the dust*. Secondly, by *deprivation* on the persons misdemeanour or want of the foresaid qualifications. Thirdly, by *cession*, or *surrender*, when a Forraign Prince (entreth into enmity with this *Crown*) is pleased to send his Garter back again.

Excesse in apparel restrained.

37. Excesse in Apparel began now to be great in *England*, which made the State take order to retrench it. Some had a project, that mens *Cloathes* might be their *signs* to shew their *Birth*, *Degree*, or *Estate*, so that the quality of an *unknown person* might at the first sight be *expounded* by his *Apparrel*. But this was soon let fall as impossible. Statesmen in all Ages (notwithstanding their several laws to the contrary) being fain to connive at mens *Riot* in this kind, which maintaineth more poor people than their *charity*. However, the ensuing passage must not be omitted.

37 1361

Rot. Tur. Lon. anno Ed. ter. 37.

38. Item *that the Clerks which have a degree in a Church, Cathedral, Collegial, or in Schools, and the Kings Clerks which have such an estate that requires* Fur, *do, and use according to the constitution of the same, and all other Clerks which have above two hundred marks rent* per annum, *use, and do as Knights of the same rent, And other Clerks under that rent, use as Squires of an hundred pound rent.* * *And that all those, aswell Knights as Clerks, which by this Ordinance may use* Fur *in* Winter, *by the same manner may use it in* Summer.

* *Pellure* in the *French* Original.

Clergy-men injoyned to take up arms.

39. Passe we now from *soft Furr*, to *hard Steel*, I mean a command from the King for the arming of all *Clergy-men*.

43 1368

Rot. in Tur. Londin. anno Ed. tertii.

40. 'And besides this, the *King commands, and requires* all the *Prelates* 'there assembled, that in respect of the great danger and damage, which *per-* 'haps might happen to the *Realm* and *Church of England*, by reason of *this war*, 'in case his Adversary should enter the Kingdom to destroy and subvert the 'same, that they will put to their aid *in defence* of the Kingdom, and cause 'their Subjects to be arraied, aswell themselves, and their religious men, 'as *Parsons*, *Vicars*, and other men of holy Church whatsoever, *to abate* the ma- 'lice of his Enemies, in case they should enter the Kingdom, which *Prelates* 'granted to do, this in aid and defence of the Realm and holy Church. And 'so the Parliament ended.

More feared then hurt.

Here we see, *In hostes publicos omnes homo miles*, none are dispenced with, to oppose an *invading enemy*. But where were these *Forraign Foes*, *France*, and *Scotland*, being now both of them ordered into a *defensive posture*, whose invasion was expected? Possibly these dangers were represented thorough *State*-Multiplying *Glasses*, to quicken the *care*, and continue the Taxes on the *English Nation*.

A petition against Clergy mens imployment in Secular places.

41. The Lords and Commons in Parliament began now to find themselves much agrieved, that the *Clergy* ingrossed all Secular Offices, and thereupon presented the insuing Petition to the King, according to this effect insisting only in the substance thereof.

45 1370

Ex Rot. Parl. in Turr. Lond. in 45. Ed. tertii.

42. 'And because that in this present *Parliament* it was declared in our 'Lord the *King*, by all the *Earls*, *Barons*, and *Commons* of *England*, that the 'Government of the Kingdom, hath been *performed* for a long time, by the 'men of *Holy Church*, which are not * *justifiable* in all cases, whereby great mis- 'chiefs and damages, have happened in times past, and more may happen in

* *Justifiables* in the *French* Originals; quere, whether

whether not able to do justice, or not to be justified in their imployment, as improper for it.

'time to come in *disheriting* of the *Crown* and great *prejudice* of the *Kingdom* for 'divers causes that a man may declare—— that it will please our said *Lord* the 'King, that the *Laymen* of the said *Kingdom* which are *sufficient* and *able* of e-'state, may be chosen for this, and that no other *person* be hereafter made *Chan-'celour, Treasurer, Clerk* of the *Privy Seale, Barons of the Exchequer, Chamberlains* 'of the *Exchequer, Controler*, and all other *great Officers* and *Governours* of the 'said *Kingdom*, and that this thing be *now* in *such manner established* in form a-'foresaid, that by no way it may be defeated or any thing done to the con-'trary in any time to come; Saving alwaies to our *Lord* the *King*, the Electi-'on and removing of such *Officers*, but that alwaies they be Lay-men, such as 'is abovesaid.

Anno Dom. 1379. Anno Regis Ed. tertii 43.

The Answer (in effect) a denial.

43. To this Petition the King returned, *that he would ordain upon this point as it shall best seem to him by the advice of his good Councel.* He therefore who considereth the present power of the *Clergy*, at the *Council-Table*, will not wonder, if all things remained in their former *Condition*, till the *Nobility* began more openly to favour *John Wickliff* his Opinions, which the *next Book*, God willing, shall relate.

Simon Mepham Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury.*

44. We will close *this* with a Catalogue of the *Arch-Bishops* of *Canterbury*, Contemporary with King *Edward* the third, and begin with *Simon Mepham* made Arch-Bishop in the first year of his reign, so that the *Crown* and the *Mitre* may seem in some sort to have *started* together, only here was *the odds*, the King was a *young*, (yea, scarce a) *man*, whereas the Arch-Bishop was well stricken in years. Hence their difference in *holding out*, the King surviving, to see him buried and six more (whereof four *Simons inclusively*) heart-broken as they say with grief. For when *John Grandison* Bishop of *Exeter* (making much noise with his Name, but more with his Activity) refused to be *visited* by him, (the Pope siding with the Bishop) *Mepham* so resented it, that it cost him his life.

John Stratford his successor.

45. *John Stratford* was the second, Consecrated first Bishop of *Winchester* on the Lords day, whereon it was solemnly sung, *many are the afflictions of the Righteous*, whereof he was very apprehensive *then*, and more *afterwards*, when his own *experience* had proved a *Comment* thereon. Yet this might comfort him, whilst living, and make others honour his memory, that a *good Conscience* without any *great crime*, generally caused his molestation. For under King *Edward* the second, he suffered for being too *loyall a Subject*, (siding with the *King* against the *Queen* and her *Son*) and under *King Edward* the third, he was molested for being too *faithfull a Patriot*, namely, in pittying his poor Countreymens taxations, for which he was accused for correspondency with the *French*, and complying with the Pope, (Pope and King of *France* then *blowing in one Trumpet*) whereat King *Edward* was highly incensed.

His last his best dayes.

46. However *Stratford* did but say what thousands thought, *viz.* that a peace with *France* was for the profit of *England*, especially as proffered upon such honourable conditions. This the Arch-Bishop was zealous for, upon a *threefold accompt*, First, of *Pietie*, to save the effusion of more Christian blood. Secondly, of *Policie*, suspecting successe, that the tide might turn, and what was suddenly gotten, might be as suddenly lost. Thirdly, on *Charity*, sympathizing with the sad condition of his fellow Subjects, groaning under the burthen of Taxes to maintain an unnecessary war. For *England* sent over her *wealth* into *France*, to pay their victorious Souldiers, and received back again *honour* in exchange, whereby our Nation became exceeding proud, and exceeding poor. However the *end* (aswell as the *beginning* of the Psalm) was verified of this Arch-Bishop, *the Lord delivereth them out of all*, dying in great honour and good esteem with the King, a strong argument of his former innocence.

Tho. Bradwar-dine the third Arch-Bishop.

47. The third was *Tho. Bradwardine*, whose election was little lesse then miraculous. For Commonly the *King* refused whom the *Monks* chose: the

A *Pope*

Anno Regis Ed. tertii 45 | Anno Dom. 1370.

Pope rejected whom the *Monks* and *King* did elect, whereas all interests met in the choise of *Bradwardine*. Yea, which was more, the *Pope* as yet not knowing that the Monks and the *King* had pre-elected him, of his own accord (as by *supernaturall instinct*) appointed *Bradwardine* for that place, who little thought thereon. Thus *Omne tulit punctum*, and no wonder, seeing he mingled his *profitable Doctrines* with a *sweet* and amiable conversation: indeed he was skilled in School Learning, which one properly calleth *Spinosa Theologia*, and though some will say, *can figgs grow on thorns*, yet his thorny *Divinity* produced much sweet devotion.

Camden in Eliz.

48. He was Confessor to King *Edward* the third, whose miraculous victories in *France*, some impute more to this mans devout prayers: Then either to the *Policy* or *Prowess* of the *English* Nation He died before he was inthronized few moneths after his consecration, though now advanced on a more Glorious and durable Throne in Heaven, where he hath received the *Crown from God*, who here defended the * **Cause of God.** I behold him as the most pious man who from *Anselm* (not to say *Augustine*) to *Cranmer*, sat on that Seat. And a better *St. Thomas* (though not sainted by the Pope) then one of his predecessors commonly so called.

The best Arch-Bishop of that See.

* He wrote *de Causa Dei.*

49. *Simon Islip* was the fourth, a *parcimonious* (but no *avaricious*) man, thrifty whilst *living*, therefore clandestinely *Inthronized*, and when *dead*, secretly *interred* without any solemnity: Yet his frugality may be excused (if not commended herein) because he reserved his estate for good uses, founding *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*: Thus * generally Bishops founders of many Colledges therein, denominated them either from that Saint to whom they were dedicated, or from their *See*, (as *Exeter*, *Canterbury*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*) putting thereby a civil obligation on their Successors to be (as *Visitors*, so) Benefactors thereunto. This *Canterbury* Colledge is now swallowed up in *Christ Church*, which is no single *Star* as other Colledges, but a *Constellation* of many put together.

Simon Islip next Arch-Bishop.

Excipe Merton Colledge.

50. *Simon Langham* is the fifth, much merriting by his munificence to *Westminster* Abbie. He was made Cardinal of St. *Praxes*, and by the Pope Bishop of *Preneste* in Italy, with a facultie to hold as many Ecclesiasticall preferments as he could get. Hereupon he resigned his Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, lived for *a time* at *Avenion* in *France*, and there buried (according to his own directions) in a temporary Tombe, in a Religious house of his own, till three years after removed to *Westminster*. *William Whitlesee* succeeded him, famous for freeing the *University* of *Oxford*, from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, formerly the Diocesan thereof. As for *Simon Sudbury*, the last Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in the reign of King *Edward* the third, of him, God willing, hereafter.

Langham, *Witlesee*, and *Sudbury.*

The end of the third Book.

Anno Dom. 1270.

Pope related when the King died, wherein all interests meet in the choice of Archbishops. Yet, which was more, the Pope as yet knowing that the Monks had pre-elected him, of his own accord (as by former was said) appointed Reader to perform this office, who little thought thereon. That Court was a wonder, hoping he might lead his predecessor's life, and was unwilling to be misled in Scholastic Learning, which more properly befalls Priests; and though some will say, the Pope grew an Enemy produced much fewer devotion.

Charles in Italy.

43. He was Confessor to King Edward the third, whose miraculous visions in France, some impute more to this man's devout prayers: They either to the Piety or Poverty of the Royal Nation. He had before he was inducted few months after his election, thereby advanced on a more glorious and durable Throne in Heaven, where he both received the Crown from God, who bore defended the Church of Christ; behold him as the most pious man who from Adam (not to say Abel) was Crown, far on that Seat. And a Letter to Adam (though not finished by the Pope) then one of his predecessors commonly so called.

He had Archbishop Peckham.

Simon Up was the fourth, a Provincial (but two years) man, thrifty whilst living, therefore clandestinely deceased and when dead, decently interred without any solemnity. Yet his frugality may be excused, if not commended herein, because he reserved his estate for good uses, founding Canterbury College in Oxford: Thus [illegible] many Colledges therein, devoured then either from that cause to whom they were dedicated, or from their Founders, (as [illegible] Canterbury College) punishing their civil oblivion on their Executors to be [illegible] Before the reason. This Canterbury College is now swallowed up in [illegible], which is no single one as other Colledges, but a Confluence of many put together.

Archbishop Reynolds.

50. Simon Langham is the fifth, much unwilling, by his unskilfulness to undermine Nobles. He was made Cardinal of St. Praxed, and by the Pope Bishop of Praneste in Italy, with a facultie to hold as many Ecclesiastical preferments as he could get. Thereupon he refused his Archbishoprick of Canterbury, lived for a time at Avignon in France, and there united (according to his own direction) in a temporary Tombe in a Religious house of his own, till three years after removed to Westminster. Where worthy Succeeded him, famous for feeding the Queen by of Queen the Justification of the Bishop of Ely with Dinner a thereof. As for Simon Canterbury, the last Arch-bishop of Canterbury, in the reign of King Edward the third, of him, God willing, hereafter.

The end of the third Book.

THE Church-History OF BRITAINE.

The Fourth Book.

FROM THE FIRST APPEARING OF IOHN WICLIFFE.

Untill the Reign of

KING HENRY The Eighth.



LONDON,
Printed in the Year, M. DC. LV.

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To the Right Honourable,

JAMES HAY,

EARL of

CARLILE,

VISCOUNT

DONCASTER,

BARON of

SAVLEY and WALTHAM.

WE *read in* * Holy-writ, *when the* Iſraelites *fled before the* Philiſtines, *who ſpoiled a* field of Barley, *how* Eleazar *the* Son *of* Dodo, *made them pay dear for their* Treſpaſs, *ſo* ſtopping *them in the* full ſpeed *of their* Conqueſt, *that he* ſaved Iſrael by a great Deliverance.

* 1 Chro. 11. 13.

Inſpired Truths *need not the* Security *of* humane Hiſtory, *to* paſſe them *into our* Beliefe. *However*, other writers *afford* Examples, *how* one man, *in a manner*, *hath routed a* whole Army, *and turned the* flight *of his* party, *into an* unexpected Victory.

George Buchanan Schol. Hiſt. b. 6. p. 55.

Thus the * Chronicles *inform us, that when the* Scots *fled from the* Danes (*at a place called* Long-Carty) *one* Hay *an* Husbandman, *then at Plough* (*with his two* Sons) *ſnatching the* Yoak *into his hand* (*it is the* man *makes the* weapons, *not the* weapons *the* man) *not onely ſtopped the Enemies further purſuit, but beat them back with a great* Overthrow. *Whoſe valour*, King Keneth the ſecond, (ſeven hundred years *ſince*) *rewarded, with as much ground of the beſt in* Scotland, *as a* Falcon *flew over at one flight before it did* take a ſtand. *And the memory hereof is continued in your* Armes, *who doth carry a* Chronicle *in your* Coat, Creſt, *and* Supporters.

Let none quarrel at your Supporters, *being two men* holding each an Yoak in his hand, *ſeeing they are the* Supporters general *of all mankinde*, Solomon (*being* himſelf a King) *obſerving that the* King himſelf is maintained by husbandry. *Beſides, thoſe Yokes procured the* Scotch Liberty, *who otherwiſe had been miſerably enſlaved to the* Daniſh Inſolence. *And if the* bearing of armes *were ſo ancient amongſt the* Jews, *as the*

Eccleſ 5. 9.

Rabbies

Rabbies *will have it, it is proportionably probable that the* Poſterity *of* Shamgar *gave the* * GOAD *for the* Heredicary Enſigns *of their Family.* * Judg 3.31.

Nor muſt your Motto *be forgotten,* CONSCIENTIA MILLE SCUTA, A good Conſcience is a thouſand ſhields, *and every one* of proof *againſt the greateſt* peril. *May your* Honour *therefore be careful to preſerve it, ſeeing* loſe the Shield, *and* loſe the Field, *ſo great the concernment thereof.*

No Family *in* Chriſtendome *hath been Ennobled on a more* Honourable *Occaſion, hath* flouriſhed *for* longer *continuance, or been* preſerved *in a more* miraculous *manner.*

It is * *reported of the* Romane FABII, *no leſs numerous then valiant (three hundred and ſixty* Patritians *flouriſhing of them at once) they were all ſlain in one Battle, one onely excepted, who being under Age to bear Armes, was preſerved alive.* * Titus Livius libro 2do.

A greater Fatality *befell your* Family, *in a fight at* Duplin-Caſtle (*in the Reign of our* Edward the firſt) *when the whole* Houſhold *of* * HAYES *was finally extirpated, and not one of them viſible in the whole World. Onely it hapned that the* Chief *of them left his* Wife at home big with Childe, *from whom your* Name *is recruited, all ſpringing as it were from a* dead Root, *and thence deriving a* Poſtume Pedigree. * Camd. Brit. in Scot. Strath erne, pag. 705.

This

This puts me in hopes, that God *who ſo ſtrangely* preſerved *your* Name *in* Scotland, *will not ſuffer it ſo ſoon to be* extinct *in* England, *but give you* Poſterity *by your* Noble Conſort, *when it ſhall ſeem ſeaſonable to his own will and pleaſure.*

All that I will add is this, that ſeeing your Honour beareth three ſmaller Shields, *or* In-Eſcutchions, *in your* Armes, *the* ſhaddow *of the* leaſt *of them, with its favourable* reflection, *is ſufficient effectually to* protect *and* defend *the weak endeavours of*

Your moſt obliged Ser-

vant and Chaplain,

THOMAS FULLER.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

THE CHVRCH-HISTORY OF BRITAINE.

BOOK IV.

Ed. 3. 45. 1371. 1. THE Romaniſts obſerve, that ſeveral advantages concurred to the ſpeedy propagation of *Wicliffs* opinions, as namely, the decrepit age of *Edward* the third, and infancy of *Richard* his ſucceſſor, being but a childe, as his Grand-father was twice a childe, ſo that the reines of Authority were let looſe. Secondly, the attractive nature of *Novelty*, drawing followers unto it. Thirdly, the enmity which *John* of *Gaunt* bare unto the *Clergie*, which made him, out of oppoſition to favour the *Doctrine* and perſon of *Wicliffe*. Laſtly, the envy which the [a] Pope had contracted by his exactions and collations of Eccleſiaſtical benefices. We deny not theſe helps were inſtrumentally active in their ſeveral degrees, but muſt attribute the main to Divine providence, bleſſing the *Goſpel*, and to the nature of truth it ſelf, which though for a time, violently ſuppreſs'd, will ſeaſonably make its own free, and clear paſſage into the world.

Several cauſes of the ſpeedy ſpreading of *Wicliffs* Doctrine.

[a] *Harpsfeld* in his *Hiſtoria Wicliffiana* ca. 1.

2. And here we will acquaint the *Reader*, that being to write the Hiſtory of *Wicliffe*, I intend neither to deny, diſſemble, defend, or excuſe any of his faults. *We have this treaſure* (ſaith the [b] Apoſtle) *in earthen veſſels*; and he that ſhall endeavour to prove a *pitcher* of *clay*, to be a *pot* of *gold*, will take great pains to ſmall purpoſe. Yea, ſhould I be over-officious to retain my ſelf, to plead for *wicliffs* faults, that glorious *Saint* would ſooner chide then thank me, unwilling that in favour of him, truth ſhould ſuffer prejudice. He was a man, and ſo ſubject to errour, living in a dark Age, more obnoxious to ſtumble, vex'd with oppoſition, which makes men reel into violence;

Wicliffe guilty of many errours.

[b] 2 *Cor.* 4. 12.

Anno Dom. 1371. Anno Regis Ed. 3. 45.

and therefore it is unreasonable, that the constitution and temper of his positive opinions, should be guessed by his *Polemical Heat*, when he was chafed in disputation. But besides all these, envy hath falsly fathered many foul aspersions upon him.

The learning of *Wicliffe*.

a *Camd Brit.* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*.

b *Baleus* Cent. 6. numero. 1.

3. We can give no account of *Wicliffs* parentage, birth-place, or infancy, onely we finde an ancient [a] family of the *Wicliffs* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, since by match united to the *Brakenburies*, persons of great quality in those parts. As for this our *Wicliffe*, history at the very first meets with him a Man, and full grown, yea, Graduate of [b] *Merton Colledg* in *Oxford*. The fruitfull soil of his natural parts, he had industriously improved by acquired learning, not onely skill'd in the fashionable Arts of that Age, and in that abstruse, crabbed divinity, all whose fruit is thornes: but also well versed in the Scriptures; a rare accomplishment in those dayes. His publique Acts in the Schools, he kept with great approbation, though the *Eccho* of his popular applause sounded the Alarum to awaken the envy of his adversaries against him.

Wicliffe accused for ambition and discontent.

c *Harpsfield* hist. *Wicliffiana* cap. 1.

4. He is charged by the *Papists*, as if discontent first put him upon his opinions. For having usurped the [c] *Headships* of *Canterbury Colledg*, (founded by *Simon Islep*, since like a tributary brook, swallowed up in the wastnes of *Christ-Church*) after a long suit, he was ejected by sentence from the *Pope*, because by the Statutes, onely a Monk was capable of the place. Others add, that the loss of the *Bishoprick* of *Worcester* which he desired, incensed him to revenge himself by innovations; and can true doctrine be the fruit, where ambition and discontent hath been the root thereof? Yet such may know, that God often sanctifies mans weakness to his own glory; and that wise Architect makes of the crookedness of mens conditions, streight beams in his own building, to raise his own honour upon them. Besides, these things are barely said, without other evidence; and if his foes affirming be a proof, why should not his friends denial thereof be a sufficient refutation? Out of the same *mint* of *malice* another story is *coyned* against him, how *Wicliffe* being once gravell'd in publique disputation, preferring rather to say nonsense, then nothing, was forc'd to affirm, that an [d] *accident* was a *substance*. Yet methinks, if the story were true, such as defend the *doctrine* of *accidents* subsisting in the sacrament without a *substance*, might have invented some charitable qualification of his *paradox*, seing those that defend *falshoods*, ought to be good *fellows* and help one another.

d *Idem ibidem.*

The employment of *Wicliff* in *Oxford*.

e *Nehemiah* 4. 17.

5. Seven years *Wicliffe* lived in *Oxford*, in some tolerable quiet, having a *Professours* place, and a cure of soules. On the week dayes in the Schools proving to the learned what he meant to preach; and on the *Lords day* preaching in the *Pulpit*, to the vulgar, what he had proved before. Not unlike those builders in the *second Temple*, holding a [e] Sword in one hand, and a Trowell in the other: his disputing making his preaching to be strong, and his preaching making his disputations to be plain. His speculative positions against the Reall Presence in the Eucharist, did offend and distaste, but his practical Tenents against Purgatory, and Pilgrimages, did enrage and bemadd his adversaries: so woundable is the dragon, under the left wing, when pinched in point of profit. Hereupon they so prevailed with *Simon Sudbury*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, that *wicliffe* was silenced, and deprived of his benefice. Notwithstanding all which, he wanted nothing secretly, supplied by invisible persons, and he felt many a gift from a hand that he did not behold.

Difference in the number of *Wicliffs* opinions.

6. Here it will be seasonable to give in a List of *wicliffes* Opinions, though we meet with much variety in the accounting of them.

1. Pope



Iohn Wickliff. .˚.

Engraved from the Original Picture at Knole in the Collection

of his Grace the Duke of Dorset.

Pub[d] Oct[r] 1.1781 by Rich[d] Godfrey N[o] 20 Long Acre

Anno Regis Ed. 3. 46. Anno Dom. 1371

1. Pope [a] *Gregory* the eleventh, observed eighteen principal Errours in his Books, and *Wicliffe* is charged with the same [b] number, in the Convocation at *Lambeth*.
2. Thomas [c] Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, in a Synod held at *Preaching-Friers*, in *London*, condemned three and twenty of his Opinions; the ten first for heretical, and the thirteen last for erroneous.
3. In the Councel at *Constance*, [d] five and fourty Articles of false *Doctrines* were exhibited against Wicliffe, then lately deceased.
4. Thomas Waldensis computeth fourscore Errours in him.
5. John [e] Lucke, Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*, brings up the account to two hundred sixty six.

Lastly, and above all, John [f] Cocleus (it is fit that the latest Edition should be the largest) swells them up to full three hundred and three.

a *Harpsfield* in Hist. *Wiclifiana*, p. 684.
b *Fox* Martyr. p. 398.
c Idem. p. 401.
d Idem p. 414.
e *Harpsfield* Hist. *Wicliffe*, pag 669.
f *In historia Hussitarum in Prolog. Tomi primi.*

Wonder not at this difference, as if *Wicliffe*'s *Opinions*, were like the *Stones* on *Salisbury-plain*, falsely reported, that no two can count them alike. The variety ariseth, first, because some count onely his primitive *Tenets*, which are breeders, and others reckon all the yong *frie* of *Consequences* derived from them. Secondly, some are more industrious to seek, perverse to collect, captious to expound, malicious to deduce far distant Consequences; excellent at the inflaming of a Reckoning, quick to discover an infant or *Embrio*-errour, which others over-look. Thirdly, it is probable, that in process of time, *Wicliffe* might delate himself in supplemental and additional Opinions, more then he at first maintained: and it is possible that the *Tenents* of his followers in after ages might be falsely fathered upon him. We will tie our selves to no strict number or method, but take them as we finde them, out of his greatest adversary, with exact *Quotation* of the *Tome*, *Book*, *Article*, and *Chapter*, where they are *Reported*.

Thomas Waldensis *accuseth* Wicliffe *to have maintained these dangerous heretical* Opinions.

Of The Pope.

To.	Bo.	Art	Chap.	
4	2	1	1	1. That it is blasphemy to call any Head of the Church save Christ alone.
1	2	3	39	2. That the election of the Pope by Cardinals, is a device of the devil.
1	2	1	2	3. That those are Hereticks, which say that *Peter* had more power then the other Apostles.
1	2	1	4	4. That *James*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was preferred before *Peter*.
1	2	3	41	5. That *Rome* is not the Seat in which Christ's Vicar doth reside.
1	2	3	35	6. That the Pope, if he doth not imitate Christ and *Peter* in his life, and manners; is not to be called the Successour of Peter.

To.	Bo.	Art.	Chap.		Anno Dom.	Anno Regis
1	2	3	38	7. That the Imperial and Kingly authority are above the Papal Power.	1371.	Ed. 3. 45.
1	2	3	48	8. That the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, in matters of faith, is the greateſt blaſphemy of Antichriſt.		
1	2	3	54	9. That he often calleth the Pope Antichriſt.		
1	2	3	32	10. That Chriſt mean't the Pope, by the * abomination of Deſolation, ſtanding in the holy place.		

* Mat. 24. 15.

OF POPISH PRELATES.

1	2	2	16	11. That from the words, and works, and [a] ſilence of *Prelates* in Preaching, it ſeemeth probable, that they are Devils incarnate.		
1	2	3	57	12. That Biſhops Benedictions, Confirmations, Conſecrations of Churches, Chalices, &c. be but tricks to get money.		

[a] *Ex verbo, opere, & taciturnitate Prælatorum.*

OF PRIESTS.

1	2	3	71	13. That plain *Deacons* and *Prieſts* may preach without licence of *Pope* or *Biſhop*.		
1	2	3	60	14. That in the time of the Apoſtles, there were onely two Orders, namely, *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, and that a *Biſhop* doth not differ from a Prieſt.		
3			68	15. That it is lawful for Lay-men to abſolve no leſs, then for the *Prieſts*.		
2			128	16. That it is lawful for Clergy-men to marry.		
			61	17. That *Prieſts* of bad life, ceaſe any longer to be [b] *Prieſts*.		

[b] *Waldenſis* in ſeveral places of his book.

OF THE CHURCH.

1	2		8	18. That he defined the *Church* to conſiſt, onely of perſons predeſtinated.		
1	2	1	12	19. That he divideth the *Church* into theſe three members, Clergy-men, Souldiers, and Labourers.		
1	4	3	37	20. That the *Church* was not endowed with any immoveable poſſeſſions, before *Conſtantine* the great.		
1	4	3	16 / 41	21. That it is no Sacriledg to take away things, conſecrated to the *Church*.		
3			143	22. That all beautiful building of *Churches*, is blameworthy, and ſavours of hypocriſie.		

OF TYTHES.

1	2	3	65	23. That Pariſhioners by him were exhorted, not to pay *Tythes* to Prieſts of diſſolute life.		
1	2	3	64	24. That *Tythes* are pure almes, and that Paſtours ought not to exact them by Eccleſiaſtical cenſures.		

OF THE SCRIPTURE.

1	2	2	23	25. That wiſe men leave that as Impertinent, which is not plainly expreſſed in Scripture.		
1	2	2	26	26. That he ſlighted the authority of General Councels.		

OF

Anno Regis Ed. 3. 46.	Anno Dom. 1372.	To.	Bo.	Art	Chap.	
						OF HERETICKS.
		2			81	27. That he called all Writers since the thousandth year of Christ, Hereticks.
						OF PRAYER.
		3			23 25	28. That men are not bound to the observation of Vigils, or Canonical houres.
		3			11	29. That it is vain for Lay-men to bargain with Priests for their prayers.
		3			21	30. That to binde men to set and prescript forms of Prayers, doth derogate from that liberty God hath given them.
		3			8	31. That to depress the benefit of other mens purchased Prayers, he recommended all men, to hope, and trust in their own righteousness.
						OF ALMES.
		1	2	3	71	32. That we ought not to do any Alms to a sinner, whilest we know him to be so.
						OF THE SACRAMENTS.
		3			45 46	33. That Chrisme, and other such ceremonies are not to be used in Baptisme.
		2			99	34. That those are fools, and presumptuous, which affirm, such infants not to be saved, which dye without Baptisme: and also, That he denied, that all sins are abolished in Baptisme.
		2			108	
		2			98	35. That Baptisme doth not confer, but onely signifie grace, which was given before.
		2			26	36. That in the Sacrament of the Alter, the Host is not to be worshipped, and such as adore it are Idolaters.
						37. That the substance of bread and wine, still remain [a] in the Sacrament.
		2			55	38. That God could not, though he would, make his body to be at the same time, in several places.
		1			109	39. That the Sacrament of Confirmation is not much necessary to salvation.
		3			147	40. That Confession, to a man truly contrite, is superfluous, used by Antichrist, to know the secrets, and gain the wealth of others.
		2			130	41. That that is no due Marriage, which is contracted, without hope of having children.
		2			163	42. That extreme Unction is needless, and no Sacrament.
						OF ORDERS.
		2	2	2	15	43. That Religious Sects confound the unity of Christs Church, who instituted but one order of serving him.

[a] This is scattered in several places of his book.

44. That

To.	Bo.	Art	Chap.		Anno Dom. 1372.	Anno Regis Edw. 3. 45
2			109	44. That he denied all sacred initiations into Orders, as leaving no character behinde them.		
3			91	45. That Vowing of Virginity is a Doctrine of Devils.		
				OF SAINTS.		
3			130	46. That such Christians, who do worship Saints, border on Idolatry.		
3			133	47. That it is needless to adorn the shrines of Saints, or to go in Pilgrimage to them.		
3			124 125	48. That miracles conceived done at Saints shrines, may be delusions of the Devil.		
3			115	49. That Saints prayers (either here, or in heaven) are onely effectual for such as are good.		
				OF THE KING.		
1	2	3	79	50. That it is lawful in Causes Ecclesiastical, and matters of faith, after the Bishops sentence, to appeal to the secular Prince.		
1	3	1	81	51. That Dominion over the creature is founded in grace.		
1	3	3	83	52. That God devesteth him of all right who abuseth his power.		
				OF CHRIST.		
1	2	3	43	53. That Christ was a man, even in those three dayes, wherein his body did lie in the grave.		
1	2	3	44	54. That the Humanity of Christ being separated, is to be worshipped with that adoration which is called *LATRIA*.		
1	1	3	44	55. That Christ is the Humanity by him assumed.		
				OF GOD.		
2			160	56. That God loved *David* and *Peter* as dearly, when they grievously sinned, as he doth now when they are possessed of glory.		
1	2	3	82	57. That God giveth no good things to his enemies.		
2			135	58. That God is not more willing to reward the good, then to punish the wicked.		
				59. That all things [a] come to pass by fatal necessity.		
1	1	1	13	60. That God could not make the world otherwise then it is made.		
1	1	1	10	61. That God cannot do any thing, which he doth not do.		
				62. That God cannot make that something should return into nothing.		

[a] *Waldenſis* in ſeveral places laieth this to his charge.

Much pitty that *Wicliffs* own books are loſt.

7. Here the ingenuous Reader muſt acknowledg, that many of theſe opinions are truths, at this day publickly profeſſed in the *Proteſtant Church*. For the reſt, what pitty is it that we want *Wicliffe*'s works, to hear him ſpeak in his own behalf. Were they all extant, therein we might read the occaſion, intention,

Anno Regis Ed. 3. 45. Anno Dom. 1371.

intention, and connexion of what he ſpake; together with the limitations, reſtrictions, diſtinctions, qualifications, of what he maintained. There we might ſee, what was the overplus of his paſſion, and what the juſt meaſure of his judgment. Many phraſes, heretical in ſound, would appear orthodox in ſenſe. Yea, ſome of his poyſonous paſſages, dreſs'd with due caution, would prove not onely wholſome, but cordial truths; many of his expreſſions wanting, not *granum ponderis*, but *ſalis*, no weight of truth, but ſome grains of diſcretion. But now alas! of the [a] two hundred books, which he wrote, being burnt, not a tittle is left, and we are fain to [b] borrow the bare titles of them from his adverſaries; from whom alſo theſe his opinions are extracted, who *winnow* his works, [c] as *Satan* did *Peter*, not to finde the *corn*, but the *chaff* therein. And how candid ſome Papiſts are in interpreting the meaning of Proteſtants, appears by that cunning [d] Chymiſt, who hath diſtilled the ſpirits of Turciſme, out of the books of *Calvin* himſelf.

a *Æneas Sylvius Hiſt Bohem.* pag. 78.
b So *Jo. Bale* confeſſeth, Cent. 6. p. 451.
c *Luke* 22. 31.
d See the book called *Calvino-Turciſmus.*

50. 1376 8. Now a Synod was called by *Simon Sudbury*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, at *Paul's* in *London* (the *Parliament* then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*) whither *Wicliffe* was ſummoned to appear; who came accordingly, but in a poſture and equipage different from expectation. Four Fryers were to aſſiſt; the *Lord Piercy* to uſher; *John*, *Duke* of *Lancaſter*, to accompany him. Theſe *Lords* their enmity with the *Prelates*, was all *Wicliffes* acquaintance with them; whoſe eyes did countenance, hands ſupport, and tongues encourage him, bidding him to dread nothing, nor to ſhrinke at the company of the Biſhops; for, *they are all unlearned* (ſaid they) *in reſpect of you*. Great was the concourſe of people; as in populous places, when a new ſight is to be ſeen, there never lack lookers on: and to ſee this *man-baiting*, all people of all kindes flock'd together.

Wicliff appears before the Synod in Saint *Pauls.*

9. The *Lord Piercy*, Lord *Marſhal* of *England*, had much ado to break thorow the croud in the Church; ſo that the buſtle he kept with the people, highly offended the Biſhop of *London*, as profaning the place, and diſturbing the Aſſembly. Whereon followed a fierce contention betwixt them; and leſt their interlocutions ſhould hinder the intireneſs of our diſcourſe, take them verbatim in a Dialogue, omitting onely their mutual railing; which, as it little became perſons of honour to bring; ſo it was flat againſt the profeſſion of a Biſhop to return; who, by the Apoſtles [e] precept, muſt be *patient, not a brawler.*

The brawle betwixt the Biſhop, and the Lords in the Church.

e 1 *Tim.* 3. 3.

Biſh. *Courtney.* *Lord Piercy*, if I had known before hand, what maiſteries you would have kept in the Church, I would have ſtopt you out from coming hither.

Duke of *Lancaſt.* He ſhall keep ſuch maſteries here, though you ſay nay.

Lord Piercy. *Wicliffe*, ſit down, for, you have many things to anſwer to, and you need to repoſe your ſelf on a ſoft ſeat.

Biſh. *Courtney.* It is unreaſonable, that one, cited before his Ordinary, ſhould ſit down during his anſwer. He muſt, and ſhall ſtand.

Duke of *Lancaſt.* The Lord *Piercy* his motion for *Wicliffe* is but reaſonable. And as for you my Lord Biſhop, who are grown ſo proud, and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you alone, but of all the Prelacy in *England.*

Biſh. *Courtney.* Do your worſt Sir.

Duke of *Lancaſt.* Thou beareſt thy ſelf ſo brag upon thy [f] parents, which ſhall not be able to help thee; they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves.

f His Father *Hugh Courtney* Earl of Devon-ſhire.

Biſh. *Courtney.* My confidence is not in my Parents, nor in any man elſe, but onely in God in whom I truſt, by whoſe aſſiſtance I will be bold to ſpeak the truth.

Duke

Anno Dom. 1376. Anno Regis Ed. 3. 50.

Duke of *Lancaſt.* Rather then I will take theſe words at his hands, I'de pluck the Biſhop by the hair out of the [a] Church.

[a] *Fox* Martyr. pag. 393. & *Harpsfield* in Hiſt. *Wicliffiana* cap. 5. pag. 683.

Theſe laſt words, though but ſoftly whiſpered by the Duke, in the ear of one next unto him, were notwithſtanding over-heard by the *Londoners*; who, inraged that ſuch an affront ſhould be offered to their Biſhop, fell furiouſly on the Lords, who were fain to depart for the preſent, and for a while by flight, and ſecreſie to ſecure themſelves; whileſt, what outrages were offered to the *Dukes* palace, and his ſervants, Hiſtorians of the State do relate.

Why the Arch-Biſhop and *Wicliffe* ſilent the while.

10. Wonder not that two perſons, moſt concerned to be vocal, were wholly mute at this meeting; namely, *Simon* the Arch-Biſhop, and *Wieliffe*, himſelf. The former (rather acted, then active in this buſineſs) ſeeing the brawl happened in the Cathedral of *London*, left the Biſhop thereof to meddle, whoſe ſtout ſtomach, and high birth, made him the meeter match to undertake ſuch noble adverſaries. As for *wicliffe*, well might the Client be ſilent, whileſt ſuch Councel pleaded for him. And the Biſhops found themſelves in a dangerous Dilemma about him; it being no pity to permit, nor policy to puniſh, one protected with ſuch potent patrons. Yea, in the iſſue of this Synod, they onely commanded him to forbear hereafter, from preaching, or writing his doctrine; and, how far he promiſed conformity to their injunctions, doth not appear.

Wicliffs opinions marvellouſly ſpread, and why.

11. In all this Synod, though *wicliffe* made but a dumb ſhew, rather ſeen then heard, yet the noiſe of his ſucceſs ſounded all over the Kingdom. For, when a ſuſpected perſon is ſolemnly ſummoned, and diſmiſſed without cenſure; vulgar apprehenſions, not onely infer his innocence, but alſo conclude, either the ignorance, or injuſtice of his adverſaries. In publique aſſemblies, if the weaker party can ſo ſubſiſt, as not to be conquered, it conquers in reputation, and a drawn battel is accounted a victory on that ſide. If *Wicliffe* was guilty, why not puniſhed? if guiltleſs, why ſilenced? And it much advantaged the propagating of his opinions, that at this very time happened a dangerous diſcord at *Rome*, long laſting, for above fourty years, and fiercely followed; begun betwixt *Urban* the 6th, and *Clement* the 7th. One living at *Rome*, the other reſiding at *Avignon*. Thus *Peters Chair* was like to be broken, betwixt two ſitting down at once. Let *Wicliffe* alone to improve this advantage; pleading, that now the Romiſh Church, having two, had no legal head; that this monſtrous apparition prefaged the ſhort life thereof; and theſe two Anti-Popes, made up one Anti-Chriſt. In a word, there *was opened unto him a great door of utterance*, made out of that crack, or cleft, which then happened in this ſeaſonable ſchiſme at *Rome*.

The death & character of King *Edward* the third.

12. *Edward*, the third of that name, ended his life, having reigned a Jubilee, ful fifty years. A Prince no leſs ſucceſful, then valiant; like an Amphibion, He was equally active on water, and land. Witneſs his naval-victory nigh *Sluce*, and land-conqueſt at *Chreſce*, *Poictiers*, and elſewhere. Yet his atchievements in *France*, were more for the credit, then commodity; honour, then profit of *England*. For, though the fair Provinces, he Conquered therein, ſeem'd fat enough to be ſtewed in their own liquor; I mean, rich enough to maintain themſelves; yet we finde them to have ſuck'd up much of our Engliſh ſauce, to have drain'd the money, and men of this land to defend them. This made King *Edward*, to endeavour to his power, to preſerve his people from Popiſh extortions, as knowing, that his own taxes did burthen, and the addition of thoſe other would break the backs of his Subjects. He was himſelf not unlearned, and a great favourer of learned men; Colledges ſpringing by paires out of his marriage-bed; namely, *Kings-Hall*, founded by himſelf in *Cambridg*; and *Queens-Colledg*, by *Philippa* his wife in *Oxford*. He lived almoſt to the age, and altogether to the infirmities of King *David*, but had not, with him, a virgin-*Abiſhag*, a virgin-Concubine, to heat him: 1377 51.

Anno Regis Ed. 3. 51. Anno Dom. 1376

him: but (which is worse) in his decrepit age, kept *Alice Pierce*, a noted strumpet, to his own disgrace, and his peoples disprofit. For, she (like a bad tenant, which, holding an expiring lease *without impeachment of waste*, cares not what spoil he maketh thereon) sensible of what tickliſh termes she stood on, snatch'd all she could rape and rend, unto her self. In a word, the bad beginning of this King, on the murder of his Father, must be charged on his Mothers, and *Mortimers* account. The failings at his end may be partly excused, by the infirmities of his age; the rather because whilest he was himself, he was like himself; and, whilest master of his own actions, he appeared worthy of all commendations. *Richard* the second, his Grand-childe by *Edward* the Black Prince, succeeded him, being about twelve years of age, and lived under his Mothers and Uncle's tuition.

Rich. 2 1.

13. A Parliament was called at *Westminster*, wherein old bandying betwixt the Laity, and the Clergie. The former moving, [a] *That no officer of the Holy Church should take pecuniary sums, more or less, of the people, for correction of sins, but onely injoyn them spiritual penance, which would be more pleasing to God, and profitable to the soul of the offender.* The Clergie stickled hereat, for, *by this craft they got their gain*; and, no greater penance can be laid on them, then the forbidding them to impose money-penance on others. But here the King interpos'd, *That Prelates should proceed therein as formerly, according to the laws of the Holy Church, and not otherwise.* Yea, many things passed in this Parliament in favour of the Clergie; as that, *That all Prelates and Clerks shall from henceforth commence their suits against purveyers and buyers disturbing them* (though not *by way of crime*) by actions of trespass, *and recover treble damages.* Also, *That any of the Kings Ministers, arresting people of the Holy Church in doing Divine Service, shall have imprisonment, and thereof be raunsomed at the Kings will, and make gree to the parties so arrested.*

Laity bandying against the Clergie in Parliament.

a *Ex Rotulis in Terre Londinens primo Ricardi 2.*

2 1378

14. About this time *Wicliffe* was summoned personally to appear before *Simon*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Bishops, in his Chappel at *Lambeth*. He came accordingly, and now all expected he should be devoured, being brought into the *Lions Den*. When, in comes a Gentle-man, and Courtier, one [b] *Lewis Clifford*, on the very day of examination, commanding them, not to proceed to any definitive sentence against the said *Wicliffe*. Never before was the Bishops served with such a *prohibition*: all agreed, the messenger durst not be so stout, with a *Mandamus* in his mouth, but because back'd with the power of the Prince that imployed him. The Bishops struck with a panick fear, proceeded no farther; the rather because the messenger so rudely rushed into the Chappel, and the *person* of this *John Wicliffe* was so saved from heavie censure, as was once the *doctrine* of his [c] godly name-sake, *for they feared the people.* Onely the Arch-Bishop summoned a Synod at *London*, himself preaching at the opening thereof. We finde nothing of his Sermon, but his Text was excellent, *Watch and pray.* Four constitutions he made therein, [d] three whereof concerned Confession, grown now much into discredit, and disuse, by *Wicliffs* doctrine, and therefore conceived more needfull, to press the strict observation thereof.

Wicliff wonderfully preserved from prosecution.

b *Antiq. Brit. pag. 258. & Fox p. 505.*

c *Mark 11. 32.*

d *Lindwods provincials, lib 5. fol 183.*

15. In the Parliament, kept at *Gloceſter* this same year, the Commons complained, that many Clergy-men, under the notion of *Sylva cædua, lop-wood*, took tythes even of timber it self: Requesting, that, in such cases, prohibitions might be granted, to stop the proceedings of the Court-Christian. It was moved also, that *Sylva cædua* (though formerly accounted wood above *twentie years* old) might hereafter be declared that, which was above the growth of [e] *ten years*, and the same to be made free from tythes. But this took no effect, the King remitting things to their ancient course. To cry quits with the Commons in their complaints, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* enveigh'd as bitterly, of the Franchises infringed, of the Abby-Church of *Westminster*: wherein *Robert de Hanley*, Esquire, with a servant of that Church, were both despightfully, and horridly slain therein, at the high

Transactions in the Parliament of *Gloceſter.*

e *Ex Rot. in Terre Londin. 2 Richardi 2. parte, primâ, numero 45.*

Altar, even when the Priest was singing high Mass, and pathetically desired reparation for the same. Anno Dom. 1378. Anno Regis Ric. 2. 2.

Sanctuaries shrewdly shaken.

16. Some of the Lords rejoyned on their parts, that such sanctuaries were abused by the Clergie, to protect people from the payment of their due debts; the aforesaid *Hanlay* being slain in a quarrel on that occasion. And, whereas upon the oathes, and examination of certain Doctors in Divinity, Canon, and Civil Law, it appeared, that immunity in the Holy Church were onely to be given to such, who, upon crime, were to lose life or limb, the same was now extended to priviledg people, in actions of account, to the prejudice of the creditor. They added moreover, that neither God himself (saving his perfection) nor the Pope (saving his Holiness) nor any Lay-Prince could grant such priviledg to the Church: and the Church, which should be the favourer of vertue, and justice, [a] ought not to accept the same, if granted. The Bishops desired a day to give in their answer, which was granted them: but I finde not this harsh string touch'd again all this Parliament; haply for fear, but to make bad musick thereon. Complaints were also made against the extortion of Bishops Clerks; who, when they should take but [b] *eight pence*, for the probate of a Will, they now exacted greater summes then ever before: to which, as to other abuses, some general reformation was promised.

[a] *Ex Rot. Tur. Londin 2. Ric. 2 part 2 num. 28.*

[b] *Ibid num 46.*

Aliens debarred from holding benefices.

17. In the next Parliament called at *Westminster*, one of the greatest grievances of the Land was redressed, namely, foreiners holding of Ecclesiastical benefices. For, at this time the Church of *England* might say with *Israel*, * *Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens.* Many Italians, who knew no more English, then the difference between a *teston* and a a *shilling*, a golden *noble* and an *angel* in receiving their rents, had the fattest livings in *England* by the Pope collated upon them. Yea, many great [c] Cardinals, resident at *Rome* (those *hinges* of the Church must be greased with English revenues) were possessed of the best Prebends, and Parsonages in the Land, whence many mischiefs did ensue. First, they never preached in their Parishes: Of such shepheards it could not properly be said, that, he [d] *leaveth the sheep, and fleeth*; who (though taking the title of shepheard upon them) never saw their flock, nor set foot on English ground. Secondly, no hospitality was kept for relief of the poor: except they could fill their bellies on the hard names of their Pastours, which they could not pronounce; Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio*, Lord Cardinal *de S^t Angelo*, Lord Cardinal *Veverino*, &c. Yea, the Italians genrally farmed out their places to Proctors, their own Country-men; who, instead of filling the bellies, *grinded the faces* of poor people: So that, what betwixt the Italian hospitality, which none could ever see; and the Latin Service, which none could understand: the poor English were ill *fed*, and worse *taught*. Thirdly, the wealth of the Land leak'd out into forein Countries, to the much impoverishing of the Common-wealth. It was high time therefore for the King, and Parliament, to take notice thereof; who now enacted, that no *aliens* should hereafter hold any such preferments, nor any send over unto them, the revenues of such Benefices. As in the Printed Statutes more largely doth appear. 1379 3.

* *Lam. 5. 2.*

[c] See the Catalogue of their names and numbers in Mr *Fox.* pag. 562.

[d] *John 10. 12.*

The Rebellion of *Wat Tyler*, and *Jack Straw*.

18. Whiles at this time Clergy and Laity cast durt each in others faces, and neither washed their own: to punish both, burst forth the dangerous rebellion of *Wat Tiler*, and *Jack Straw*, with thousands of their cursed company. These all were *pure Levellers* (inflamed by the abused eloquence of one *John Ball*, an excommunicated Priest) who, maintaining, that no Gentry was *Jure Divino*, and all equal by nature,

When Adam *delv'd, and* Eve *span,*
Who was then the Gentleman?

endeavoured

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endeavoured the aboliſhing of all civil, and ſpiritual degrees, and diſtinctions. Yea, they deſired to level mens parts, as well as their purſes; and, that none ſhould be either wealthier, or wiſer then his fellows; projected the general deſtruction of all, that wore a pen-and-ink-horn about them, or could write, or read. To effect this deſign, they pretended the peoples liberty, and the Princes honour: and, finding it difficult to deſtroy the King, but by the King, they advanced the *name*, to pluck down the *thing* ſignified thereby; crying up, that, *all was for King Richard.* They ſeemed alſo to be much for *Reformation*; which *cloak* they wore, to warme themſelves therewith, when naked, and firſt ſetting-up; but afterwards caſt it off in the heat of their ſucceſs, as not onely uſeleſs, but burdenſome unto them.

19. As the *Philiſtines* [a] *came out in three companies*, to deſtroy all the ſwords and Smiths in *Iſrael*: ſo this rabble of Rebells, making it ſelf tripartite, endeavoured the rooting out of all pen-knives, and all appearance of learning. One in *Kent*, under the aforeſaid *Wat*, and *John*: the ſecond in *Suffolk*; the third under *John Littſtarre*, a Dier in *Norfolke*. The former of theſe is deſcribed in the Latin verſes of *John Gower*, *Prince of Poets* in his time; of whom we will beſtow the following tranſlation.

The rabble divided into three compapanies.

a 1 *Sam.* 13. 17.

Watte vocat, cui Thome venit, neq́, Symme retardat,
Betteq́, Gibbe ſimul Hykke venire jubent.
Colle furit, quem Gibbe juvat nocumenta parantes,
Cum quibus ad damnum Wille coire vovet.
Grigge rapit, dum Dawe ſtrepit, comes eſt quibus Hobbe,
Lorkin & in medio non minor eſſe putat.
Hudde ferit, quos Judde terit, dum Tebbe juvatur,
Jakke domoſque viros vellit, & enſe necat.

Tom comes, thereat, when call'd by *Wat*, and *Simm* as forward we finde,
Bet calls as quick, to *Gibb*, and to *Hykk*, that neither would tarry behinde.
Gibb, a good whelp of that litter, doth help mad *Coll* more miſchief to do,
And *Will* he doth vow, the time is come now, he'l joyn with their company too.
Davie complains, whiles *Grigg* gets the gaines, and *Hobb* with them doth partake,
Lorkin aloud, in the midſt of the croud, conceiveth as deep is his ſtake.
Hudde doth ſpoil, whom *Judde* doth foile, and *Tebb* lends his helping hand,
But *Jack*, the mad patch, men and houſes doth ſnatch, and kills all at his command.

Oh the methodical deſcription of a confuſion! How doth *Wat* lead the front, and *Jack* bring up the rere? (For, confuſion it ſelf would be inſtantly confounded, if ſome ſeeming ſuperiority were not owned amongſt them.) All men without ſir-names (*Tiler* was but the addition of his trade, and *Straw*, a mock-name, aſſumed by himſelf; though *Jack Straw* would have been *John of Gold*, had this treaſon took effect) ſo obſcure they were, and inconſiderable. And, as they had no ſir-names, they deſerved no Chriſtian-names, for their heatheniſh cruelties: though, *to get them a name*, they endeavoured to build this their *Babel* of a general confuſion.

20. Many,

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The barbarous outrages by them committed.

20. Many, and heinous were the outrages by them committed; especially, after they had poſſeſſed themſelves of *London*. All ſhops, and cellers were broken open; and they now ruſſled in ſilk, formerly ratling in leather; now ſoked themſelves in wine, who were acquainted but with water before. The *Savoy* in the *Strand*, being the Palace of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, was plundered: ſo was the Hoſpital of S^t *John*'s; and S^r *Robert Hales*, Lord Prior therein, and Treaſurer of *England*, ſlain. But, as their ſpight, was the keeneſt at, ſo the ſpoil the greateſt on the Law; well knowing, that, while the banks thereof ſtood fully in force, the deluge of their intended Anarchy, could not freely overflow. They ranſack'd the Temple, not onely deſtroying many preſent Pleas, written between party and party, (as if it would accord Plaintife and Defendant, to ſend them both joyntly to the fire) but alſo aboliſhed many ancient Records, to the loſs of Learning, and irrecoverable prejudice of poſterity. The *Church* fared as ill as the *Temple*; and *Simon Sudbury*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, after many indignities offered him, was at laſt by them beheaded on Tower-Hill, patiently ending his life, and dying a *State-Martyr*. But moſt fiercely fell their fury on the *Dutch* in *London* (offended, be-like, with them for ingroſſing of Trade) and theſe words, *bread and cheeſe*, were their *neck-verſe*, or *Shibboleth*, to diſtinguiſh them; all pronouncing *broad and cauſe*, being preſently put to death. Of all people, onely ſome [a] Franciſcan Friers found favour in their ſight, whom they intended to preſerve. What *quality*, to us *occult*, commended them to their mercy? Was it becauſe they were the moſt ignorant of other Friers, and ſo the likeſt to themſelves? But, perchance, theſe Rebells (if demanded) were as unable to render a reaſon, why they ſpared theſe, as why they ſpoiled others; being equally irrational in their kindneſſes, as in in their cruelties.

a See *Godwins* Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Norwich* in *Hen. Spencer.*

Judas & *Wat Tyler* paralleſ'd.

21. When I read that paſſage of *Judas* in the Counſel of [b] *Gamaliel*, it ſeemeth to me plainly to deſcribe the riſing, increaſe, and ruine of theſe Rebels;

b *Acts* 5. 37.

1. Riſing. *There roſe up Judas of Galilee in the dayes of the taxing*: ſo *Tiler* appeared, and this rebellion was cauſed by *poll-money*, heavily impoſed by the King, and the arrears thereof more cruelly exacted by his Courtiers that farmed it. And pitty it is, ſo foul a rebellion could pretend ſo fair an occaſion, for the extenuating thereof.

2. Encreaſe. *And drew away much people after him*: ſo the ſnow-ball encreaſed here. *John* [c] *Gower* telleth us in his paralel of the martyring of *Simon Sudbury*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with *Thomas Becket*, his predeceſſour.

c In his book call'ed *Vox Clamantis*, lib. 1. cap. 14.

Quatuor in mortem ſpirarunt fœdera Thomæ;
Simonis *& centum mille dedere necem.*

But four conſpir'd *Thomas* his bloud to ſpill;
Whiles hundred thouſands *Simon* help to kill.

Nor was this any poetical Hyperbole, but an hiſtorical truth, if the ſeveral numbers of their three armies were ſumm'd up together.

3. Ruine. *He alſo periſhed, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were diſperſed*: ſo here, no ſooner was *Wat Tiler*, their General (as I may terme him) kill'd by valiant *Wallworth*, the Lord Mayor of

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of *London*, and his assistance (for it was *John* [a] *Cavendish*, Esquire, that dispatch'd him with a mortal wound) in *Smithfield*; and *Jack Straw*, their Lieutenant-General, legally [b] beheaded (too brave a death for so base a fellow) but all the rest mouldered away, and vanished.

a *Weavers* funeral Monuments, p. 693.
b *Stow Survey of London*, pag. 55.

In memory of S[r] *William Wallworths* valour, the Armes of *London*, formerly a *plain Cross*, were augmented with the addition of a *Dagger*, to make the *coat* in all points compleat. Happy, when the *Cross* (as first there in place) directeth the *Dagger*, and when the *Dagger* defendeth the *Cross*: when *Religion* sanctifieth *power*, and *power* supporteth *Religion*.

22. But, *Alanus Copus* (for, he it is, whose Ecclesiastical History of *England*, goes under the name of *Harpsfield*) heavily chargeth all this rebellion on the account of *Wicliffe*'s doctrine. Whose scholars (saith [c] he) to promote their Masters opinions, stirred up this deadly, and damnable sedition, and sounded the first trumpet thereunto. Adding moreover, that *Wicliffe*'s tenet, that, *Dominion is founded in grace*: and, *that a King guilty of mortal sin, is no longer Lord of any thing*, was *Cos hujus seditionis, The whet-stone of this sedition*. But, to what lyer the whet-stone doth properly belong, will presently appear.

Cope chargeth all this rebellion on *Wicliffs* doctrine.
c In his Histo. Wicliffiana, cap. 12.

23. It is no news for the best of Gods children, to be slandered in this kinde. *Jeremy* was [d] traduced, *Thou fallest away to the Caldeans*. S[t] *Paul* was [e] accused, *we have found this man a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition*. Yea, our Saviour himself was [f] charged, that, *He made himself a King, and was a traytor to Cæsar*. But, as these were foul, and false aspersions: so will this appear, if we consider,

His malicious slander confuted.
d *Jer.* 37. 13:
e *Acts* 24. 5.
f *John* 19. 12.

1. When *John Ball* was executed at S[t] *Albans*, and *Jack Straw* at *London*, not the least compliance with *Wicliffe*, or his doctrine, is either charged on them, or confessed by them.
2. No wilde beast will prey on his own kinde. Now, it is certainly known, that *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster* was the principal Patron, and supporter of *Wicliffe*, whose life they sought to destroy, and whose Palace in the *Strand* they pillaged.
3. *Wicliffe* himself came within the compass of their destructive principles, designing the death of all, who wore a pen and ink. And, that *Wicliffe* had both pen and ink, *Cope* himself doth know, and the Court of *Rome*, with shame and sorrow will confess.
4. *Wicliffe* lived some years after, and died peaceably possessed of the Living of *Lutterworth* in *Leicester-shire*. Surely, had he been reputed the inflamer of this rebellion, the wisdom of the King, and Councel, would have taken another order with him.
5. Amongst the articles laid to the charge of *Wicliffe*, and his followers, in this Kings Reign, examined at *Oxford*, and elsewhere, not a tittle of this rebellion is pressed upon them. Which their malicious adversaries would not have omitted, if in any hope to make good that accusation against them.
6. Whereas it is charged on *Wicliffe*, that he held, that, *Dominion was founded in grace*, which occasioned this rebellion; we know this, that *Hus*, his scholar, though he did hold, that a King, being in mortal sin, was onely called a King *æquivoca denominatione*; yet the same *Hus* confesseth (to use his own [h] words) *Ipsum Deum approbare hujusmodi Regem, quoad esse Principem exterius, That God himself allows such a King to be a Prince in all outward matters*. So that, leaving him to Divine Justice, he never dreamt

g See his confession at large in *Stows* Survey of *London*, p. 54.

h *Hus Tract. de Decimis*, pag. 128. See Bishop *Davenants* 30 Determination.

dreamt of any reſiſtance, or rebellion to be made againſt him. Anno Dom. 1380. Anno Regis Ric. 2. 4.

7. The modern Proteſtants (heirs, ſay the Papiſts to *Wicliffe*'s doctrine) ſo far abominate theſe Rebels their levelling, and ignorant principles, that they are known, both to maintain diſtances of people, and to have been the reſtorers of loſt, yea, the revivers of dead learning, and languages: How had the Mathematicks meaſured their own grave? Greek turn'd barbariſme? Hebrew (as it readeth) gone backward, never to return again, had not Proteſtant Criticks, with vaſt pains and expence, preſerved them?

8. It is more ſuſpicious, that this rebellion came out of the Franciſcan Covent, becauſe ſome of theſe, belike, were the rebels white-boyes; and (as is afore mentioned) to be ſpared in a general deſtruction.

In a word. I wonder, how many ingenuous Papiſts can charge *Wicliffe* of rebellion, in maintaining, *Dominion to be founded in grace*; when the Grandees of their own Religion, *Aquine*, *Cajetane*, *Bellarmine*, *Suarez*, maintain, that *Dominion is ſo founded in grace* [*in the Pope*,] that a King, by him excommunicate, may lawfully be depoſed, and murdered.

Arch-Biſhop *Courtney* perſecutes the *Wicliffians*.

24. *William Courtney*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, (in the place of *Simon Sudbury* lately ſlain) made cruel Canons in a Synod at *London*, againſt the maintainers of *Wicliffe* his opinions. And I wonder that in *Linwoods* Conſtitutions, no mention at all of any Canons made by this Arch-Biſhop, who ſate above ten years in the See. As for the heavy perſecution which ſoon after he raiſed againſt *Robert Rug*, *Thomas Britwell*, *Nicholas Herford*, *Philip Ripington*, &c. nothing can be added to what Mr *Fox* hath rel ated. 1382 6.

Wicliff his miraculous deliverance.

25. In my minde it amounteth to little leſs then a Miracle, that during this ſtorme on his *Diſciples*, *Wicliffe* their Maſter ſhould live in quiet: Strange that he was not drowned in ſo ſtrong a ſtream as ran againſt him; whoſe ſafety (under Gods providence) is not ſo much to be aſcribed to his own ſtrength in *ſwimming*, as to ſuch as *held him up by the Chin*; the greatneſs of his Noble ſupporters. About this time he ended his Tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh, (a fair Copy whereof in *Queens* Colledg in *Oxford*, and two more in the Univerſity Library) done no doubt in the moſt Expreſſive language of thoſe dayes, though ſounding uncouth to our ears, *The* **Knave** *of Jeſus Chriſt*, for *Servant*; Acts 8. *And Philip Baptized the* **Gelding**, for *Eunuch*; ſo much our tongue is improved in our age. As for the report of *Polydor Virgil*, making him to flye out of *England* in the time of *Edward* the third, *Et in magno pretio apud Bohemos fuiſſe*, and to have been of high eſteem amongſt the *Bohemians*: It is true of *Wicliffe*'s *Writings*, but not of his *Perſon*, who never departed his Native Countrey.

His quiet death.

a *Leland. ex cronico teneriſis Moniſteriali*

26. Not long after, therein he ended his life, at his cure at *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſter-ſhire*, of the Palſey. [a] Admirable, that a Hare ſo often *hunted* with ſo many *Packs of Doggs* ſhould die at laſt quietly ſitting in his *form*. *Parſons* the Jeſuite ſnarles at Mr *Fox*, for counting *Wicliffe* a *Martyr* in his Calender, as ſo far from ſuffering violent death, that he was never ſo much as impriſoned for the opinion he maintained. But the phraſe may be juſtified in the large acception of the word, for a *witneſs of the truth*: Beſides, the body of *Wicliffe* was Martyred as to ſhame, though not to pain, (as far as his adverſaries cruelty could extend) being taken up and burnt many years after his death, as God willing we ſhall ſhew hereafter. 1384 8.

New Colledg built by Biſh. *Wickam*

b It was begun *Anno*, 1375.

27. *William Wickam*, about this time [b] finiſhed his beautiful Colledg in *Oxford*; ſome have raiſed a Scandal of him, that he was *no ſcholar at all*, from which the very meaneſt ſcholar in his foundation can acquit him, by that rule in Logick, *Quod efficit tale magis eſt tale*, *What maketh the ſame is more* 1386 10.

the

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the ſame. By which his learning muſt be inferred, whoſe bounty cauſed ſo many learned men. Now becauſe the maxim runneth with a limitation, *Si ſit tale, if it be the ſame*; the truth hereof alſo appears from the learned [a] pen, who writing *Wickams* life, have proved him to have been a ſufficient Scholar, skilled in other Arts, as well as in practical Mathematicks and Architecture.

[a] Doct. *Martin* who wrote a book in vindication of his learning.

28. Now as *Solomon*, when about to build his houſe at *Mille*, [b] ſeeing *Jeroboam* to be *an induſtrious man*, made him *Maſter of his Fabrick*: So *Edward the third*, diſcovering the like ſufficiency in this great Clerk, imployed him in all his ſtately ſtructures, witneſs this in *Motto* at *Windſor* Caſtle, **This made Wicham**; meaning that the building of that Caſtle gave occaſion to his wealth and honour; whereas on this Colledg he might write, **This Wicham made**. The building and endowing thereof, being the effect of his bounty alone; hence it is that this Colledg giveth the Armes of *Wickam*, viz. *two Cheverons* betwixt three Roſes, each *Cheveron* alluding [c] to two beams faſtned together (called *couples* in building) to ſpeak his skill in Architecture.

Induſtry and judgment in Architecture; the cauſe of his advancement.

b 1 *Kings*

c *Rex Platonicus*, p. 144.

29. This Colledg he built very ſtrong, out of a deſign [d] that it ſhould be able to hold out a Siege of it ſelf, if need ſo required it, though may it never have a *temptation* in that kinde, to trie the ſtrength of the walls thereof. Indeed this Colledg with *Bourges* in *France*, may lay claim to the name of *Bituris*.

A Caſtle Colledg deſigned for defence.

d So ſay the Statutes of this Colledg.

Turribus abinis inde vocor Bituris.

So called from two Towers therein, as this hath the like; one over the Gate, the other over the Porch in the entrance into the Hall; ſo that it may ſeem a Caſtle-Colledg, and made as well for defence as habitation. So that at this preſent is maintained therein, a Warden, Seventy Fellows and Scholars, Ten Chaplains, Three Clerks, One Organiſt, Sixteen Choriſters, beſides Officers and ſervants of the Foundation, with other Students, being in all One Hundred Thirty Five.

1392. 16. 30. Paſs we now from his *Orchard* of grown *Trees*, to his *Nurſery* of *Grafts*, the Colledge at *Wincheſter*, which few years after the ſame Biſhop finiſhed; not much inferiour to the former for building and endowments, as wherein he eſtabliſhed One Warden, Ten Fellows, Two School-maſters, and Seventy Scholars, with Officers, and Servants, which are all maintained at his charge; out of which School he ordained ſhould be choſen the beſt Scholars alwayes to ſupply the vacant places of the Fellows of this Colledg.

A Colledg at *Wincheſter* built alſo by Biſh. *Wickam*.

31. As his *Charity*, ſo his *Faith* (*he that provideth not for his houſe is worſe then an Infidel*) appeared in this his Foundation; ordering that his own Kinſmen ſhould be preferred before others. Let their parents therefore but provide for their Nurſing when Infants, their breeding when Children, and he hath took order for their careful teaching at *Wincheſter* when youth; liberal living at *Oxford* when men; and comfortable ſubſiſtance in their reduced age, in thoſe many and good patronages he hath conferred on the Colledg. And truly as theſe his Kindred have been happy in him, ſo *Wickam* hath been happy in his Kindred; many of them meriting the beſt preferment, without any advantage of his relation. And as this *Wickam* was the firſt in that kinde ſo provident for his Kindred, his practice hath ſince been precedential to ſome other Colledges, as the Statutes of this houſe are generally a direction to other later foundations. To take our leave of this Biſhop, whoſoever conſiders the vaſt buildings, and rich endowments made by this Prelate (beſides his expence in repairing the Cathedral at *Wincheſter*) will conclude ſuch atcheivements unpoſſible for a Subject, until he reflect on his vaſt Offices of preferments, being Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Rector of S[t] *Martins Le Grand*, holding

His care for his kinred.

holding twelve Prebends in *Comendam* with it, Lord Privy-Seal, Chancellor, and Treasurer of *England*; besides other places of meaner consequence. Anno Dom. 1392. Anno Regis Ric. 2 16.

Wardens.	Benefactors.	Bishops.	Learned Writers.
Rich. Toneworth.	Mr *Rawlins.*	*Will Warham.* Arch-Bish. of *Cant.*	*Tho. Harding.*
Nich. Wickam.	Sr *Rich. Read,* Kr.	*Will. Wainflet,* Bish. of *Winchester.*	*Tho. Nele.*
Tho. Cranely.	Dr *Newman.*	*Jo. White,* Bish. of *Winchester.*	*Nich. Sanders.*
Rich. Malsorde.	Dr *Reeve,* Ward.	*Tho. Bilson,* Bish. of *Winchester.*	*Nich. Harpsfield.*
Jo. Bouke.	Dr *Martin.*	*Will. Knight,* Bish. of *Bath* & *Wells.*	*Will. Reynolds.* *
Will. Escot.	*Rob. Bell.*	*James Turberuil,* Bish. of *Exeter.*	*Tho. Hide.*
Nich. Osylbury.	Dr *Smith.*	*Rob. Sherbourne,* Bish. of *Chichester.*	*Jo. Marshall.*
Tho. Chaundler.		*Arth. Lake* Bish. of *Bath* and *Wells.*	*Tho. Stapleton.*
Walt. Hill.			*Jo. Fenne.*
Will. Porter.			*Rich. White.* *
Jo. Reade.			*Jo. Pits.*
Jo. Younge.			All violent maintainers of the Popish Religion.
Jo. London.			Sr Hen. Wootton.
Hen. Cole.			Dr *Tocker* Dean of *Lichfield.*
Ral. Skinner.			Dr *James Cook,* Arch-Dec. of *Winch.*
Tho. White.			Sr *Tho. Rives,* (besides other elegant works) for his Vicars Plea.
Mart. Culpepper.			Sr *James Hassee.*
George Rives.			Sr *Hen. Martin.*
Arth. Lake.			Dr *Merideth,* Dean of *Wells.*
Pink.			Arthur Lake, Bish. of *Bath* and *Wells.*
Stringer.			*William Twisse.*
Marshal.			*John White.*

* He was brother to Doct. *John Reynolds* the great protestant.

* He wrote a History of *England.*

One may defie the suspicion of flattery, if adding Dr *Harris,* the reverend *Warden* of *Winchester*; Dr *Rich. Zouch,* not beholden to his *Noble extraction,* for his *Repute,* founded on his own *worth,* and *Books* reprinted *beyond the Seas*; Dr *Merick,* late Judg of *the Prerogative*; but it is better to leave the characters of their worth to the thankfulness of the next Age to describe.

Good Laws in due season.

32. Lately the Popes usurpation was grown so great, in intrenching on the Crown, that there was an absolute necessity, seasonably to retrench his usurpation. For albeit the Kings of *England* were as absolute in their demeans, their Prelacy and Clergie as learned, their Nobility as valiant and prudent,

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prudent, their Commons as free and wealthy, as any in Christendom; Yet had not some *Laws of Provision* now been made, *England* had long since been turned part of S^t *Peters* Patrimony in demeans: Yea, the Scepter wrested out of their Kings hands, her Prelates made the Popes Chaplains and Clerks, Nobility his servants and vassals, Commons his slaves and villaines, had not some seasonable Statutes of Manumission been enacted.

33. For now came the Parliament wherein the Statute was enacted, which mauled the Papal power in *England*. Some former Laws had *pared the Popes nailes* to the quick, but this cut off his fingers, in effect, so that hereafter his hands could not grasp and hold such vast summes of money as before. This is called the Statute of PREMUNIRE; and let not the Reader grudg the reading thereof, which gave such a blow to the Church of *Rome*, that it never recovered it self in this Land, but dayly decayed till its finall destruction.

The Maul-Popes Statute of premunire.

WHereas the Commons of the Realm in this present Parliament, have sued to our redoubted Lord the King, grievously complaining, that whereas the said our Lord the King and all his liege people, ought of right, and of old time were wont to sue in the Kings Court, to recover their Presentments *to* Churches, *Prebends, and other benefices of holy* Church, *to the which they had right to present, the Conisance of Plea of which Presentment belongeth onely to the Kings Court, of the old right of his Crown, used and approved in the time of all his* Progenitors, *Kings of* England: *And when judgment shall be given in the same Court upon such a Plea and Presentment, the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Spiritual persons, which have Institution of such Benefices, within their jurisdictions, be bound and have made Execution of such Judgments by the Kings commandements of all the time aforesaid, without interruption, (for another Lay person cannot make such execution) and also be bound of right to make execution of many other of the Kings commandements, of which right the Crown of* England *hath been peaceably seised, as well in the time of our said Lord the King, that now is, as in the time of all his* Progenitors *till this day. But now of late divers Processes be made by the Bishop of* Rome, *and censures of Excommunication upon certain Bishops of* England, *because they have made execution of such commandements, to the open disherison of the said Crown, and destruction of our said Lord the King, his Law, and all his* Realm, *if remedie be not provided. And also it is said, and a common clamor is made, that the said Bishop of* Rome *hath ordained, and purposed to translate some Prelates of the same Realm, some out of the Realm, and some from one Bishoprick into another within the same Realme, without the Kings assent and knowledg, and without the as-*

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ſent of the Prelates, which ſo ſhall be tranſlated, which Prelates be much profitable and neceſſary to our ſaid Lord the King, and to all his Realme: By which tranſlations (if they ſhould be ſuffered) the Statutes of the Realm ſhould be defeated, and made void, and his ſaid liege Sages of his Councel without his aſſent, and againſt his will, carried away and gotten out of his Realm, and the ſubſtance and treaſure of the Realm, ſhall be carried away, and ſo the Realm deſtitute as well of Councel, as of ſubſtance, to the final deſtruction of the ſame Realm. And ſo the Crown of England *which hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly ſubjection, but immediately ſubject to God in all things, touching the realitie of the ſame Crown, and to none other, ſhould be ſubmitted to the Pope, & the Laws & Statutes of the Realm by him defeated, & avoided at his will, in the perpetual deſtruction of the Soveraigntie of the King, our Lord, his Crown, his Regalitie, & of all his Realm, which God defend.*

And moreover the Commons aforeſaid ſay, that the things ſo attempted be clearly againſt the Kings Crown and Regality, uſed and approved of the time of all his Progenitors. Wherefore they, and all the liege Commons of the ſame Realm, will ſtand with our ſaid Lord the King, and his ſaid Crown, and his Regalitie, in the caſes aforeſaid, and in all other caſes attempted againſt him, his Crown, and his Regalitie, in all points, to live and to die. And moreover they pray the King, and him require by way of juſtice, that he would examin all the Lords in Parliament, as well Spiritual as Temporal, ſeverally, and all the States of the Parliament, how they think of the caſes aforeſaid, which be ſo openly againſt the Kings Crown, and in derogation of his Regalitie, and how they will ſtand in the ſame caſes with our Lord the King, in upholding the rights of the ſaid Crown, and Regalitie. Wherenpon the Lords Temporal ſo demanded, have anſwered everie one by himſelf, that the caſes aforeſaid be clearly in derogation of the Kings Crown, and of his Regalitie, as it is well known, and hath been of a long time known, and that they will be with the ſame Crown, and Regalitie, in theſe caſes eſpecially, and in all other caſes which ſhall be attempted againſt the ſame Crown and Regality, in all points with all their power. And moreover it was demanded of the Lords Spiritual there being, and the procurators of others being abſent their adviſe and will, in all theſe caſes, which Lords, that is to ſay, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates being in the ſaid Parliament, ſeverally examined, making proteſtations, that it is not their minde to denie nor affirm, that the Biſhop of Rome *may not Excommunicate Biſhops, nor that he may make tranſlation of*

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that if any Execution of Proceſſes, made in the Kings *Court (as before) be made by any, and cenſures of* Excommunication *to be made againſt any Biſhops of* England, *or any other of the* Kings *liege people, for that they have made execution of ſuch commandments, and that if any executions of ſuch tranſlations be made of any Prelates of the ſame Realm, which Prelates be very profitable and neceſſarie to our ſaid Lord the* King, *and to his ſaid Realm, or that the ſage people of his Councel without his aſſent, and againſt his will, be removed and carried out of the Realm, ſo that the ſubſtance and treaſure of the Realm may be conſumed, that the ſame is againſt the* King *and his Crown, as it is contained in the petition before named. And likewiſe the ſame procurators every one by himſelf, examined upon the ſaid matters, have anſwered and ſaid in the name, and for their Lords as the ſaid Biſhops have ſaid and anſwered, and that the ſaid Lords Spiritual will, and ought to be with the* King *in theſe caſes, in lawfully maintaining of his Crown, and in all other caſes touching his Crown, and his Regalitie, as they be bound by their Liegeance. Whereupon our ſaid Lord the* King, *by the aſſent aforeſaid, and at the requeſt of his ſaid Commons, hath ordained and eſtabliſhed, that if any purchaſe, or purſue, or cauſe to be purchaſed or purſued in the Court of* Rome, *or elſewhere, any ſuch tranſlations, proceſſes ſentences of Excommunications, Bulls, Inſtruments, or any other things whatſoever, which touch the* King, *againſt him, his Crown and his Regalitie, or his Realm, as is aforeſaid; and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof notification, or any other execution whatſoever within the ſame Realm or without, that they, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abbettors, fautors, and councellors, ſhall be put out of the* Kings *protection, and their Lands, and Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, forfeit to our Lord the* King: *and that they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the* King *and his Councel, there to anſwer to the caſes aforeſaid, or that proceſs be made againſt them, by* Præmunire facias, *in manner as it is ordained in other Statutes of* Proviſors: *and other which do ſue in any other Court in derogation of the Regality of our Lord the* King.

43. Something of the *occaſion*, *name*, and *uſe* of this Statute; the firſt is notoriouſly known from the Papal encroachments on the Crown. No *Biſhoprick*, *Abathie*, *Dignitie*, or *Rectorie*, of value in *England* was likely to fall, but a ſucceſſour in reverſion was by the *Popes proviſions*, fore-appointed for the ſame. To make ſure work, rather then they would adventure to take

The occaſion of this Statute.

take the place at the first *rebound*, they would catch it before it light on the *ground*. This was imputed to the Popes abundance, yea superfluity of care, *nè detur vacuum* in the Church; and rather then a *Widow Benefice* should mourn it self to death, a second husband had his License for marriage before the former was deceased. But great parishes, where small the profit, and numerous the people; and where indeed greatest care ought to be had of their soules, were past by in the Popes Bulls. His Holiness making no *provisions* for those *Livings*, which *Livings* had no *provisions* for his Holiness. Anno Dom. 1392. Anno Regis Ric. 2. 16.

Why called *Præmunire.*

35. Some will have it called *Præmunire*, from fencing or fortifying the *Regal power* from *forain assaults*; as indeed this was one of the best *bulwarks* and *sconces* of Soveraignty. Others that *Præmunire* signifieth the Crown fortified before the making of this Statute, as fixing no new force therein, but onely declaring a precedent, and forgoing just right and due thereof. Others conceive the word [*Præmonere*] turned by corruption of barbarous transcribers, interpreters, and pronouncers into *Præmunire*. Others alledg the figure of the *effect* for the *cause*, and the common Proverb, *Præmonitus, Præmunitus*. Most sure it is that *Præmunire facias*, are operative words, in the form of the Writ grounded on the Statute, which may give denomination to the whole.

Popes covetousness odious to the Clergy.

36. It may seem strange such a Statute could pass in Parliament, where almost sixty Spiritual Barons, (Bishops and Abbots) Voted according to Papal Interest; except any will say, that such who formerly had much of a Pope in their bellies, had now more of Patriots in their breast, being weary of *Romes* exactions. Indeed no man in place of power or profit, loves to behold himself buried alive, by seeing his successour assigned unto him, which caused all Clergy-men to hate such superinductions, and many friends to the Pope, were foes to his proceedings therein.

The Popes Letter against this Statute.

37. This Law angred all the veines in the heart of his Holiness, the Statute of *Mortmain* put him into a *sweat*, but this into the *fit of a fever*. The former concerned him onely mediately in the *Abbies* his *darlings*, this touched him in his *person*; and how cholerick he was, will appear by the following Letter, here inserted (though written some fifty years after) to make the story entire.

The Original of this Bill was in the Study of Sir *Nichol. Bacon*, L. Chancellor, whence the Arch-Bish. of *Armagh* had this his Copy, from which that of S^r *Robert Cottons* is derived.

Martinus Episcopus servus servorum Dei, Dilecto filio nobili viro Johanni, Duci Bedford, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quamvis dudum in regno Angliæ, jurisdictio Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & libertas Ecclesiastica fuerit oppressa, vigore illius **Execrabilis Statuti**, *quod omni divinæ, & humanæ rationi contrarium est: Tamen adhuc non fuit ad tantam violentiam prolapsum, ut in Sedis Apostolicæ, nuncios & Legatos manus temerè mitterentur; sicut nuvissimè factum est in persona dilecti filii Johannis de Oisis Palatii Apostolici causarum auditoris, & in præfato regno Nuntii, & collectoris nostri, quem audivimus ex hâc sola causa, quod literas Apostolicas nostro nomine præsentabat, fuisse per aliquos de ipso regno carceribus mancipatum. Quæ injuria nobis, & Apostolicæ sedi illata, animum nostrum affecit admiratione, turbatione, & molestia singulari: Miramur enim, stupescimus & dolemus, quod tam FOEDUM, & TURPE FACINUS in illo regno commissum sit, contrà sedem B. Petri, & Nuntios ejus, præsertim cum literæ illæ nostræ, nil aliud quam salutem animarum, honorem regni, & per omnia paternas, & sanctas admonitiones continerent. Fuit enim semper etiam apud gentiles, qui nullam tenebant veræ fidei rationem inviolabile nomen Nuncii; atq; Legati etiamsi ab hostibus mitterentur semper salvi, & hodiè apud Saracenos, & Turcos, à quibusdam tutè destinantur, legationes & literæ; etiamsi illis ad quos deferuntur molestæ sint & injuriosæ. Et nuncius noster, vir humanus* 1393. 16.

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manus & moderatus, & continua converſatione notiſsimus in regno Angliæ, quod devotione fidei, & cultu divino ſe jactat omnes alias Chriſtianas rationes ſuperare turpiter captus eſt, nihil impium, nec hoſtile deferens, ſed literas ſalutares & juſtas. Sed revereantur aliquando illi qui ſic contumaciter & ſuperbè Eccleſiam Dei contemnent, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ authoritatem, nè ſuper ipſos eveniat juſta punitio ex Chriſti judicio, qui eam inſtituit, & fundavit: Caveant nè tot cumulatis offenſis Deum irritent, ad ultionem & tarditatem ſupplicii gravitate compenſent. Non videbatur eis ſatis offendiſſe Deum Statuta condendo contra vicarium ejus, contra Eccleſiam & Eccleſiæ caput, niſi pertinaciter perſeverantes in malo propoſito, in Nuntium Apoſtolicum violentas manus injicerent? Quod non dubitamus tuæ Excellentiæ, quæ Eccleſiæ, & regni honorem diligit diſplicere, & certi ſumus quod ſi fuiſſes in Anglia, pro tua naturali prudentia, & pro fide, & devotione, quam geres erga nos, & Eccleſiam Dei illos incurrere in hunc furorem nullatenus permiſiſſes. Verùm cum non ſolum ipſis qui hoc fecerunt, ſed toti regno magna accederit ignominia, & dietim ſi perſeverabit in errore, acceſſura ſit major: generoſitatem tuam, in qua valdè confidemus, exhortamur, & affectuoſè rogamus, ut circa hæc provideas, prout ſapientiæ tuæ videbitur, honori noſtro, & Eccleſiæ, ac ſaluti regni convenire. Datum Romæ apud Sanctos Apoſtolos, VI Kal. Junii Pontificatus noſtri Anno 12mo.

Give *Winners* leave to *laugh*, and *Loſers* to *ſpeak*, or elſe both will take leave to themſelves; The leſs the Pope could bite, the more he roared, and as it appears by his language, he was highly offended thereat. This penal Statute as a Rod was for many years laid upon the desk, or rather lock'd up in the cupboard. No great viſible uſe being made thereof, until the Reign of King *Hen.* 8. whereof hereafter.

38. Since the Reformation, the profeſſors of the Common-Law have taken much advantage out of this Statute, threatning therewith ſuch as are active in the Eccleſiaſtical *juriſdictions*, as if their dealings tended to be the *diſheriſon of the Crown*. A weapon wherewith they have rather flouriſhed then ſtruck, it being ſuſpicious, that that *appearing ſword* is but all *Hilt*, whoſe *Blade* was near drawn out, as this charge hath never been driven home againſt them; but herein let us hearken to the Learned judgment of *Sr Thomas Smith*, Secretary of State, who well knew the intereſt of his Soveraign therein. More ſcar'd then hurt.

39. *Becauſe the Court,* [a] *which is called* Curia Chriſtianitatis, *is yet taken for an extern and foraign Court, and differeth from the Politie and manner of Government of the Realm, and is another Court (as appeareth by the Act and Writ of Præmunire, then* Curia Regis aut Reginæ; *yet at this preſent this Court as well as others, hath her force, power, authority, rule, and juriſdiction from the Royal Majeſty, and the Crown of* England, *and from no other foreign Potentate or power, under God; which being granted (as indeed it is true) it may now appear by ſome reaſon, that the firſt Statute of Præmunire, whereof I have ſpoken, hath now no place in* England, *ſeeing there is no pleading* alibi quam in Curia Regis ac Reginæ. All I will add of this Statute is this; That it hath had the hard hap not to be honoured with ſo many *Readings* therein, as other Statutes. Perhaps becauſe not bringing in πεϱιϰάλλιτα, in proportion to the pains which muſt be laied out thereon; and therefore I would invite ſome ingenious in our Common-Law, (and with ſuch no doubt it aboundeth) to beſtow their learned endeavours thereon, to their own honour, and advancement of the truth in ſo noble a ſubject.

[a] Sir *Thomas Smiths* judgment herein. Com. wealth of Eng. 3 book 11 Chap.

19. 1395 40. Many poor ſouls at this time were by fear or flattery moved to *abjure* the truth, and promiſe future conformity to the Church of *Rome*. In proof whereof, let not the Reader think much to peruſe the following Inſtruments; The ſolemn form of an abjuration.

ments; First, for the authenticknes thereof, being truly copied out of the Originals of the Tower. Secondly, becauſe it conteines ſome extraordinary formalities of *abjuration*. Laſtly, becauſe the four perſons mentioned therein, have eſcaped Mr *Fox* his obſervation, ſeeing no drag-net can be ſo carefully caſt, as to catch all things which come under it.

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a *Ex Rotulo Clauſar. de Anno Regni Regis decimo nono Richardi ſecundi membrana 18.*

a *Memorand. quod primo die Septembris, Anno Regni Regis Richardi Secundi poſt Conqueſtum decimo-nono* Will. Dynet, Nic. Taillour, Nic. Poucher, & Will. Steynour *de* Notyngham, *in Cancellar. ipſius Regis perſonaliter conſtituti ſacra diviſim preſtiterunt ſub eo qui ſequitur tenore.*

I William Dynet, be-for yhow worſhipefull father and Lord Archbiſhop of *Yhorke*, and Yhother Clergie with my free will and full avyſede ſwere to God and to all his Sayntes upon this holy Goſpells yat fro this day forwarde I ſhall worſhip ymages with preying and offeryng unto hem in the worſchep of the ſayntes that yey be made after. And alſoe I ſhall never more deſpiſe pygremage ne ſtates of holy Chyrche, in no degree. And alſoe I ſhall be buxum to the lawes of holy Chyrche and to yhowe as myn Archbiſhop and to myn oyer Ordinares and Curates and kepe yo lawes upon my power and meynten hem. And alſoe I ſhall never more meynten, ne tochen, ne defenden errours, concluſions, ne techynges of the *Lollardes*, ne ſwych concluſions and techynges that men clepyth *Lollardes* doctryn, ne I ſhall her bokes. Ne ſwych bokes ne hem or any ſuſpeict or diffamede of Lolardery reſceyve, or company withall wyttyngly or defende in yo matters, and yf I know ony ſwich, I ſhall wyth all the haſte that y may do yhowe or els your ner officers to wyten, and of her bokes. And alſo I ſhall excite and ſtirre all you to goode doctryn yat I have hindered wyth myn doctryn up my power, and alſo I ſhall ſtonde to your declaracion wych es hereſy or errour and do therafter. And alſo what penance yhe woll for yat I have don for meyntenyng of this falſe doctryn in mynd mee and I ſhall fulfill it, and I ſubmit me yer to up my power, and alſo I ſhall make no othir gloſe of this my oth, bot as ye wordes ſtonde, and if it be ſo that I come againe or doe again this oath or eny party thereof I yhelde me here cowpable as an heretyk and to be punyſhed be the lawe as an heretyk, and to forfet all my godes to the Kynges will withowten any othir proceſſe of Lawe, and yerto I require ye notarie to make of all this, ye whych is my will, an inſtrument agayns me.

Et ex habundanti idem Will. Dynet eodem die voluit & recognovit quod omnia bona & Catalla ſua mobilia nobis ſint forisfca in caſu quo ipſe juramentum prædictum ſeu aliqua in eodem juramento contenta de cetero contravenerit ullo modo.

Take it faults and all.

41. We have here exemplified this *Abjuration* juſt according to the Originals, with all the faults, and *Pſeudographie thereof*. For I remember in my time an *under-Clerk* at *Court*, threatned to be called before the *Green-Cloath* for an Innovation from former *Bills*, though onely writing *Sinapi* with an *S*. contrary to the common cuſtom of the Clerks of the Kitchin, formerly writing of it with a *C*. ſo wedded are ſome men to old orders, and ſo dangerous in their judgment is the leaſt deviation from them.

42. The

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42. The Arch-Biſhop of *York* mentioned therein, was *Tho. Arundell* then *Chancellour of England*, and in all probability this Inſtrument was Dated at *York*. For I finde, that at this very time *Tho. Arundell*, to humble the Londoners (then reputed diſaffected to the King) removed the *Termes* and [a] *Courts* to *York*, where they continued for ſome ſhort time, and then returned to their ancient courſe. Whereas he is enjoyned point-blank to *worſhip Images*, it ſeemeth that the modern nice diſtinction of *worſhipping of Saints in Images*, was not yet in faſhion. It appeareth herein that *Relaps* after *Abjuration*, was not as yet (as afterwards) puniſhable with death, but onely with forfeiture of goods to the Crown.

Some obſervations on this abjuration.

a *Godwin* in his Catalogue of the Arch-Biſhops of *York*.

23. 1397

43. This year a Godly, Learned, and Aged Servant of God ended his dayes, *viz. John de Treviſa*, a Gentleman of an ancient [b] Family, (bearing *Gules, a Garbe, OR*) born at *Crocadon* in *Cornwall*, a Secular Prieſt, and Vicar of *Berkeley*; a painful and faithful Tranſlator of many and great Books into Engliſh, as *Policronicon*, written by *Ranulphus* of *Cheſter*, *Bartholomeus de rerum proprietatibus*, &c. But his maſter-piece was the Tranſlating of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, juſtifying his act herein by the example of *Bede*, who turned the Goſpel of S[t] *John* in Engliſh.

The death of *John de Treviſa*.

b *Carews* Survey of *Cornwall*, p. 114.

44. I know not which more to admire, his ability, that he could, his courage, that he durſt, or his induſtry that he did perform ſo difficult and dangerous a task, having no other commiſſion, then the [c] command of his Patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley. Which Lord, (as the ſaid [d] *Treviſa* obſerveth) had the *Apocalyps in Latin and French* (then generally underſtood by the better ſort as well as *Engliſh*) written on the roof and walls of his Chappel at *Berkeley*; and which not long ſince, (viz. *Anno* 1622.) ſo remained, as not much defaced. Whereby we may obſerve, that *midnight being paſt*, ſome *early riſers*, even then began to ſtrike fire, and enlighten themſelves from the Scriptures.

Who Tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh.

c *Balæus de Script. Angl. cent. 7. numero 18.*

d *Policronicon fol. 2.*

45. It may ſeem a Miracle, that the Biſhops being thus *buſie* in perſecuting Gods ſervants, and *Treviſa* ſo obnoxious to their fury, for this *Tranſlation*, that he lived and died without any moleſtation. Yet was he a known enemy to *Monkery*, witneſs that, (among many other) of his Speeches, that he had read how *Chriſt had* [e] *ſent Apoſtles and Prieſts into the world, but never any Monks or begging Friers.* But whether it was out of reverence to his own aged gravity, or reſpect to his Patrons greatneſs, he died full of honour, quiet, and age, little leſs then ninety years old. For,

Yet eſcaped perſecution.

e *Balæus ut prius.*

1. He ended his Tranſlation of *Policronicon*, (as appeareth by the concluſion thereof) the 29[th] of *Edward* the third, when he cannot be preſumed leſs then 30. years of age.
2. He added to the end thereof, *fifty* [f] (ſome ſay more) years of his own hiſtorical obſervations.

f *Pitzeus de Scrip. Angla.*

Thus as he gave a *Garbe* or *Wheat-ſheaf* for his Armes; ſo, to uſe the [g] *Prophets* expreſſion, *the Lord gathered him as a ſheaf into the floor*, even full ripe and ready for the ſame.

g *Micah* 4. 12.

46. We may couple with him, his contemporary, *Geffery Chaucer*, born (ſome ſay) in *Berke-ſhire*, others in *Oxford-ſhire*, moſt and trueſt in *London*. If the Grecian *Homer* had ſeven, let our Engliſh have three places conteſt for his Nativity. Our *Homer* (I ſay) onely herein he differed.

As did his contemporary *Geoffery Chaucer*.

Mæonides nullas ipſe reliquit opes:

Homer himſelf did leave no pelf.

Whereas our *Chaucer* left behinde him a rich and worſhipful eſtate.

47. His

His parentage and armes.

47. His Father was a Vintner in *London*; and I have heard his Armes quarell'd at, being *Argent* and *Gules* ſtrangely contrived, and hard to be blazon'd. Some more wits have made it the daſhing of white and red wine (the parents of our ordinary Claret) as nicking his fathers profeſſion. But, were *Chaucer* alive, he would juſtifie his own Armes in the face of all his oppoſers, being not ſo devoted to the Muſes, but he was alſo a ſon of *Mars*. He was the Prince of Engliſh Poets; married the daughter of *Pain Roëc*, King of Armes in *France*, and ſiſter to the Wife of *John* of *Gaunt*, King of *Caſtile*. Anno Dom. 1399. Anno Regis Ric. 2 23.

He refined our Engliſh tongue.

48. He was a great *Refiner*, and *Illuminer* of our Engliſh tongue (and, if he left it ſo bad, how much worſe did he finde it?) witneſs *Leland* thus praiſing him,

Prædicat Algerum meritò Florentia Dantem,
Italia & numeros tota Petrarche tuos.
Anglia Chaucerum veneratur noſtra Poëtam,
Cui veneres debet patria lingua ſuas.

Of *Alger Dants*, *Florence* doth juſtly boaſt;
Of *Petrarch* brags all the Italian coaſt.
England doth Poet *Chaucer* reverence,
To whom our language ows its eloquence.

a In his reſtitution of decaied intelligence, p. 203.

Indeed *Verſtegan*, a learned [a] Antiquary, condemns him, for ſpoiling the purity of the Engliſh tongue, by the mixture of ſo many French and Latin words. But, he who mingles wine with water, though he deſtroies the nature of water, improves the quality thereof.

A great enemy to Friers.

49. I finde this *Chaucer* fined in the Temple two ſhillings, for ſtriking a Franciſcan Frier in *Fleet-ſtreet*, and it ſeems his hands ever after itched to be revenged, and have his penniworths out of them, ſo *tickling* Religious-Orders with his *tales*, and yet ſo *pinching* them with his *truths*, that Friers in reading his books, know not how to diſpoſe their faces betwixt *crying* and *laughing*. He lies buried in the South-Iſle of *St Peters*, *Weſtminſter*, and ſince hath got the company of *Spencer* and *Drayton* (a pair-royal of Poets) enough (almoſt) to make paſſengers feet to move metrically, who go over the place, where ſo much *Poetical duſt* is interred.

A ſhort quiet in the Church

50. Since the Abjuration laſt exemplified, we meet in this Kings Reign no more perſecution from the Biſhops. We impute this not to their pity, but other imployment, now buſie in making their applications to the new King, on the change of government, King *Richard* being now depoſed.

The character of King *Rich.* the ſecond.

51. He was one of a goodly perſon, of a nature neither good nor bad, but according to his company, which commonly were of the more vicious. His infancy was educated under ſeveral Lord Protectours ſucceſſively, under whom his intellectuals thrived, as babes battle with many nurſes, commonly the worſe for the change. At laſt he grew up to full age, and empty minde, judicious onely in pleaſure, giving himſelf over to all licentiouſneſs.

Conſpired againſt by *Hen.* the fourth.

52. As King *Richard* was too weak to govern; ſo *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, his Couſin-germane, was too wilful to be governed. Taking advantage therefore of the Kings abſence in *Ireland*, he combined with other of the diſcontented Nobility, and draws up Articles againſt him; ſome true, ſome falſe, ſome both; as wherein truth brought the matter, and malice made the meaſure. Many miſdemeanors (mo misfortunes) are laid to his charge. Murdering the Nobility, advancing of worthleſs Minions, ſale of juſtice, oppreſſion of all people with unconſcionable taxations. For, ſuch

Princes

Anno Regis Hen. 4 1. Anno Dom. 1399

Princes as carry a *forke* in one hand, muſt bear a *rake* in the other; and muſt covetouſly ſcrape to maintain, what they cauſleſly ſcatter.

And reſigneth the Crown.

53. Looſneſs brings men into ſtreights at laſt, as King *Richard* may be an inſtance thereof. Returning into *England*, he is reduced to this doleful Dilemma; either voluntarily, by reſigning, to depoſe himſelf; or violently, by detruſion, to be depoſed by others. His miſery, and his enemies ambition admit of no expedient. Yea, in all this Act his little judgment ſtood onely a looker-on, whileſt his fear did what was to be done, directed by the force of others. In hopes of life he ſolemnly reſigneth the Crown, but all in vain. For, cruel thieves ſeldom rob, but they alſo kill; and King *Henry* his Succeſſour could not meet with a *ſoft pillow*, ſo long as the other wore a *warm head*. Whereupon, not long after, King *Richard* was barbarouſly murdered at *Pomfret-Caſtle*. But of theſe tranſactions, the Reader may ſatisfie himſelf at large, out of our civil Hiſtorians.

The baſeneſs of the diſloyal Clergy.

54. Onely we will add, that the Clergy were the firſt that led this *dance of diſloyaltie*. *Thomas Arundel*, now Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in the room of *William Courtney* deceaſed, made a Sermon on *Samuels* words, *Vir dominabitur populo*. He ſhewed himſelf a Satyriſt in the former, a Paraſite in the later part of his Sermon, a Traitor in both. He aggravated the childiſh weakneſs of King *Richard*, & his inability to govern; magnifying the parts and perfections of *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter*. But, by the Arch-Biſhops leave, grant *Richard* either deſervedly depoſed, or naturally dead without iſſue, the right to the Crown lay not in this *Henry*, but in ~~*Edmund*~~ *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, deſcended, by his mother *Philippa*, from *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, elder ſon to *Edward* the third. This the Arch-Biſhop did willingly conceal. Thus in all State-alterations, be they never ſo bad, the *Pulpit* will be of the ſame wood with the *Councel-board*. And thus ambitious Clergymen abuſe the ſilver trumpets of the Sanctuary; who, reverſing them, and putting the wrong end into their mouthes, make, what was appointed to ſound *Religon*, to ſignifie *Rebellion*.

The couragious conſcience of the Biſhop of *Carlile*.

55. But whileſt all other Churches in *England* rung congratulatory peales to King *Henry* his Happineſs, one jarring bell almoſt marr'd the melody of all the reſt, even *Thomas Merks*, Biſhop of *Carlile*. For, when the Lords in Parliament, not content to Depoſe King *Richard*, were deviſing more miſchief againſt him, up ſteps the aforeſaid Biſhop, formerly Chaplain to the King, and expreſſeth himſelf as followeth:

a Biſhop *Godwin* in the Biſhops of *Carlile*.

> "There is no man preſent, worthy to paſs his ſentence on ſo a great "a King, as to whom they have obeyed as their lawful Prince, full "two and twenty years. This is the part of Traitors, Cut-throats, "and Thieves. None is ſo wicked, none ſo vile, who, though he be "charged with a manifeſt crime, we ſhould think to condemn, be"fore we heard him. And you, do ye account it equal to paſs ſen"tence on a King anointed, and Crowned, giving him no leave to "defend himſelf? How unjuſt is this! But let us conſider the matter "it ſelf. I ſay, nay openly affirm, that *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter* "(whom you are pleaſed to call your King) hath moſt unjuſtly ſpoiled "*Richard*, as well his Soveraign as ours, of his Kingdom.

More would he have ſpoken, when the Lord Marſhal enjoyned him ſilence, for ſpeaking *too much Truth*, in ſo dangerous a time. Since, it ſeems ſome Hiſtorians have made up what more he would have ſaid, ſpinning theſe his Heads into a very *large* Oration, though tedious to none, ſave thoſe of the *Lancaſtrian* faction.

Innocency the beſt Armour.

56. Here, if ever, did the Proverb take effect, *Truth may be blam'd, but cannot be ſham'd*, for although the reſt of the Biſhops, being guilty themſelves, condemned him, as diſcovering more *Covent-devotion* (who originally was a Monk of *Weſtminſter*) then *Court-diſcretion*, in diſſenting from his *Brethren*;

Anno Dom. 1400. Anno Regni Ric. 2.

Yet generally he was beheld as *Loyalties a Confeſſor*, ſpeaking what became his calling, in diſcharge of his conſcience. Yea, for the preſent, ſuch the reverence to his integrity, no puniſhment was impoſed upon him.

Activity will be tampering.

57. *Merks* was conceived in the judgment of moſt moderate men, abundantly to have ſatisfied his conſcience with his ſpeech in Parliament. But how hard is it to ſtop an active ſoul in its full ſpeed? He thought himſelf bound, not onely to *ſpeak*, but *do*, yea, and *ſuffer* too, (if called thereunto) for his Soveraign. This moved him to engage with *Henry Hot-ſpur*, and other diſcontented Lords, againſt King *Henry*, on whoſe defeat this Biſhop was taken priſoner, and judicially arraigned for high Treaſon.

A Biſhop not triable by his Peers.

58. This is one of the cleareſt diſtinguiſhing characters, betwixt the Temporal, and Spiritual Lords; that the former are to be tried *per pares*, by their *Peers*, being Barons of the Realm; the later are by Law and cuſtome allowed a Trial onely by a Jury of able and ſubſtantial perſons. Such [a] men found Biſhop *Merks* guilty of Treaſon, for which he was condemned and ſent priſoner to *St Albans*.

[a] Mr *Selden*, in a late ſmall Treatiſe of Parliaments.

A ſeaſonable expedient.

59. The King would gladly have had a fair riddance of this Biſhop, whom he could not with credit keep here, nor ſend hence. As to deprive him of life it was dangerous in thoſe dayes, when ſome Sacredneſs was believed inherent in Epiſcopal perſons. Here his Holineſs helpt the King with an handſom expedient, to ſalve all matters, by removing *Merks* to be Biſhop of [b] *Samos* in *Grecia*. I finde three Grecian Iſlands of the ſame name, and a critick [c] complaineth they are often confounded. The beſt is, it is not much material, of which of them *Merks* was made Biſhop, having onely a Title (to ſterve in ſtate) without a penny profit thereby. But before his tranſlation was compleated, he was tranſlated into another world.

[b] *Godwin* in his Biſhops.

[c] *Carolus Stephanus in dictionario poetico.*

The End of the Fourteenth Century.

CENT.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

SECT. II.

TO Sir GERRARD NAPIER OF Dorcet-ſhire, BARONET.

I Have read that a Statute *was made to retrench the* number *of* great mens *keeping their* Reteiners, *in the Reign of* King Hen. 7th; *and that politickly done in thoſe* mutinous times, *to prevent* Commotions, *leſt ſome* popular perſon *ſhould raiſe a* little Army, *under the covert of his* great Attendance.

A Law improved to Rigor, *though certainly (as all other* penal Statutes *intended but to* terrour) *inſomuch that the* Earl *of* Oxford (*more meriting of* King Hen. 7th *then any other ſubject) was even* * *delivered to the* Kings Atturney, *and (as report ſaith)* Fined fifteen thouſand Marks *for exceeding the* proportion *legally allowed.*

* Lord *Verulam* in his Life, p. 211.

I confeſs we live in as dangerous dayes, *and affording as great jealouſies as thoſe: But I have cauſe to be right glad (as deeply concerned therein) that though a* Statute *hath forbidden* many *to depend on* one, *none hath prohibited* one *to depend on* many Patrons: *But any* Author *of a* Book *may multiply them* Sance-number, *as driving on no* hurtful deſign, *but onely the* protection *of his own* endeavours.

On this account I tender theſe my Labours unto you, knowing the very Name *of* NAPIER *acceptable to all* Scholars, *ever ſince the Learned* Laird *of* Marchiſtowne (*no ſtranger to your blood, as I am informed*) *by his* Log-arithmes, *contracted the* pains (*and ſo by conſequence prolonged the* time *and* life) *of all imployed in* Numeration.

Hen 4 10. 1408.

1. King *Henry* being conſcious that he had got and did keep the *Crown* by a bad *Title*, counted it his wiſeſt way, to comply with the *Clergie*, whoſe preſent power was not onely uſeful, but needful for him. To gain their favour, he lately enacted bloudy Laws, for the extirpation of poor *Chriſtians*, under the falſe notion of *Hereticks*, [a] condemning them to be burnt. A torment unheard of in ſuch caſes till that time: and yet it appeareth, that the *Pope*, in this Age, was not poſſeſt of ſo full power in *England* (whatſoever the *Catholicks* pretend;) but that this politick Prince kept the reins, though looſe, in his own hand. For in this [b] time it was reſolved, *that the Popes Collector, though he had the Popes Bull for that purpoſe, had no juriſdiction within this Realm;* and

King *Henry* bloudy againſt poor Chriſtians, yet aſſerts his Regal power againſt the Popes encroachments.

a *Statute* 2. of *Hen.* 4. c. 15.

b 1 *Henry* 4th, fol. 19.

Anno Dom. 1408 | Anno Regis Hen. 4. 10.

and that the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of England, *were the Spiritual Judges in the Kings behalf.* As it was also [a] enacted, *if any person of Religion, obtained of the Bishop of* Rome, *to be exempt from obedience, regular or ordinary, he was in a premunire.* Yea, this very Statute, which gave power to a Bishop in his Diocess to condemn an Heretick, plainly proveth, that the King by consent of *Parliament* directed the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court, in cases of *Heresie*; so that the *Pope*, even in matters of Spiritual cognizance, had no power over the lives of *English* subjects.

[a] *Statute 2 Hen. 4. cap. 3.*

2. The first on whom this cruel Law was hanselled, was *William Sautre*, formerly parish *Priest* of S[t] *Margaret*, in the town of *Lin*, but since of S[t] *Osith* in the *City* of *London*. This was he, whose *Faith* fought the first *Duell* with *Fire* it self, and overcame it. *Abel* was the first *Martyr* of *men*, S[t] *Stephen* the first of *Christian men*; S[t] *Alban* the first of *British Christians*, and this *Sautre* the first of *English Protestants*, as by *Prolepsis* I may terme them. *Scriveners* use with *gaudy flourishes* to deck and garnish the initial characters of *Copies*, which superfluous pains may be sparred by us, in adorning this leading letter in the pattern of patience, seeing it is conspicuous enough in its self, died red with its own *blood*. Some charge this *Sautre* with fear and fickleness, because formerly he had abjured those *Articles*, (for which afterwards he died) before the *Bishop* of *Norwich*. But let those who severely censure him, for *once* denying the truth, and do know, *who* it was that denied his *Master thrice*, take heed they do not as bad a deed more then *four times* themselves. May *Sautre*'s final *Constancy* be as surely practised by men, as his former *Cowardliness* no doubt is pardoned by God. Eight Errours were laid to his charge in order as followeth.

William Sautre the protomartyr of English protestants.

1. **Imprimis**, He saith that he will not worship the Cross, on which Christ suffered, but onely Christ that suffered upon the Cross.
2. **Item**, That he would sooner worship a temporal King, then the aforesaid wooden Cross.
3. **Item**, That he would rather worship the bodies of the Saints, then the very Cross of Christ, on which he hung if it were before him.
4. **Item**, That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, then the Cross of Christ.
5. **Item**, That he is bound rather to worship a man, that is predestinate, then an Angel of God.
6. **Item**, That if any man would visit the Monuments of *Peter* and *Paul*, or go on Pilgrimage to the Tomb of S[t] *Thomas*, or any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit, he is not bound to keep his vow, but may distribute the expences of his vow upon the almes of the poor.
7. **Item**, That every Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the Canonical houres.
8. **Item**, That after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature, that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, solemnly pronounceth *Sautre* an heretick convicted.

3. These were the opinions, wherewith *Sautre* is charged in their own *Registers*, which if read with that favour, which not charity but justice allows of *course* to humane frailty, will be found not so hainous, as to deserve *Fire* and *Fagot*, seeing his expressions are rather indiscreet, then his positions damnable. But *Thomas Arundel* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; before whom *Sautre* was convented, in the Convocation, at S[t] *Pauls* in *London*, principally pinched

Anno Regis Hen. 4 10. Anno Dom. 1408

pinched him, with the laſt, about *Tranſubſtantiation* in the *Sacrament*. Thus their cruelty made Gods *Table* a *Snare* to his ſervants: when their other *Nets* broke, this held; what they pretended a *Sacrifice* for the living and dead, proved, indeed, the cauſe of the ſacrificing of many innocents, and cavils about the corporal preſence, was the moſt compendious way to diſpatch them: for the denial whereof, the aforeſaid *Arch-Biſhop* ſolemnly pronounced *Sautre* an *Heretick* convicted.

Sautres indiſcreet denying of himſelf.

4. Here happened a paſſage in *Sautre*, which I muſt not omit; which either I do not underſtand, or cannot approve in him. For being demanded whether or no, he had formerly abjured theſe opinions he denied the ſame, whereas, his formal abjuration of them, the laſt year, before the *Biſhop of Norwich*, was produced in preſence; an action utterly inconſiſtent with Chriſtian ſincerity, to deny his own deed; except any will ſay that he was not bound to accuſe himſelf, and to confeſs in that Court, (what he had done elſewhere) to his own prejudice. Thus offenders, which formerly have confeſſed their fact, in their private examinations before a *Juſtice* of *Peace*, yet plead not *Guilty*, when they are brought before the *Aſſizes*, accounting themſelves innocent, in that *Court*, till, by the verdict of the *Jury*, they are proved otherwiſe. However I am rather inclined to ſuſpect my ignorance, then condemn his innocence, conceiving there is more on his *ſide*, then appeareth in his behalf.

Sautre by a ſecond ſentence is adjudged to be degraded and depoſed.

5. The *Reader* I preſume will pardon our largeneſs, (which we will recompence, with brevity in the reſt) in relating the proceedings againſt this firſt *Martyr*, who being, as I may ſay, the eldeſt, and the *Heir* in our Hiſtory, may juſtly challenge a double portion thereof. Yea, the *Arch-Biſhop*, who in his condemnation did not follow, but make a preſident therein, was very punctual and ceremonious in his proceedings, that he might ſet the fairer copie, for the direction of poſterity; and that the formality of his exemplary juſtice, might, for the terrour of others, take the deeper impreſſion in all, that did ſee it, or ſhould hear thereof. And now his former abjuration plainly appearing, *Arundel*, by a ſecond ſentence, adjudged him relapſed into Hereſie, and incorrigible, and therefore to be degraded and depoſed.

The order of his degradation.

6. For leſt Prieſt-hood ſhould ſuffer in the perſon of *Sautre*, (and all the Clergie preſent, out of a religious ſympathie, were tender of the honour of their own profeſſion) he was there ſolemnly degraded in order as followeth.

From the order of	1. Prieſt.	By taking from him	1. The Patin, Chalice, and plucking the Chaſule from his back.
	2. Deacon.		2. The New Teſtament and the Stole.
	3. Sub-Deacon.		3. The Alb, and the Maniple.
	4. Acolyte.		4. The Candleſtick, Taper, Urceolum.
	5. Exorciſt.		5. The Book of Conjurations.
	6. Reader.		6. The Book of Church-Legends.
	7. Sexton.		7. The Key of the Church door and Surphee.

How many ſteps are required to climb up to the top of *Popiſh Prieſt-hood*! but, as when a *building* is taken down, one would little think, ſo much *timber* and *ſtone*, had concurred thereunto, until he ſees the ſeveral parcels thereof, lie in ruinous heaps; ſo it is almoſt incredible, how many trinkets muſt be had to compleat a Prieſt? but that here we behold them ſolemnly taken aſunder in *Sautres* degradation. And now he no longer *Prieſt*, but plain *Layman*, with the tonſure, on his crown raſed away, was delivered to the *Secular* power, with this complement, worth the noting: *Beſeeching the Secular Court*, that

that they would receive favourably the said William *unto them thus recommitted.* But who can excuse their double-dealing herein from deep hypocrisie, seeing the *Bishops*, at the same time, (for all their fair language) ceased not to call upon the *King*, to bring him to speedy execution. Anno Dom. 1408. Anno Regis Hen. 4 10.

The Kings warrant for the burning of *Sautre.*

7. Hereupon the *King in Parliament* issued out his *warrant* to the *Major* and *Sheriffs* of *London*, that the said *William* being in their custody, should be brought forth into some publick or open place, within the liberty of the City, and there *really to be* [a] *burned to the great horrour of his offence, and manifest example of other Christians*; which was performed accordingly. Thus died this worthy man; and though we be as far from adoring his Reliques, as such adoration is from true Religion, yet we cannot but be sensible of the value of such a Saint: Nor can we mention his memory, without paying an honourable respect thereunto. His death strook a terrour into those of his party, who hereafter were glad to enjoy their conscience in private, without publick professing the same. So that now the *ship* of Christ tost'd with the *tempest* of *persecution*, had all her *sailes* took down; yea, her *mast* cut close to the *deck*, and without making any visible shew, was fain to lie poor and private, till this storm was over-past'd: the *Arch-Bishop Arundel* being most furious and cruel, in detecting and suppressing all suspected of piety.

a Fox Martyr. pag. 477. out of whom the effect of this story is taken.

A surfeit of Synods in Arch Bishop *Arundels* time.

8. Synods of the Clergie were never so frequent before or since, as in his time, when scarce a year escaped without a Synod called, or continued therein. Most of these were but *Ecclesiastical meetings* for *secular money*. Hereupon, a covetous ignorant *Priest*, guilty of no *Greek*, made this derivation of the word *Synodus* (far fatch'd in it self, but coming close to him) from *Crumena sine nodo*, because at such assemblies, the purse ought ever to be open, without knots tied thereon, ready to disburse such summes, as should be demanded. Indeed the Clergie now contributed much money to the King, having learned the *Maxime* commended in the *Comedian*, [b] *Pecuniam in loco negligere maxumum interdum est lucrum.* And perceiving on what tickliſh termes their state stood, were forced to part with a great proportion thereof to secure the rest, the [c] *Parliament* now shrewdly pushing at their temporal possessions. For, although in the first year of King *Henry*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* came from him to the Clergie with a *complement*, that the *King onely* [d] *desired their prayers, and none of their money* (Kingdoms have their honey-moon, when new Princes are married unto them) yet how much afterwards he received from them, the ensuing draught of Synods summoned in his dayes doth present.

b *Terrent Adelph.*

c *Vide infrà in hist.* of Abbeys, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.

d *Antiq. Brit. pag.* 273. & *Harpsfield hist. Ang. pag.* 618. out of whom the following table of Synods is composed.

Place.	*President.*	*Preacher.*	*Text.*	*Money granted the King.*	*The other Acts thereof.*		
1. Saint *Pauls* in *London.*	The Prior, and Chapter of *Canterbury* in the Arch-Bishops absence.	*William* Bishop of *Rochester.*	*Cor meum diligit Principes Israel.*	Nothing at this time, but the Clergies prayers required.	The King at the request of the Universities promised to take order with the Popes Provisions, & provensions, that so learned men might be advanc'd. St *Gregory* his day made holy.	1399	1.

2. Saint

Anno Regis Hen. 4 10.	Anno Dom. 1408.	*Place.*	*President.*	*Preacher.*	*Text.*	*Money granted the King.*	*The other Acts thereof.*
2	1400	2. Saint *Pauls* in *London.*	*Thomas Arundel.*			A Tenth, and half. For, a ſingle Tenth was firſt profered him, and he refuſed it.	Nothing elſe of moment paſſed, ſave *Sautres* condemnation.
4	1402	3. *Ibidem.*	*Idem.*			At the inſtance of the Earl of *Somerſet*, and Lord *Roſs* the Treaſurer, a Tenth was granted.	The Clergy renewed their Petition of Right to the King, that they ſhould not be proceeded againſt by temporal Judges, nor forced to ſell their goods, for proviſion for the Kings Court. No anſwer appears.
6.	1404	4. *Ibidem.*	*Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Arch-Biſhop being abſent in an Embaſſie.			A Tenth towards the Kings charges in ſuppreſſing the late Rebels.	Conſtituted that the obſequies of every Engliſh Biſhop deceaſed, ſhould be celebrated in all the Cathedrals of the Kingdom.
7.	1405	5. *Ibidem.*	*Thomas Arundel.*			A Tenth; when the Laity in Parliam^{t}. gave nothing.	Nothing of conſequence.
8.	1405	6. *Ibidem.*	*Henry Beaufort* Biſh. of *Wincheſt.* the Arch-Biſhop being abſent.	*Thomas*, Biſhop of *Carlile.*	*Magiſter adeſt, & vocat te.*	A Tenth.	Nothing of moment.
10.	1408	7. *Ibidem.*	*Thomas Arundel.*	*John Monke* of S^{t} *Auguſtine* in *Canterbury.*	*Faciet unuſquiſq; opus ſuum.*		This Synod was principally employed, in ſuppreſſing of Schiſm; and the following Synod in the ſame year to the ſame purpoſe.

8. Saint

Place.	*President.*	*Preacher.*	*Text.*	*Money granted to the King.*	*The other Acts thereof.*	Anno Dom. 1408.	Anno Regis Hen. 4. 10.
8. Saint *Pauls* in *London.*	*Idem.*	*John Botel* general of the Franciscans.	*Vos vocati estis in uno corpore.*				
9. *Ibidem.*	*Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Arch-Bishop being abroad in an Embassie.	*John Langdon*, Monk of *Canterbury.*	*Stellæ dederunt lumen.*	A Tenth, and a Subsidy granted, saith [a] *Matthew Parker*; but, [b] others say, the Clergie accused themselves, as drained dry with former payments. Also the Popes Agent, progging for money, was denied it.	Little else save some endeavours against *wicliffs* opinions.	1411	13.
10. *Ibid.*	*Thomas Arundel.*	*John Godmersham* Monk of *Canterbury.*	*Diligite lumen sapientiæ omnes qui præestis.*	A Tenth. The Clergie complained to the King, of their grievances, but received no redress.	The Popes Rents sequestred into the Kings hands, during the Schisme betwixt *Gregory* the 12th, and *Benedict.*	1412	14.

a *Antiq. Brit.* p. 274.

b *Harpsfield Ecc. Ang* pag. 616.

We will not avouch these all the *conventions* of the Clergie in this *Kings* Reign, (who had many subordinate meetings in reference to their own occasions) but these of most publick concernment. Know this also, that it was a great *invitation* (not to say an *inforcement*) to make them the more bountiful in their contributions to the *King*, because their leaders were suspicious of a *design* now first set on foot, in opposition to all *Religious Houses* (as then termed) to essay their overthrow. Which project now, as a *Pioneer*, onely wrought *beneath ground*, yet not so insensibly, but that the *Church-Statists* got a discovery thereof, and in prevention, were very satisfying to the Kings *Pecuniary desires*. Insomuch, that it was in effect but *ask and have*, such their compliance to all *purposes and intents*. The rather because this King had appeared so zealous to *arm* the Bishops, with terrible Laws, against the poor *naked Lollards*, as then they were nick-named.

Now

Anno Regis Hen. quart. 14. Anno Dom. 1412.

9. Now we paſs from the *Convocation* to the *Parliament*, onely to meddle with *Church-matters* therein: deſiring the Reader to diſpenſe in the *Margin* with a new *Chronology* of this Kings *Reigne*; aſſuring him that whatſoever is written, is taken out of the *Authentick Records* of the *Parliament* in the *Tower*. A new Chronologie.

10. It was moved in *Parliament*, that no *Welch-man*, *Biſhop* or other, be *Juſtice*, *Chamberlain*, *Chancellor*, *Treaſurer*, *Sheriff*, *Conſtable* of a *Caſtle*, *Receiver*, *Eſcheator*, *Coroner*, or chief *Foreſter*, or other Officer whatſoever, or * *Keeper* of *Records*, or *Lieutenant* in the ſaid Offices, in any part of *Wales*, or of Councel to any *Engliſh Lord*, notwithſtanding any Patent made to the contrary. *Cum clauſula non obſtante, Licet Wallicus natus.* A ſevere motion againſt the Welch.

* *Ex rot. Par. in turr. Lond. in hoc anno.*

11. It was anſwered; that the King willeth it except the *Biſhops*, and for them and others, which he hath found good and loyal lieges towards him, our ſaid *Lord* the *King* will be adviſed by the adviſe of his *Councel*. Moderated by the King.

12. Such as wonder why the *Parliament* was ſo incenſed againſt the *Welch*, (ſeeing *Henry Prince* of *Wales*, was their *own Country-man* born at *Monmouth*) may conſider, how *now*, or very *lately*, *Owen Glendowre*, a *Welch Robber*, (advanced by the multitude of his *followers* into the reputation of a *General*) had made much ſpoil in *Wales*. Now commendable was the King's charity, who would not return a *national miſchief* for a *perſonal injury*, ſeeing no man can chuſe the *place* of his *Nativity*, though he may *bemoan* and *hate* the bad *practiſes* of his own *Nation*. The cauſe of his anger.

13. The *Kings* courteous exception for the *Welch Biſhops*, putteth us upon a neceſſay enquiry, *who* and *what* they were, placed in *Sees* at this time. The Quaternion of welch Bps. who and what at this time.

S^t *Davids.*	*Landaffe.*	*Bangor.*	S^t *Aſaph.*
Guido de Mona. Or of **Angleſey.** A true *Briton* by birth, witneſs'd by his Name. He was at the preſent *Lord*[a] *Treaſurer* of *England*. In whom the King much confided, though *T. Walſingham* be pleaſed to daſh his Memory, *that he was the cauſe of much miſchief.*	**Thomas Peverell.** His *Sir-Name* ſpeaks him *Engliſh* by extraction, and he was of no remarkable activity.	**Richard Yong.** He might be *Engliſh* or *Welch* by his *Name*, but I believe the latter. A man of merit ſent by the *King* into *Germany*, to give ſatisfaction of *King Henries proceedings*.	**John Trevaur.** *Second* of that *Chriſtian* and *Sir-name*, *Biſhop* of that *See*, a *Welch-man* no doubt, he was ſent (ſaith *T. Walſingham*) to *Spain* to give account of the *Kings proceedings*. Very loyal at the preſent, but after his return home, he ſided with *Owen Glendowre*.

[a] *Godwin. Catal. of Bps. in S. Davids.*

But though the *Engliſh* at this time, were ſo ſevere againſt the *Welch*, *King Henry* the *ſeventh* (*born* in the *bowels* of *Wales* at *Pembroke*, and aſſiſted in the gaining of the *Crown* by the valour of his *Country-men*) ſome years after plucked down this *partition-wall* of difference betwixt them; admitting the *Welch* to *Engliſh Honours*, and *Offices*, as good reaſon, *equality* of *merits*, ſhould be rewarded with *equality* of *advancement*.

The Petition of the Lords and Commons to the King against *Lollards*.

14. Sir *John Tiptoff* (made afterwards *Earl* of *Worcester*) put up a *Petition* to the *Parliament*, touching *Lollards*, which wrought ſo on the *Lords*, that they joyned in a *Petition* to the *King*, according to the Tenour following. Anno Dom. 1411. Anno Regni Henr. 14.

To our moſt redoubted and gracious Soveraign the King.

YOur humble * *Son*, HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, and the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* in this preſent *Parliament*, humbly ſhew, That the *Church* of *England* hath been, and now is, endowed with temporal poſſeſſions, by the gifts and grants as well of your *Royal Progenitours*, as by the *Anceſters* of the ſaid *Lords Temporal*, to maintain *Divine Service*, keep *Hoſpitality*, &c. to the Honour of *God*, and the *ſouls health* of your *Progenitors*, and the ſaid *Lords Temporal*.

* Contracted by my ſelf (exactly keeping the words) out of the Original.

Yet now of late, ſome, at the inſtigation of *the Enemy*, againſt the foreſaid *Church* and *Prelates*, have as well in *publick Sermons*, as in **Conventicles**, and ſecret places called **Schools**, ſtirred and moved the people of your *Kingdom* to take away the ſaid temporal Poſſeſſions from the ſaid *Prelates*, with which, they are as rightly endowed, as it hath been, or might be, beſt adviſed or imagined, by the *Laws* and Cuſtomes of your *Kingdom*, and of which they are as ſurely poſſeſſed, as the *Lords Temporal* are of their inheritances.

Wherefore in caſe that this evil purpoſe be not reſiſted by your *Royal Majeſtie*, it is very likely that in proceſs of time, they will alſo excite the people of your *Kingdom*, for to take away from the ſaid *Lords Temporal*, their poſſeſſions and heritages, ſo to make them common to the open commotion of your people.

There be alſo others, who publiſh, and cauſe to be publiſhed evilly, and falſly among the people of your *Kingdom*, that *Richard* late *King* of *England*, (who is gone to *God*, and on whoſe ſoul, *God* thorow his *Grace* have mercy) is ſtill alive. And ſome have writ and publiſhed divers falſe pretended prophecies to the people; diſturbing them, who would to their power *live peaceably*, *Serve God*, and faithfully ſubmit and obey you their *Liege Lord*.

Wherefore may it pleaſe your *Royal Majeſtie* in maintenance of the *honour* of *God*, conſervation of the *Laws* of the *holy Church*, as alſo in the preſervation of the eſtate

of

Anno Regis Hen. quart. 14. Anno Dom. 1412.

of *You, your Children,* and the *Lords* aforesaid, and for the quiet of all your *Kingdom,* to ordain by a Statute, in the present Parliament, by the assent of the *Lords* aforesaid, and the *Commons* of your *Kingdom,* that in case any man or woman, of what estate or condition they be, *preach, publish,* or *maintain, hold, use,* or *exercise,* any **Schools,** if any *Sect* or *Doctrine* hereafter against the *Catholick faith,* either *preach, publish, maintain,* or *write* a schedule, whereby the people may be moved to take away the *Temporal Possessions* of the aforesaid *Prelates,* or *preach,* and *publish,* that *Richard late* King, who is *dead,* should still be in full *life,* or that the **Fool in Scotland** is that *King Richard* who is dead; or that *publish* or *write,* any pretended Prophesies to the commotion of your people.

That they and every of them, be taken, and put in *Prison,* without being delivered in *Bail,* or otherwise, except by good and sufficient *mainprise,* to be taken before the *Chancellour* of *England,* &c.

15. See we here the Policy of the *Clergie,* who had gained *Prince Henry* (set as a *Transcendent* by himself in the *Petition*) to their side, *entring* his *Youth* against the poor *Wicklivites,* and this *Earnest* engaged him to the greater *Antipathy,* against them, when possest of the *Crown.*

The Prince made a party against Wicklivites.

16. Observe also the *Subtilty* of the *Clergie* in this *medley Petition,* interweaving their *own interest* with the *Kings,* and endeavouring to possess him, that all the Adversaries to their *Superstitions,* were *Enemies* also and *Traytors* to his *Majesty.*

Complication of Royal and Prelatical interest.

17. Now as **Conventicles** were the Name of disgrace cast on, **Schools** was the terme of Credit owned by, the *Wicklevists* for the place of their meeting. Whether because [f] the *School* of *Tyrannus,* wherein S[t] *Paul* disputed, was conceived by them *Senior* in *Scripture* to any *material Church*; Or that their teaching therein was not in intire discourses, but admitted (as in the *Schools*) of interlocutory opposition on occasion.

Wicklivists their Schools,

[f] Acts 19. 9.

18. By **Lollards** all know the *Wicklivites* are meant, so called from [h] *Walter Lollardus* one of their *Teachers* in *Germany*; (and not as the [i] *Monk* alluded, *quasi lolia in arâ Domini*) flourishing many years before *Wickliffe,* and much consenting with him in judgment. As for the word *Lollard* retained in our *Statutes* since the Reformation, it seems now as a generical name, to signifie such who in their opinions oppose the setled Religion of the Land, in which sense, the modern *Sheriffs* are bound by their Oath to suppress them.

Lollards why so called.

[h] *Trithemius in Chron. Anno 1315.*

[i] Of *S. Aug. Cont. M.S. Anno* 1406.

19. The Parenthesis concerning *King Richard* [*Who is gone to God, and on whose Soul God through his Grace have Mercy*] is according to the Doctrine of that Age. For they held all in *Purgatory, gone to God,* because assisted in due time of their happiness; yet so that the suffrages of the Living were profitable for them. Nor feared they to offend *King Henry* by their charitable presumption of the final happy estate of *King Richard* his professed Enemy, knowing he cared not where *King Richard* was, so be it, not living and sitting on the *English Throne.*

A charitable parenthesis.

20. As for the report of *King Richards* being still alive, it is strange any should believe it; if it be true, that his *Corps* for some dayes, were at *London* exposed

King *Richard* why believed alive.

expos'd to open view: understand it done at distance, lest coming too near, might discover some violence offered on his person. It is probable that the *obscurity* of his burial (huddled into his grave at *Langley* in *Hertford-shire*) gave the *lustre* to the report, that he was still alive, believed of those who desired it. Anno Dom. 1412. Anno Regis Hen. quinti. 14.

No Woman Lollard Martyr.

21. Whereas this Law against *Lollards*, extended to *Women*, though many of the *weaker Sex*, were in trouble upon that account; Yet on my best enquiry, I never found any one put to death. *Anna Ascough* being the *first*, who in the reign of *King Henry* the *Eight*, was *burnt* for her *Religion*.

Who meant by the Fool in Scotland.

22. A [g] *Scotch Writer* tels us, that *King Richard* fled disguised into *Scotland*, discovered himself to, and was honourably entertained by *Robert* the King thereof. Adding that *Richard* who would no more of the world, gave himself wholly to *Contemplation*, *liv'd*, *dy'd*, and *bury'd* at *Sterling*, possibly some *Mimick* might personate him there, and is the FOOL mentioned in this *Petition*.

[g] *Hector Boetius*, lib. 16.

Cruel persecution.

23. Hereupon it was, that the poor *Lollards* were prosecuted, with such cruelty, that the prisons were full of them; many forced to *abjure*, and such who refused, used without mercy, as in Mr *Fox* is largely related.

Arch-Bishop *Arundel* going to Visit *Oxford*.

24. *Thomas Arundel*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, came to *Oxford*, with a pompous train, accompanied with many persons of *Honour*, and particularly with his *Nephew*, *Thomas Fitz-Allen*, *Earl* of *Arundell*; His intent was juridically to *Visit* the *University*, expecting to be *solemnly met*, and *sumptuously entertained*, according to his place and dignity.

Is resisted by the Chancellour.

25. But see the spite of it, *Richard Courtney*, the *Chancellor* of *Oxford*, (whom by his *Sir-name* and high *Spirit*, I should guess descended from the *Earls* of *Devonshire*) with *Benedict Brent*, and *John Birch*, the *two Proctors*, denied the *Arch-Bishop* entrance into the *University* under the notion of a *Visitor*, though as a *Stranger*, great *Prelate*, and *Privy Counceller*, all welcome was provided for him and his Retinue. *Arundell* was angry with the affront, and finding force both *useless* (the *Scholars* siding with the *Chancellor*) and *inconsistent* with his gravity, was fain fairly to retreat, *re infectâ*, to *London*; the rather because the *Chancellour* had submitted the cause in controversie to the hearing and determining of his *Majestie*.

The King determines the cause for the Arch-Bishop.

26. *King Henry* at the joynt instance of both parties, summoned them to *Lambeth*, to hear and determine the controversie; the *Chancellour* of *Oxford* produceth an *Army* of *large Bulls* of the *Pope*: *Arch-Bishop Arundell* brought forth one *Champian*, viz. An *Instrument* in the *Reign* of *King Richard* the *second*, wherein the *King* adjudged all their *Papall Priviledges* void, as granted to the *dammage* of the *Crown*, and much occasioning the increase of *Lollards*; not that it was so done intentionally by his *Holiness* (for who can suspect the *Pope* turn *Lollard?*) but accidentally it came to pass, that the *University* of *Oxford* freed from *Archiepiscopal Visitation*, by vertue of those *Bulls*, the *Wicklewists* therein escaped from *Consistorian censure*. Hereupon *King Henry* pronounced sentence on the *Arch-Bishops* side, as by the ensuing *Instrument* will plainly appear. Feb. 9. Friday.

ET ulterius tam auctoritate sua regia, quam virtute submissionis prædictæ sibi factæ adtunc ibidem arbitratus fuit, ordinavit, considerawit, decrewit, & adjudicavit, quod Prædictus Archiepiscopus & Successores sui in perpetuum habeant Visitationem & Jurisdictionem in Universitate prædictâ, tam Cancellarii Commissariorum, quam Procuratorum ejusdem Universitatis, qui pro tempore fuerint,

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rint, nec non omnium Doctorum, Magiſtrorum, regencium & non-regencium, ac Scholarium ejuſdem Univerſitatis quorumcunque, eorumque Servientium, aliarumque perſonarum cujuſcunque ſtatus & condicionis extiterint, & etiam ejuſdem Univerſitatis ut Univerſitatis, & quod Cancellarius, Commiſſarii, Procuratores Univerſitatis prædictæ, qui pro tempore fuerunt, eorumque Succeſſores, & omnes alii in dicta Univerſitate pro tempore, commorantes futuris temporibus eidem Archiepiſcopo, & Succeſſoribus ſuis in viſitatione & Juriſdictione Univerſitatis prædictæ etiam ut Univerſitatis, in omnibus pareant & obediant. Et quod nec dictus Cancellarius, Commiſſarii, nec Procuratores Univerſitis prædictæ, nec eorum Succeſſores, nec aliquis alius in Univerſitate prædicta aliquod privilegium ſeu beneficium exemptionis ad excludendum præfatum Archiepiſcopum ſeu Succeſſores ſuos de Viſitatione & Juriſdictione prædictis, in Univerſitate antedicta colore alicujus Bullæ ſeu alterius tituli cujuſcunq; erga prædictum Archiepiſcopũ ſeu Succeſſores ſuos, clament, habeant, ſeu vendicent, ullo modo in futurũ. Et quod quotiens Cancellarius, Commiſſarii, vel locum-tenens ipſorum, vel alicujus ipſorum, vel Procuratores dictæ Univerſitatis qui pro tempore fuerint, vel eorum Succeſſores, ſive aliquis eorum impedierint vel impedierit, præfatum Archiepiſcopum vel Succeſſores ſuos, aut Eccleſiam ſuam prædictam, aut ipſorum vel alicujus ipſorum Commiſſarium, vel Commiſſarios, de hujuſmodi Viſitatione ſive juriſdictione dictæ Univerſitatis vel in aliquo contravenerint, vel aliquis eorum contravenerit, dictis, arbitrio, ordinacioni, ſive judicio per præfatum Ricardum nuper Regem factis, ſive arbitrio, judicio, decreto, conſiderationi vel ordinacioni, ipſius Domini noſtri Regis Henrici in hoc caſu, vel ſi aliquis dictæ Univerſitatis in futurum impedierit dictum Archiepiſcopum, vel Succeſſores ſuos, aut Eccleſiam ſuam prædictam, aut ipſorum, vel alicujus ipſorum Commiſſarium, vel Commiſſarios, de Viſitatione ſua aut juriſdictione antedicta, vel in aliquo contravenerit dictis, arbitrio, ordinacioni, ſive judicio per præfatum Ricardum nuper Regem in forma prædicta, factis, vel arbitrio, judicio, decreto, conſiderationi vel ordinationi ipſius Domini noſtri Regis Henrici. Et quòd Cancellarius, Commiſſarii vel Procuratores Univerſitatis prædictæ tunc non fecerint diligentiam & poſſe eorum ad adjuvandum dictum Archiepiſcopum vel Succeſſores ſuos, aut Eccleſiam ſuam prædictam, ſeu Commiſſarium vel Commiſſarios ſuos in hujuſmodi caſu, ac etiam ad puniendum hujuſmodi impedientes & reſiſtentes. Quod totiens omnes Franchefiæ, libertates, & omnia privilegia ejuſdem Univerſitatis

verſitatis in manus Domini Regis vel hæredum ſuorum ſeiſiantur, in eiſdem manibus ipſorum Domini Regis vel hæredum ſuorum remanſura, quouſque prædictus Archiepiſcopus vel Succeſſores ſui pacificam Viſitationem & juriſdictionem in forma prædicta, in dicta Univerſitate habuerit vel habuerint, & etiam tociens Cancellarius, Commiſſarii, & Procuratores ejuſdem Univerſitatis, qui pro tempore fuerint, & eorum Succeſſores, ac Univerſitas prædicta ſolvant, & teneantur ſolvere ipſi Domino noſtro Regi Henrico & hæredibus ſuis mille Libras legalis Monetæ Angliæ.

Anno Dom. 1413. Anno Regis Hen. quart. 14.

Concordat cum Originali,

GULIELMUS RYLEY.

Afterwards the *King* confirmed the ſame, with the conſent of the *Lords* and *Commons* in *Parliament*, as in the *Tower Rouls* doth plainly appear.

The effect of the Statute of Præmunire.

27. See we here the grand difference, betwixt the *Popes power* in *England*, *before* and *after* the *Statute* of *Præmunire*. Before it, his *actus fori* was authentical, and his *Bulls* received next to *Canonical Scripture*. Since, that Statute hath broken off their *beſt Seals*, wherein they croſſe the *Royall* Power; and in all things elſe, they enter into *England* mannerly with, *good King by your leave Sir*, or elſe they were no better then ſo much *waſte Parchment*.

Farwell to K. *Henry* the fourth.

28. This doth acquaint us with a perfect *Character* of *King Henry* the *fourth*, who though *curteous*, was not *ſervial* to the *Pope*. And * Sr *Edward Cook* accounteth this his *Oxford* action (though unwilling to tranſcribe the Inſtrument for the tediouſneſs thereof) a noble act of *Kingly power* in that Age, and ſo we take our farwell of *King Henry* the *fourth*, not obſerved (as all *Engliſh Kings* before and after him) to have *erected* and *endowed* any one *intire houſe of Religion*, as *firſt* or *ſole Founder* thereof, though a great *Benefactor* to the *Abby* of *Leiceſter*, and *Colledg* of *Fotheringhey* in *Northamptonſhire*; his Picture is not ſo well known by his *Head* as his *Hood*, which he weareth upon it in an *antick faſhion* peculiar to himſelf.

* Fourth book of his Inſtit. of the Juriſd. of Courts. page 128.

Chamberdekyns baniſhed *England*.

29. At the *Commons Petition* to the *King* in *Parliament*, that all *Iriſh begging-Prieſts*, called * Chaumberdekyns ſhould avoid the *Realm* before *Michaelmas* next, they were ordered to depart by the time aforeſaid, upon pain of *loſs of goods* and *imprisonment* during the *Kings* pleaſure, Hen. 5 1413 1.

* *Rotuli in Turre* in hoc anno.

The death of T. Arundel.

30. I had almoſt forgotten, that juſt a moneth before the death of *King Henry* the *Fourth*, *Thomas Arundel*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* expired; famiſhed to death, not for want of food, but a throat to ſwallow it, ſuch the ſwelling therein, that he could neither ſpeak nor eat for ſome dayes. I may ſafely report, what others obſerve, how he, who by his *cruel Canons*, forbad the food to the *ſoul*, and had pronounced ſentence of condemnation, on ſo many innocents, was now both *ſtarv'd*, and *ſtrick dumb* together. *Henry Chichely* ſucceeded him in the place, whoſe *mean birth* interrupted the *Chain* of *Noble Arch-Biſhops*, his *two predeceſſors* and *ſucceſſors*, being *Earls ſons* by their extraction.

The Clergie jealous of King *Henries* activity.

31. The *Prelates* and *Abbots* eſpecially, began now to have the *active ſoul* of *King Henry* in ſuſpition; For *working heads* are not ſo *willing* to *follow old wayes*, as *well-pleaſed* to *find out new ones*. Such a *reſtleſs ſoul*, muſt be ſent out of *harms-way*: If that the *Clergie* found not this *King* ſome work *abroad*, 1414 1.

he

Anno Regni Hen. 5. 2. Anno Dom. 1414.

he would make them new work *at home*. Had his humor happen'd to ſide with the *Lollards*, *Henry* the *fifth* would have ſaved *King Henry* the Eight much pains in demoliſhing of *Monaſteries*.

32. Hereupon the *Clergie* cunningly gave *vent* to his *Activity*, by divertting it, on a long warre upon the *French*, where his Victories are loudly ſounded forth by our State Hiſtorians. A warre of more *credit* then *profit* to *England* in this *Kings Reigne*, draining the Men and Money thereof. Thus Victorious *Bayes* bear onely *barren Berries* (no whit good for *food*, and very little for *Phyſick*) whilſt the *Peaceable Olive* drops down that precious liquor, making the *face of man to ſhine* therewith. Beſides, what this *King Henry gained*, *his Son* as quickly *loſt* in *France*. Thus though the Providence of *Nature* hath priviledged *Iſlanders* by their entire poſition to ſecure themſelves, yet are they unhappy in long keeping their acquiſitions on the *Continent*.

Divert it on a war in *France*.

33 Now began the *Tragedy* of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, ſo largely handled in Mr. *Fox*, that his *pains* hath given *Poſterity a Writ of Eaſe* herein. He was a vigorous *Knight*, whoſe *Martiall Activity*, wrought him into the affections of *Jone* [f] *Dᵉ la Pole Baroneſſe* of *Cobham*, the *Lord* whereof he became, (*ſed quære*, whether an Actuall *Baron*) by her *Marriage*.

The ſad ſtory of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*.

f *Camd. Brit. in Kent.*

34. As for the *Opinions* of this Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, they plainly appear in his *Belief*, which he drew up with his own hand, and preſented it firſt to the *King*, then to the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, wherein ſome things are rather *courſely* then *falſelie* ſpoken. He knew to ſpeak in the *Language* of the Schools (ſo were the *meetings* of the *Wicklivists* called) but not *ſcholaſtically*; and I believe he was the *firſt* that *coyned*, and *laſt* that *uſed* the diſtinction of the *Church Militant*, divided into Prieſt-hood, Knight-hood, and Commons, which had no great harm therein, as he explained it. As for * *Perſons* his charging him with *Anabaptiſtical Tenets*, it is pitty that the words of a *plain meaning man* ſhould be put on the *Wrack* of a *Jeſuites malice*, to extort by deduction what never was intended therein.

His belief.

* In his 3 converſion.

35. But a worſe accuſation is charged on his Memory, that he was not onely guilty of Hereſie but Treaſon. But by the way, it appeareth that Lolardiſme then counted Hereſie was made Treaſon by Statute, and on that account Hereſie and Treaſon, ſignifie no more then Hereſie, and then Hereſie according to the abuſive language of that Age was the beſt ſerving of *God* in thoſe dayes. But beſides this, a very formal Treaſon is laid to this Lords account in manner following.

He is charged of Treaſon.

It is laid to his charge, that though not preſent in the perſon with his *Councel*, he encouraged an Army of Rebels, no fewer then twenty thouſand, which in the dark thickets (expounded in our Age into plain paſture) of S^t *Giles Fields* nigh *London*, intended to ſeize on the *Kings Perſon*, and his *two Brothers*, the *Dukes* of *Bedford* and *Gloceſter*. Of this *numerous Army*, *thirty ſix* are ſaid to be hang'd and burnt, though the Names of three are onely known, and S^r *Roger Acton Knight*, the onely perſon of quality named in the deſign.

36. For mine own part, I muſt confeſs my ſelf ſo loſt in the Intricacies of theſe Relations, that I know not what to aſſent to. On the one ſide, I am loath to load the *Lord Cobhams* memory with cauſleſs crimes, knowing the *perfect hatred* the *Clergie* in that Age bear'd unto him, and all that look'd towards the *reformation* in *Religion*. Beſides, that 20000 men ſhould be brought into the field, and no place aſſigned *whence* they were to be *raiſed*, or *where muſtered*, is clog'd with much improbability. The rather becauſe onely the *three perſons*, as is aforeſaid, are mentioned by name of ſo vaſt a number.

The Author intricated.

37. On

Anno Dom. 1414. Anno Regis Hen. quint. 2.

Leaveth all to the last day.

37. On the other side, I am much startled with the Evidence that appeareth against him. Indeed I am little moved with what *T. Walsingham* writes, (whom all later Authors *follow*, as a *flock* the *Belweather*) knowing him a *Benedictine Monk* of S^t *Albanes*, bowed by interest to partiality; but the *Records* of the *Tower*, and *Acts* of *Parliament* therein, wherein he was solemnly condemned for a *Traitor* as well as *Heretick*, challenge belief. For with what confidence, can any private person, promise credit from *Posterity* to his own Writings, if such publick Monuments, be not by him entertained for *authentical*: Let M^r *Fox* therefore, be this *Lord Cobhams Compurgator*, I dare not; and if my *hand* were *put on* the *Bible*, I should *take* it *back* again. Yet so, that, as I will not *acquit*, I will not *condemn* him, but leave all to the *last day of the* * *Revelation of the righteous judgment of God.*

* Rom. 2.5.

The Lord *Cobham* taken in *Wales*.

38. This is most true, that the *Lord Cobham* made his escape out of the *Tower*, wherein he was imprisoned; fled into *Wales*, here he lived four years, being at last discovered, and taken, by the *Lord Powis*. Yet so, that it cost some blows and bloud to apprehend him, till a *Woman* at last with a *Stool* broke the *Lord Cobham's Leggs*, whereby being *lame* he was brought up to *London* in a *Horse-litter*.

His double death.

39. At last he was drawn upon a hurdle to the *Gallows*, his *Death* as his *Crime* being double, hang'd and burn'd, for *Traitor* and *Heretick*. Hence some have deduced the Etymologie of Tyburne, from Ty and burne, the *necks* of offending persons being *ty'd* thereunto, whose leggs and lower parts were consumed in the flame.

Unjustly made the Buffoon in playes.

40. *Stage-Poets* have themselves been very *bold* with, and others very *merry* at, the Memory of S^r *John Oldcastle*, whom they have fancied a *boon Companion*, a *jovial Royster*, and yet a *Coward* to boot, contrary to the credit of all Chronicles, owning him a *Martial man* of merit. The best is, S^r *John Falstaffe*, hath relieved the Memory of S^r *John Oldcastle*, and of late is substituted *Buffoone* in his place, but it matters as little what *petulant Poets*, as what *malicious Papists* have written against him.

Lincolne Col. founded.

41. Richard Fleming *Doctor* of *Divinity*, designed by the *Pope Arch-Bishop* of *York*, but (to please *King Henry* the *fifth*) contented with the *Bishoprick* of *Lincoln*, about this time *founded a Colledg*, named *Lincoln-Colledg* in *Oxford*. It fared the worse because he died before it was fully finished, and the best *Guardian* to an *Orphan-foundation* comes far short of the *Father* thereof. Yet was this *House* happy in two bountiful *Benefactors*, *Thomas Beckington Bishop* of *Bath* and *Wells*, who (according to the ingenuity of that Age) hath left his Memory in a Beacon with a Tun on the *Walls*, and *Thomas Rotherham Arch-Bishop* of *York*, adding *five Fellowships* thereunto.

N *Pont. great Anti-Lincolnian.*
‡ *Bri. Twine in miscellaniis.*
† *Pitz. Anno* 1410.

42. Here I wonder what made ‡ *Nicholas Pont*, *Fellow* of *Merton Colledg*, and *Scholar* enough) to be such a *back-friend* to this *Colledg* in the infancy thereof, envying bitterly against it. This is that *Pont* whose *Faith* many *distrust*, for his violent writing against † *Wickliff*, but whose *Charity* more may *dislike*, for his *malice* to this *innocent Colledg*, except it was, that he foresaw it would produce in time, worthy *Champions* of the *Truth*, *Opposers* of his *erroneous Opinions*, as indeed it hath, though I be unable to give a particular Catalogue of them.

The Author some weeks in, though not of this house.

43. Indeed I could much desire (were it in my power) to express my service to this foundation, acknowledging my self for a quarter of a year in these troublesome times (though no member of) a dweller in it. I will not complain of the dearness of this University, where *seventeen weeks* cost me more then *seventeen yeers* in *Cambridge* (even all that I had) but shall pray that the students therein be never hereafter disturbed upon the like occasion.

The Arch-Casuists of our Church and Age.

44. Amongst the *modern worthies* of this *Colledge* still surviving, D^r *Robert Saunderson* (late *Regius* Professor) moveth in the highest Sphear; as no less plain and profitable, then able and profound *Casuist* (a learning almost lost amongst *Protestants*) wrapping up *sharp thorns* in *rose leaves*, I mean *hard matter* in *sweet latine* and *pleasant expressions*.

Rectors.

Anno Regis Hen. 5 9. | Anno Dom. 1421.

Rectors.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned Writers.
1. Mr. *Gul. Chamberlen.* 2. Mr. *John Beke.* 3. Mr. *Jo. Tristrope.* 4. Dr. *Geo. Stragwyet.* 5. Mr. *Gul. Betham.* 6. Mr. *Tho. Banke.* 7. Mr. *Tho. Drax.* 8. Dr. *Jo. Cottisford.* 9. Mr. *Hugo Weston.* 10. Mr. *Christ. Hargrave.* 11. Dr. *Fra. Babington.* 12. Mr. *Hen. Henshaw.* 13. Mr. *John Bridgter.* 14. Mr. *John Tatam* 15. Dr. *John Underbill.* 16. Dr. *Rich. Kilbie.* Dr. *Paul Hadd.*	*Jo. Underhill* Bp. of *Oxford.*	1. *John Forrest* Dean of *Wells.* 2. *John Southam* Arch-Deacon of *Oxford.* 3. *William Findern* Esquire. 4. *Henry Beauford* Cardinall Bp. of *Winchester.* 5. *John Bucktot.* 6. *Joh. Crosly* Treasurer of *Linc.* 7. *William Batz.* 8. *Edward Darby.* 9. *Will. Dagril* Maj. of *Oxford.* 10. *Will. Bish.* 11. *Edmund Audley.* 12. *Joan Traps.* 13. *Rich. Kilbie* late Rector.	* *William Harris,* whose Writings are much esteemed by the Papists *Richard Thornton.*

* Pitz. de Script. Ang. 6 p. 801.

So that at the present are maintained, one Rector, fourteen Fellows, two Chaplains, four Schollars, which with Servants and other Commoners, lately made up, seventy two.

Bishop of *Lincoln* builds them a new Chappel.

43. We must not forget *John Williams, Bishop* of *Lincolne*, bred in *Cambridge*, related only to this *House* as *Visitor* thereof. Here finding the *Chappel*, (built by *John Forrest Dean* of *Wells* in the Reign of *King Henry* the *sixt*) *old*, *little*, and *inconvenient*, he erected a far fairer Fabrick in the room thereof. He had a good *Precedent* of a *Cambridge man's bountie* to this *House*, even *Thomas Rotherham Fellow* of *Kings Colledge*, and *Master* of *Pembrooke Hall* therein, whom *Bishop Williams* succeeded, as in the *Bishoprick* of *Lincolne*, and the *Archbishoprick* of *Yorke*, so in his *Liberality* to this *Foundation*.

The death and character of King *Henry* the fift.

9 Aug. 31. 1422 44. On the *last* of *August*, *King Henry the fifth* ended his life, in *France*; one of a strong and active body, neither *shrinking* in *cold*, nor *sloathfull* in heat, going commonly with his head uncovered, the wearing of *Armour* was no more cumbersome unto him then a Cloak. He never *shrunk* at a *wound*, nor turned away his Nose for ill savour; nor closed his eyes for smoak or dust; in *Diet* none *lesse dainty*, or *more moderate:* his sleep very short, but sound, fortunate in fight, and commendable in all his Actions, verifying the Proverb, that an *ill Youth*, may make a *good Man*. The *Nunnery* of *Sion* was built and endowed by him; and a *Colledge* was by him intended in *Oxford*, had not death prevented him.

Q. Katherine married again.

45. As for *Katherine de Valois*, *Daughter* to *Charles* the *sixth King* of *France*, *widdow* of *King Henry*, she was afterward married to, and had issue by, *Owen ap Tudor* a *noble welchman*, and her body lies at this day, unburied in a loose Coffin at *Westminster*, lately shew'd to such as desire it, and there dependeth a story thereon.

Anno Dom. 1422. Anno Regni Hen. sexti 1.

But never buried.

a *Philip Comineus*.

46. There was an old prophesie among the English (observedby [a] forrainers to be the greatest *Prophecy-mongers*, and whilst the *Devil* knows their *diet*, they shall never want a *dish* to please the *Palate*) that an *English Prince* born at *Winsor*, should be unfortunate in *losing* what his *Father* had *acquired*. Whereupon *King Henry* forbad *Queen Katherine*, (big with Childe) to be delivered there; who out of the corrupt principle, *Nitimur in vetitum*, and affecting her *Father*, before her *Husband*, was there brought to bed of *King Henry* the *sixt*, in whose *Reign* the fair victories *woven* by his *Fathers* valour, were by *Cowardise*, *Carelesness*, and *Contentions*, *unraveled* to nothing.

By her own desire.

b *Speed Chron.* p. 661.

47. Report, the *greatest* (though not the *truest*) *Author* avoucheth, that sensible of her fault in disobeying her *Husband*, it was her own [b] desire and pleasure, that her *body* should never be *buried*. If so, it is pitty but that a *Woman*, (especially a *Queen*) should *have* her *will* therein. Whose dust doth preach a *Sermon* of *duty* to *Feminine*, and of *Mortality* to all *Beholders*.

Alii aliter.

c *Stows* survey of *London* p. 507.

48. But this story is told otherwise by other authors, namely, that she was [c] buried neer her *Husband King Henry* the *fift*, under a fair *Tombe*, where she hath a large *Epitaph*, and continued in her grave some years, untill *King Henry* the *Seventh* laying the foundation of a new Chappel, caused her *Corps* to be taken up; but why the said *Henry*, being her *Great Grand-Child*, did not order it to be re-interred, is not recorded; if done by casualty and neglect very *strange*, and *stranger* if out of designe.

The Parliament appoint the Kings Councellors.

49. In the minority of *King Henry* the *sixt*, as his *Uncle*, *John Duke* of *Bedford*, managed martial matters *beyond the seas*; so his other *Uncle*, *Humphery Duke* of *Gloucester*, was chosen his *Protector at home*, to whom the *Parliament* then sitting appointed a select number of privy Councellors, wherein, only such as were spiritual persons fall under our observation.

1. *Henry Chichley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.
2. *John Kempe Bishop* of *London*.
3. *Henry Beauford Bishop* of *Winchest. lately made Lord Cardinal*.
4. *John Wackaring Bishop* of *Norwich*, *privie seal*.
5. *Philip Morgan*, *Bishop* of *Worcester*.
6. *Nic. Bubwith Bishop* of *Bath* and *Wels*, Lord Treasurer.

So strong a party had the *Clergie* in that Age, in the *privie Councel*, that they could carry all matters at their own pleasure.

A strict law for the Irish Clergy.

50. It was ordered in *Parliament*, that all *Irishmen* living in either *University*, should procure their *Testimonials*, from the *Lord Lievetenant* or *Justice* of *Ireland*, as also finde sureties for their good behaviour, during their remaining therein. They were also forbidden to take upon them, the *Principality* of any *Hall* or *House*, in either *University*, but that they remain under the discipline of others. 1423. 2.

Wickliff quietly buried 41. years.

51. Hitherto the *Corpse* of *John Wickliffe* had quietly slept in his grave, about *one and fourty years* after his death, till his *body* was reduced to *bones*, and his *bones* almost to *dust*. For though the *Earth* in the *Chancel* of *Lutterworth* in *Leicester-shire*, where he was interred, hath not so quick a *digestion* with the *Earth* of *Acheldama*, to consume *Flesh* in *twenty foure houres*, yet such the appetite thereof, and all other *English graves*, to leave small *reversions* of a body after so many years. 1428. 6.

52. But

Anno Regis Hen. sixt. 6. Anno Dom. 1428.

52. But now such the *Spleen* of the *Council* of *Constance*, as they not only cursed his *Memorie*, as dying an *obstinate Heretick*, but ordered that his *bones* (with this charitable caution, *if it may be discerned from the bodies of other faithfull people*) to be taken out of the ground and thrown farre off, from any *Christian buriall*. Ordered to be ungraved for a Heretick.

53. In obedience hereunto *Richard Fleming Bishop* of *Lincolne*, *Dioceſan* of *Lutterworth*, ſent his *Officers* (Vultures with a *quick ſight ſcent* at a *dead Carcaſe*) to *ungrave* him accordingly. To *Lutterworth* they come, *Sumner*, *Commiſſarie*, *Official*, *Chancellour*, *Proctors*, *Doctors*, and the *Servants* (ſo that the Remnant of the body would not hold out a *bone*, amongſt ſo many *hands*) take, what was left, out of the grave, and burnt them to aſhes, and caſt them into *Swift* a Neighbouring Brook running hard by. Thus this *Brook* hath convey'd his aſhes into *Avon*; *Avon* into *Severn*; *Severn* into the *narrow Seas*; they, into the *main Ocean*. And thus the *Aſhes* of *Wickliff* are the *Emblem* of his *Doctrine*, which now, is diſperſed all the World over. His aſhes burnt and drown'd.

54. I know not whether the Vulgar Tradition be worth *Remembrance*, that the *Brook* into which *Wickliff* his *Aſhes* were powred, never ſince overflowed the Banks. Were this true (as ſome deny it) as *ſilly* is the *inference* of *Papiſts* attributing this to *Divine Providence*, expreſſing it ſelf pleaſed with ſuch ſeverity on a *Heretick*, as *ſimple* the *collection* of ſome *Proteſtants*, making it an effect of *Wickliff* his *ſanctity*. Such *Topical accidents* are good for *Friend* and *Foe*, as they may be bowed to *both*; but in effect good to *neither*, ſeeing no *ſolid Judgement* will *build* where *bare fancy* hath laid *Foundation*. None can drive a naile of wax.

55. It is of more conſequence to obſerve the differences betwixt Authors, ſome making the *Council* of *Conſtance* to paſſe this *ſentence of condemnation* as *Maſter Fox* doth, inſerting (but by miſtake) the *Hiſtory* thereof, in the Reign of *King Richard* the *ſecond*, which happened many years after. But more truly it is aſcribed to the *Council* of *Sienna*, except for ſureneſſe both of them joyned in the ſame cruell edict. Difference betwixt Authors,

56. Here I cannot omit what I read in a * *Popiſh Manuſcript* (but very lately printed) about the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe. *Wickliffe* traduced.

57. 'The firſt unclean BEAST that ever paſſed thorow *Oxonford (I 'mean *Wickliff* by Name) afterwards chewed the Cud and was ſuf- 'ficiently reconciled to the *Roman faith*, as appears by his *Recanta- 'tion*, *Living* and *Dying* conformable to the holy Catholick 'Church.

* *Hall* in the life of Biſhop *Fiſher*, p. 33.

* O! the wit.

58. It is ſtrange that this *Popiſh Prieſt* alone, ſhould light on his *Recantation*, which, I believe, *no other eyes*, *before or ſince*, *did behold*. Beſides, if, (as he ſaith) *Wickliff was ſufficiently reconciled to the Roman Faith*, why was not *Rome ſufficiently reconciled* to him? uſing ſuch crueltie unto him ſo many years after his death. *Cold* incouragement, for any to become *Romiſt's Converts*, if (notwithſtanding their *reconciliation*) the bodies muſt be *burnt* ſo many years after their death.

59. But though *Wickliff* had *no Tombe*, he had *an Epitaph*, ſuch as it was, which a *Monk* afforded him, and that it was no worſe, thank his want, not of *malice*, but *invention*, not finding out worſe expreſſions. A Monk's charity to *Wickliffe*.

The[k] *Divels Inſtrument*, *Churches Enemie*, *Peoples confuſion*, *Hereticks Idol*, *Hypocrites Mirror*, *Schiſms Broacher*, *hatreds*

[k] *R. Walſing. Ypodig. Neuſt. p. 322.*

hatreds sower, lyes forger, flatteries sinke, who at his death despaired like Cain, *and stricken by the horrible Judgements of God, breathed forth his wicked Soul to the dark mansion of the black Divell.*

Anno Dom. 1430. Anno Regn. Hen. 6. 8.

Surely *He* with whose Name this Epitaph beginneth and endeth, was with the maker clean thorow the contrivance thereof.

A conditional *privy Councill.*

59. *Henry Beaufort Bishop* of *Winchester*, *Cardinal* Sancti Eusebij, but commonly called, *Cardinal* of *England*, was by consent of Parliament made one of the *Kings Council*, with this condition, that he should make a * *Protestation* to absent himself from the *Council*, when any matters were to be treated betwixt the *King* and *Pope*, being jealous belike, that his *Papal* would prevaile over his *Royall interest*. The *Cardinal* took the *Protestation*, and promised to perform it.

* Ex Archivis tur. *London.*

Priviledge of Convocation.

60. The *Clergy* complained in *Parliament* to the *King*, that their *Servants* which came with them to *Convocations*, were often arrested, to their great damage, and they prayed that they might have the same *Priviledge*, which the *Peeres* and *Commons* of the Kingdom have, which are called to *Parliament*, which was granted accordingly.

Want of Grammar Schooles complained of.

61. Great at this time was the want of *Grammar Schools*, and the abuse of them that were even in *London* it self; for they were no better then Monopolize, it being penall for any (to prevent the growth of *Wickliviſm*) to put their *Children* to *private Teachers*; hence was it that some *hundreds* were compelled to go to the same *School*, where, to use the *words* of the *Records*, *the Masters waxen rich in money, and learners poor in cunning.*

Whereupon this grievance was complained on in *Parliament* by *four* eminent *Ministers* in *London*, viz.

C

Mr. { *William Lichfield* Parson of *All-Hallow's* the *More*.
Gilbert, Parson of *St. Andrews Holbern*.
John Cote, Parson of *St. Peter's Cornhill*.
John Neele, Master of the *House* of *St. Thomas Acre's*, and Parson of *Colchirch*.

To these it was granted by the *Advice* of the *Ordinary*, or *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* to erect *five Schools* (*Neele* the last named having a double licence for two places) in their respective Parishes, which are fitly called the *five vowels* of *London*, which *Mute* in a manner before, began now to *speak* and *pronounce* the *Latine Tongue*. Know that the house *St. Thomas Acres* was, where *Mercers Chappel* standeth at this day.

Elianour Dutchess of *Gloucester* commended by Mr *Fox* for a Confessor.

About this time the Lady *Eleanor Cobham*, so called from the Lord *Cobham* her Father, (otherwise *Elianour Plantagenet* by her Husband) was married unto *Humphrey* the Kings Uncle Duke of Gloucester. She was it seems a great *Savourer* and *Favourer* of *Wickliffe* his Opinions, and for such Mr. *Fox* hath ever a *good word* in *store*. Insomuch that he maketh this Lady a *Confessor*, Sr. *Roger Only*, (alias *Bolingbroke*) her Chaplain, a *Martyr*, assigning in his Kalender, the *eleventh* and *twelfth* of *February* for the dayes of their *commemoration*. 1433 11.

Made Traitor by *A. C.*

But *Alanus Copus*, (namely *Harpsfield* under his name) falls foul on Mr. *Fox* for making *Sr. Roger* a *Martyr*, who was a *Traitor*, and *Elianour* this Dutchess a *Confessor*, who by the consent of our *Croniclers Robert Fabian*, *Edward Hall*, &c. was condemned (after solemn penance and carrying a Taper barefoot at *Pauls Crosse*) to perpetuall banishment, for plotting with *Only* his Chaplain, (an abominable Necromancer) and three others by witch-

Anno Regni Hen. sext. 11. Anno Dom. 1433.

witchcraft to destroy the King, so to derive the Crown to her Husband, as the next heir in the *Line* of *Lancaster*. But *Cope-Harpsfield pincheth* the *Fox* the *hardest*, for making *Margaret Jourdman* (the *witch of* Eye) a *Martyr*, who was justly burnt for her *witchraft*. Other small *errors* we omit, whereof he accuseth him.

In answer hereunto, Mr. *Fox* makes a threefold return, ingeniously confessing part of the *charge*, flatly denying part, and fairly excusing the rest. He confesseth, and take it in his own words, that *the former Edition of his Acts and Monuments*, was [a] HASTILY RASHED *up at the present in such shortnesse of time*, (fourteen moneths, as I remember, too small a *term* for so great a Task) that it betraied him to many mistakes, as when he calleth Sir *Roger Only* a Knight, who was a Priest by his profession. Adding moreover, that *had he thought no* [b] *imperfections had passed his former* Edition, *he would have taken in hand a second recognition thereof*.

Mr. Fox His ingenious *confession*.

[a] First Volum. Pag. 920.

[b] Pag. 921.

He flatly denyeth that his *Martyr-making* of *Margaret Jourdman* the Witch of Eye,

His flat denial.

> *I here* (saith) *professe, confesse and ascertain, both you* (Cope-Harpsfield He meaneth) *and all English men both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that Margaret Jourdman* I never spake of, *never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your Book your self. So* farre it is off that I, either *with my will, or against my will, made any Martyr of Her.*

He excuseth the aforesaid Dutchess *Elianour*, alledging *ten Conjectures* (as he calleth them) in her vindication.

His ten Conjectures in behalf of the *Dutchess*.

1. Sir *Roger Only* took it upon his death, that He and the Lady were innocent of those things for which they were condemned.

2. It was usuall for the Clergie in that Age, to load those who were of *Wickliffe his perswasion* (such this *Dutchess*) with no lesse *false* then *foule* aspersions.

3. Sir *Roger Only* wrote two Books, (mentioned by [c] *Bale*) the one *of his own innocency*, the other *Contra vulgi Superstitiones*. It is not therefore probable he should be so silly a *Necromancer*, who had professedly confuted *popular Superstitions*.

[c] As in his 8th Cent. cap. 4.

4. The Accusation of this *Dutches* beganne not untill after the Grudges betwixt the Duke her Husband, and the Cardinall * of *Winchester*, about the year 1440.

* I see not how this is much materiall in her defence.

5. It is not probable if the Dutchess intended such Treason against the Kings life, (as to consume him by burning a *wax candle*) that she would impart a plot of such privacy to *four persons*, viz. Sir *Roger*, *Margaret Jourdman*, Mr. *Thomas Southwell*, and *John Hume*; seeing *five*, *may keep counsell, if four be away*.

6. So hainous a treason against the Kings person, if plainly proved, would have been more severely punished, with death no doubt of all privy thereunto. Whereas this Lady escaped with *Exile*, and *John Hume* had his life pardoned; which being so foule a fact, would not have been forgiven, if clearly testified against Him.

7. She is accused in our Chronicles, (*Harding*, *Polycronicon*, &c.) for *working Sorcery and Inchantments* AGAINST the Church *and the King*. Now how can Inchantments be made AGAINST the Church, which is a *Collective Body*, consisting of a *Multitude of Christians*? and reader in my

Anno Dom. 1433. Anno Regni Hen. VI. 6.

my weak opinion this Conjecture carrieth some weight with it. *Balaam* himself can tell us, *There is no Sorcery against Jacob, nor Southsaying against Israel.* If any interpret **Against the Church**, that is, *the Laws and Canons of the Church*, the Sence is harsh and unusual. This rendreth it suspicious that her *Inchantments against the Church*, was only her disliking and distasting the errours and Superstitions thereof.

Num. 23. 23.

8. This *Witch of Eye* (saith *Fabian*) lived neer *Winchester*, a *Presumption* (as Mr. *Fox* conjecture th) that the Cardinall of *Winchester* had a hand in packing this accusation.

9. *Polydore Virgil* maketh no mention thereof, otherwise sufficiently quicksighted in matters of this nature.

10. Why may not this be false, as well as that King *Richard* the third, his accusing of *Iane Shore* for bewitching of his *withered arm*.

These *conjectures* are not *Substantial* enough severally to subsist of themselves, yet may they be able to stand *in complication* (in the whole *Sheaf*, though not as single *Arrows*) and conduce not a little towards the clearing of her innocence.

23. *A* moderate way.

For my own part, it is past my *Skill* to *scour* out *stains*, *inlayed* in the memory of one diseased more then *two hundred years* agoe. I see her *credit* stands *condemned*, by the generality of *Writers*; and as it is above the *power* of the present Age, to *pardon* it, so it is against all *pitty*, crueltie to *execute* the same, some *after-evidences* appearing with glimmering *light* in her vindication. Let her Memory therefore be *reprieved* till the day of Judgement, when it is possible, that this Lady, *bearing here, the indignation of God for her sins*, may in due *time have her cause pleaded, and judgement executed for her, and her righteousnesse be brought into light.* Sure I am she fared no whit the better, for her sirname of *Cobham*, odious to the Clergy of that Age on the account of Sir *John Oldcastle Lord Cobham*, though these two were nothing of kin. The best is she left no issue to be ashamed of her faults, if she were guilty, the best evidences of whose innocence are in the Manuscript Books of *J. Leyland*, which as yet I have not had the happinesse to behold.

e *Micah* 7. 9.

The meanest Bishop above the mightiest Abbot.

At this time *William Heiworth* sat Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, being translated thither from being *Abbot* of *St. Albans*. Wonder not that he should leave the richest Abbey of England (where he took place of all of his Order) and exchange it for a *middle-sized* Bishoprick. For first, even those who most admire the holinesse and perfection of *Monastical life*, do grant the *Episcopal Function* above it in all *Spirituall* respects. Secondly, in *Temporal Considerations* the poorest Bishop was *better* (and might be more *beneficial* to his *Kindred*) than the richest *Abbot*, seeing he by *will* might bequeath his estate to his *Heirs*, which no Abbot, (incapable in his own person of any *Propriety*) could legally do, whose goods belonged to his Convent in common.

Litchfield's Cathedral.

This Bishop *Heiworth* deserved not ill of his Cathedral Church of *Litchfield*. Indeed the body of the Church was built by *Roger de Clinton* Bishop thereof, in the reign of *King Henry the first*, who increased the number of the *Prebends*, and surrounded *Litchfield* with a ditch, bestowing much cost on the invisible Castle, which now is vanished out of sight. Afterwards *Walter de Langton* his successour in the reign of *King Edward the first* was a most munificent Benefactor thereunto, laying the foundation of the Chappel of the *Virgin Mary*, and (though dying before it was finished) bequeathing a sufficient summe of money for the finishing thereof. He also fenced the Close of the Church about with a high wall, and deep ditch, adorning it with two beautifull gates, the fairer on the *west*, the lesser on the *South* side thereof. He expended no lesse then *two thousand pound* in beautifying the shrine of *Saint Chad* his predecessor.

1433 11.

But

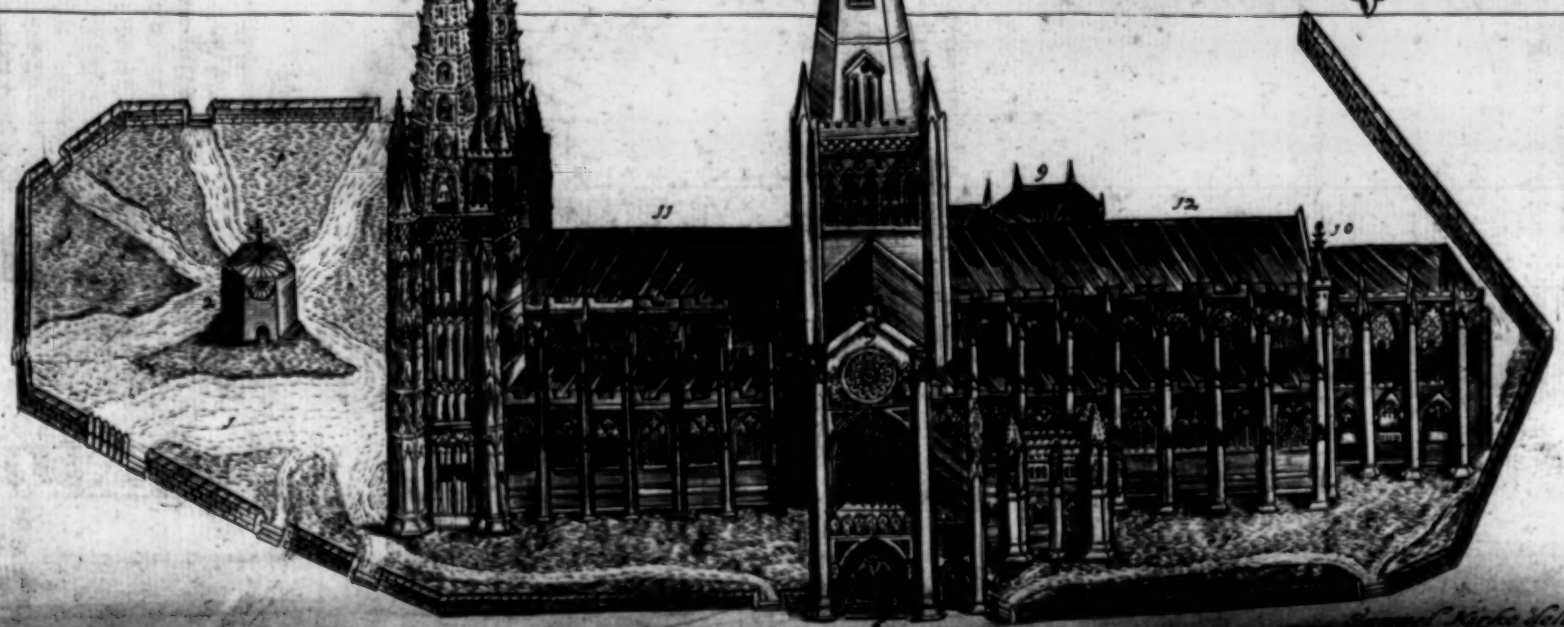


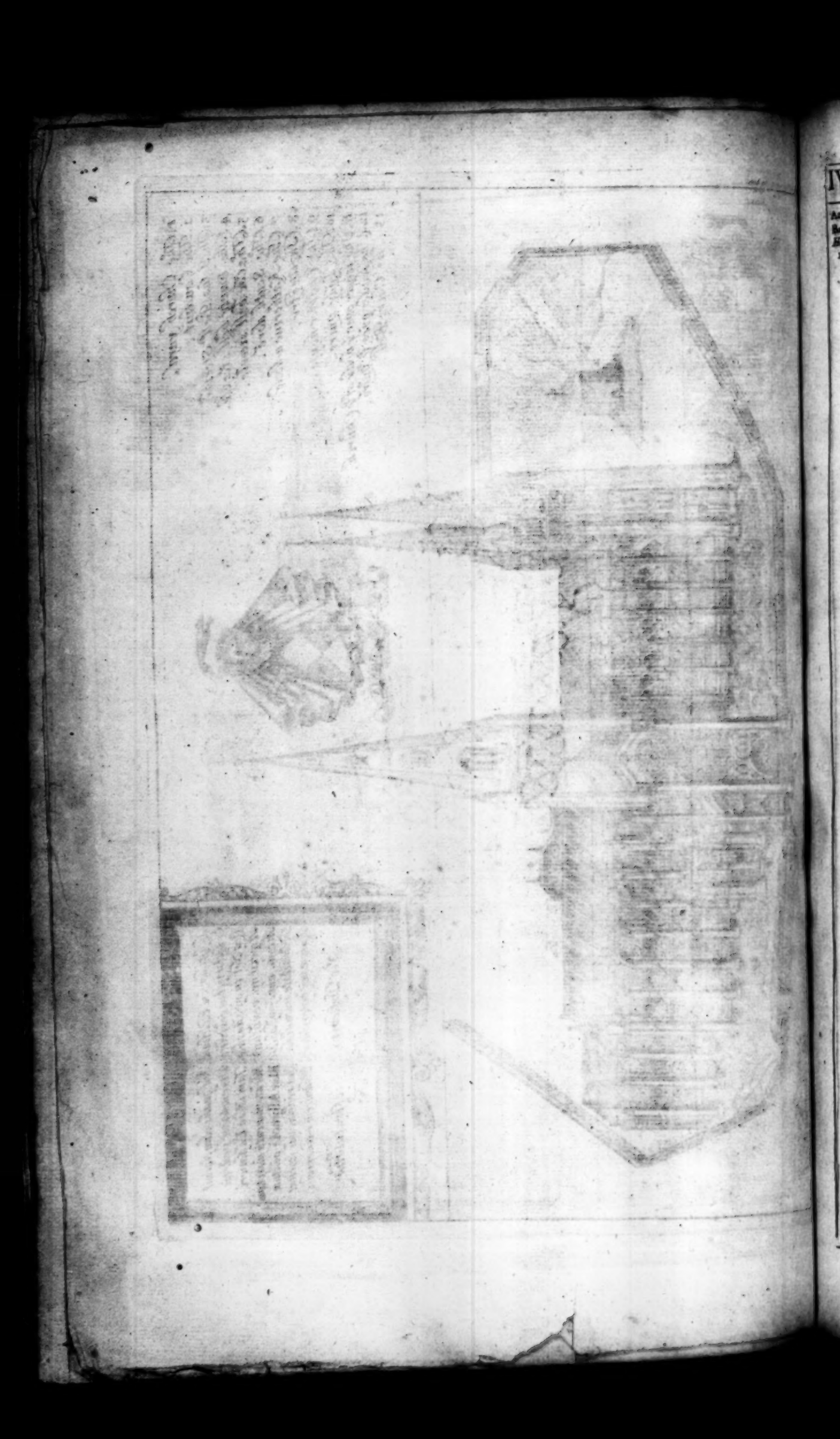


1. The Church yard.
2. The Conduit.
3. The Jesus-Bell Steeple.
4. The Empty-bell steeple.
5. The Coe-bell steeple.
6. The South dore.
7. The Katherine wheele.
8. The Vestry.
9. The Chapter house.
10. The Lady Quire.
11. The leades over ye body off ye Church.
12. The leades over ye Quire.
13 The Clocke Bell.









Anno Regis Hen. 6. 11. Anno Dom. 1433.

65. But now in the time of the aforesaid *William Heyworth*, the *Cathedral* of *Litchfield* was in the verticall height thereof, being (though not augmented in the *essentials*) beautified in the *Ornamentals* thereof. Indeed the West front thereof is a stately Fabrick, adorned with exquisite imagerie, which I suspect our age is so far from being able to imitate the *workmanship*, that it understandeth not the *Historie* thereof. The neatest Pile in *England*.

66. Surely what *Charles the fifth* is said to have said of the Citie of *Florence*, that *it is pittie it should be set in save only on Holy-dayes*; as also that *it was fit that so fair a Citie should have a Case and Cover for it to keep it from wind and weather*, so, in some sort, this Fabrick may seem to deserve a *shelter* to secure it. *Charles* the fifth of *Florence*.

67. But alas it is now in a *pittifull case* indeed, almost beaten down to the ground in our *civil dissensions*. Now lest the *Church* should follow the *Castle*; I mean, quite vanish out of view, I have at the cost of my worthy friend here exemplified the *Portraiture* thereof: and am glad to hear it to be the design of *ingenious persons* to preserve ancient Churches in the like nature, (whereof *many* are done in *this*, and *more* expected in the *next* part of *Monasticon*) seeing when their *substance* is gone, their verie *shadows* will be acceptable to *posteritie*. An ingenious design.

68. The Commons in Parliament complained to the King, that whereas they had sold *great wood of twenty years* growth and upwards, to their own great profit, and in aid to the King in his wars and shipping, the Parsons and Vicars impleaded such Merchants as bought this Timber, for the Tithes thereof, whereby their estates were much damnified, the King and Kingdome disserved. A grievance complained on.

69. They also complained, that when such *Merchants* troubled in the *Courts Christian* addressed themselves for remedy to the *Chancery*, and moved therein for a *Prohibition*, which in such cases is to be granted unto them, by vertue of a *Statute* made in the forty fift year of King *Edward the third*, yet such a *writ* of *Prohibition* and *attachment*, was against all law and right denyed them. Wherefore they humbly desired the King to ordaine by authority of the present Parliament, that such, who shall find themselves grieved, may hereafter have such writs of *Prohibition* and upon that *Attachments* aswell in the *Chancery* as in the *Kings* and *Common-Bench* at their choice. * And that the said Writs of *Prohibition* and *Attachment* issuing out of the said *Benches*, have the said force and effects, as the *Original writs* of *Prohibition* and *Attachment* so issuing out of the Chancery of our Lord the King. With great earnestnesse.

** Ex Archivis in Tur. Londin. undecimo Hen. sexti.*

70. To this it was returned, *the King will be advised*, the civilest expression of a *Denial*. However we may observe that for a full *hundred years* (*viz.* from the middle of King *Edward the third*, to and after this time) no one Parliament passed wherein this *Grievance* was not complained on. So that an *Acorn* might become an *Oake*, and good Timber in the term, wherein this molestation for the Tithes of wood, (under the pretence of *Silva Cedua*) did continue. But it seems it was well *Ordered* at last, finding future Parliaments not complaining thereof. Yet not fully redressed.

71. At this time *William Linwood* finished his industrious and usefull work of his *Constitutions*. He was bred in *Cambridge*, first *Schollar* of *Gonvile*, then *Fellow of Pembroke-Hall*. His younger years he spent in the studie of the Laws, whereby he gained much wealth, and more reputation. Afterwards (quitting his practice) he betook himself to the *Court*, and became Keeper of the Privie-Seale unto King *Henry* the fifth, who employed him on a long and important Embassy into *Spain* and *Portugal*. *William Linwood* his Constitutions set forth.

72. *Linwood* being no less skilful in *Civil* than *Canon Law*, performed the place with such exemplarie industrie and judgement, that had not the Kings suddain death prevented it, he had been highly advanced in the Commonwealth. Afterwards he reassumed his Officials place of *Canterburie*, and then at spare houres collected and digested the Constitutions of the fourteen latter First imployed Embassador into *Portugal*.

Arch-

Archbishops of *Canterbury*, from *Stephen Langton* to *Henry Chicheley*, unto whom he dedicated the Work, submitting the censure thereof to the Church. Anno Dom. 1433. Anno Regis Henry 6.

His Work printed and prized beyond sea.

73. A worthy Work, highly esteemed by forraign Lawyers: not so particularly *Provincial* for *England*, but that they are usefull for other Countries, his Comment thereon being a *Magazine* of the *Canon-Law*. It was printed at *Paris*, 1505. (but at the cost and charges of *William Bretton*, an honest Merchant of *London*) revised by the care of *Wolfgangus Hippolitus*, and prefaced unto by *Jodocus Badius*. This *Linwood* was afterward made Bishop of *Saint Davids*, whose works (though now beheld by some as an *Almanack out of date*) will be valued by the judicious whilst Learning and Civility have a being.

SECT.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

CENT. XV.

TO Mr THOMAS RICH, [Late] of LONDON, Eſquire.

GReat *is the praiſe* S. Paul * *gives to* Gaius, *ſtiling him his* hoſt, and of the whole Church. *Surely the* Church *then was very* little, *or* Gaius *his* houſe *very* large. *Now* Hoſts *commonly are* Corpulent perſons, *but* Gaius *not ſo, it being more then ſuſpicious that he was afflicted with a* faint *and* feeble *body, as may be collected from the words of* † S. John, I wiſh that thou maiſt proſper and be in health, even as thy ſoul proſpereth. * *Rom.* 16. 23. † 3 *John* 2.

You are Sir the Entertainer-general *of good men; many a* poor Miniſter *will never be wholly* Sequeſtred, *whileſt you are living, whoſe Charity is like to the* winde *which cannot be* ſeen, *but may be* felt: *And God hath dealt with you more bountifully then with* Gaius, *bleſſing you in all dimentions of* Soul, Body, *and* Eſtate; *and my prayers ſhall never be wanting for the continuance and increaſe thereof.*

Hen. 6 12. 1434. I. THis year began the ſmart and active Councel of *Baſil*, to which our Ambaſſadours were to repreſent both their Soveraign, and the Engliſh Nation; where they were received with honour and reſpect, the reputation of King *Henry* his Holineſs adding much to their credit; Foraigners there being very inquiſitive of them, to be ſatisfied in the particulars of his devotion, which by them was repreſented much to their Maſters advantage. But it is worth our pains to peruſe the Commiſſion they carried with them. Engliſh Ambaſſadors ſent to *Baſil.*

Anno Dom. 1434 | Anno Regni Hen. 6. 12.

Rex omnibus quos &c. ſalutem. Sciatis quòd, cum juxta decreta Conſtantienſis Concilii, præſens Concilium Baſileenſe *actualiter celebretur ſub ſanctiſſimo Patre Domino* Eugenio *Papa quarto. Nos eidem Concilio, nedum ex parte ejuſdem Concilii per ſuos Oratores nobis ex hac cauſa ſpecialiter deſtinatos, verum etiam Apoſtolicis & Imperialibus, ac aliorum quamplurimorum ſanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ Patrum & Principum ſæcularium literis creberrimè inſtigati, ad Dei laudem, ſanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ proſperitatem optatam & honorem, & præſertim ob fidei Catholicæ exaltationem intereſſe cupientes, variis & diverſis cauſis rationabiliter præpediti, quo minus perſonaliter eidem intereſſe poterimus, ut vellemus, venerabiles Patres* Robertum *Londonienſem*, Philippum *Lexovienſem*, Johannem *Roffenſem*, Johannem *Bajocenſem*, & Bernardum *Aquenſem Epiſcopos, ac cariſſimum conſanguineum noſtrum* Edmundum *Comitem Moritonii, dilectos nobis* Nicholaum *Abbatem Glaſtonienſem*, Willielmum *Abbatem Eccleſiæ beatæ Mariæ* Eborum, & Willielmum *Priorem Norwicenſem, nec non dilectos & fideles noſtros* Henricum Broumflete *Militem, Magiſtrum* Thomam Broun *utriuſq; Juris Doctorem*, Sarum *Decanum*, Johannem Colluelle *Militem, Magiſtrum* Petrum [c] Mauricii *Doctorem in Theologia, & Magiſtrum* Nicholaum David *Archidiaconum* Conſtantienſem *& Licentiatum in utroque Jure, noſtros Ambaſſiatores, Oratores, veros, & indubitatos Procuratores, Actores, Factores, & Nuncios ſpeciales conſtituimus, facimus & deputamus per præſentes, dantes & damus eis & ipſorum majori parti poteſtatem & mandatum tam generale quam ſpeciale nomine noſtro & pro nobis in eodem Concilio intereſſendi, tractandi, communicandi & concludendi tam de hiis quæ fidei Orthodoxæ ſulcimentum, Regumque ac principum pacificationem*

THe King to all whom &c. Greeting. [a] Know that according to the Decrees of [the late] Council of *Conſtance*, the preſent Council of *Baſil* is actually celebrated under the Moſt Holy Father, Lord *Eugenius* the fourth Pope. We being often inſtigated to be preſent at the *ſame Councel*, not onely on the behalf of the ſame Councel, by their *Orators*, eſpecially diſpatched to us, for that purpoſe, but alſo by the Letters *Apoſtolical* and *Imperial*, and the Letters of very many other Fathers of the *Holy Mother Church*, and of *Secular Printes*. And we deſiring to be preſent thereat, to the praiſe of God, proſperity of the Holy Mother Church, and her deſired Honour, and chiefly for the exaltation of the Catholick Faith, being on juſt reaſon hindred with many and ſeveral occaſions, cannot (as we would) be perſonally preſent thereat. Wherefore by theſe preſents we conſtitute, make, and depute, the venerable Fathers, *Robert* Biſhop of *London*, *Philip* Biſhop of [b] *Liſieux*, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Baieux*, & *Bernard* Biſhop of *Aix*, and our moſt dear Couſin *Edmund* Earl of *Morton*, our beloved *Nicolas* Abbot of *Glaſto*, *William* Abbot of S^t *Maries* in *York*, and *William* Prior of *Norwich*, and our beloved and truſty *Henry* Broumflete, Knight, M^r *Thomas Broun* Doctor of Laws Dean of *Sarum*, *John Colluelle*, Knight, M^r *Peter Fitz-Maurice* D. D. and M^r *Nicholas David* Arch-Deacon of *Conſtance*, & Licentiat in both Laws, our *Ambaſſadours*, *Orators*, true and undoubted *Proctors*, *Actors*, *Factors*, and ſpecial Meſſengers; Giving, and we give to them, and the greater part of them, Power and Command, as well general, as ſpecial, in our Name, and for Us, to be preſent in the ſame Councel, to treat, debate, and conclude as well of theſe things which may concern the ſupport of the *Orthodox Faith*, the Pacification of Kings and Princes, as alſo upon either a perpetual Peace, or elſe a Ceſſation from War, betwixt Us and *Charles* of *France* our Adverſary. Impowring them alſo to *treat*, *commune*, and *appoint*, moreover to *conſent*, and if need be, *diſſent*, in thoſe things which

concernere

a The Latin running on all in one continued ſentence, we are fain to divide it into many, for the mere clearneſs.

b A City in *Normandy*.

c Or *Mauriſon*.

Anno Regis Hen. 6. 12. Anno Dom. 1434.

concernere poterunt, nec non de & ſuper pace perpetua guerrarúmve abſtinentia inter Nos & Carolum *Adverſarium noſtrum de* Francia, *ac etiam tractandi, communicandi & appunctuandi, conſentiendi inſuper, & ſi opus fuerit diſſentiendi hiis, quæ juxta deliberationem dicti Concilii inibi ſtatui, ac ordinari contigerit. Promittentes & promittimus bona fide nos ratum, gratum, & firmum perpetuò habiturum * totum, & quicquid per dictos Ambaſiatores, Oratores, & Procuratores noſtros aut majorem partem eorundem, actum, factum, ſeu geſtum fuerit in præmiſſis, & in ſingulis præmiſſorum, & hoc idem cum de & ſuper hiis certiorati fuerimus quantum ad nos & Chriſtianum Principem attinet, executioni debitæ curabimus demandare. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes.*

Dat. ſub Magni Sigilli noſtri teſtimonio in Palatio noſtro Weſt. 10 *die* Julii.

July 10.

Per Concilium.

ſhall happen there to be eſtabliſhed and ordained according to the deliberations of the aforeſaid Councel. Promiſing, and we do promiſe, on good faith, that whatſoever ſhall be acted, done, or managed, in the premiſſes, and every one of them by our aforeſaid Ambaſſadors, Orators, and Proctors, or the greater part of them, we ſhall have and account for ratified, welcome, and firm for ever. And when we ſhall be certified of and upon the ſame, we ſhall care to command the due execution, ſo far as appertaineth to Us, and a Chriſtian Prince. In witneſs whereof, We have made theſe our Letters Patent.

* Habiturum in M. S.

Given under our Great Seal, being our witneſs, in our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, July 10.

So eminent an Inſtrument of ſo great importance muſt not paſs without ſome of our obſervations thereupon.

2. The Councel of *Baſil* is ſaid to be aſſembled according to the Decrees of the late Councel of *Conſtance*, wherein it was conſtituted, that within ſo many years a *General Councel* ſhould be called. For ſeeing the *Church* was ſubject to contract *Ruſt* in Doctrine and manners, *frequency* of *Councels*, was conceived the beſt way to *ſcoure* the ſame. But the *Pope* lately hath willingly forgotten this *Canon*, no *General Councel* being called ſince that of *Trent*, wherein all the Power and profit of the Pope was ſecured under the Notion of *Articles of the Faith*: ſince which time his *Holineſs* thought it not ſafe to tamper with a new Councel, as which might impair, but could not improve his condition.

Why the Pope declines general Councels in our age.

3. See we here fourteen *Ambaſſadours* ſent to *Baſil*, Biſhops 5. Earl 1. (not that he was to vote in the Councel, but onely behold the tranſactions thereof) Abbots 2. Prior 1. Knights 2. Doctor in Divinity 1. Doctors of Law 2. all Intereſts being in them repreſented; When therefore we read in *Roger Hoveden* and [a] others, *ad generale Concilium Domini Papæ, quatuor Epiſcopi de Anglia tantùm Romam mittendi ſunt, onely four Engliſh Biſhops are to be ſent to Rome to a general Councel of the Pope*; underſtand it, that ſuch a number is ſufficient. *England* needed to ſend but ſo many, though, if pleaſed, might ſend more, confined by no other command ſave the Kings free diſcretion. And ſeeing *Baſil* was little above the half way to *Rome*, the journey being ſhorter, the more meſſengers were imployed.

England muſt ſend four, might ſend more Biſhops to a general Councel.
[a] *Simon Dunelmen.*

4. The three *French Biſhops* ſent by the *King*, ſpeak the great *Command*, which King *Henry* as yet had in *France*, eſpecially (if as I take it) by *Aquenſis*, *Aix* be mentioned, ſcited in the furthermoſt parts of *Provence*, though even now the Engliſh power in *France* was a waining.

Engliſh power in *France*.

Anno Dom. 1434 | Anno Regis Hen. 6. 12.

Langdon the learned Bishop of *Rochester.*

5. *John*, Bishop of *Rochester*, here mentioned, was *John Langdon*, intruded by the Pope into that Bishoprick, to the apparent prejudice of the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*. For the Bishop of *Rochester* was accounted *Canterburies Chaplain*, to whom he owed his *Spirituals*, and *Temporals* as his Patron, and founder; though now the Pope, contrary to the Arch-Bishops will and right forced this *Langdon* into the place. But indeed he was a learned man (dying this year in his *Embassie* at *Basil*) and deserved far better preferment then the poor Bishoprick of *Rochester*. But yet as some observe of Taylors, that they make the largest garments, when they have the least cloath allowed them; so the poor Bishoprick of *Rochester*, hath fared better then many richer *Sees*, seeing Sacriledg would never feed on so bare a pasture.

Precedents for precedency.

6. Observe the Method in the Nomination of these Commissioners, wherein no wonder if the Bishops precede so great an Earl; was it not fit that *reverend Fathers* should be placed before *a dear Cousin?* besides the employment being of Church concernment, Spiritual persons carried it clear in the race of dignity. More strange it is to finde herein a Knight [*Henry Broomflete*] put before a Doctor of both Laws, and yet *John Colevil*, another Knight placed after the same Doctor. I confess the contest very ancient about priority betwixt a *Knight* and a *Doctor of Law*, ever since the comparison which [a] *Tully* made betwixt *Lucius Murena*, a *Knight of Rome*, and *Pub. Sulpitius* a *Lawyer*, either of them standing for the *Consulship*. Though now in *England* the precedency of the *Knight* be indubitable, since preferment is taken from *Civil Law*, and the professors thereof shut up, as it were, in a narrow corner of their own faculty. But we leave the Critical Decision thereof, to his [b] pen who hath wrot a just Tract *of the Glory* (in truth of the *Vanity*) *of this world*, and exactly stated this particular, with all the circumstances thereof.

a *In orat. pro. Murena.*

b *Chassanæus la gloria mundi. lib. 9.*

A charitable and no impolitick offer.

7. Whereas the King impowreth those his Commissioners to meddle in the point of his right of the Realm of *France*, with King *Charles* his competitor, submitting his Title to be discussed in the Councel, it carrieth with it a confidence of his own right, and charitable desire to save the effusion of Christian Bloud; But this was not *Councel*, but *Camp-work*; and we meet not with the mention hereof once touched on in this great Assembly. However, so wary was King *Henry* (or rather his Councel) as not absolutely to tie up his title, to the decision of this Councel, but to give his Commissioners a *negative voice*, in case they see cause to dissent.

A contest betwixt the English and Castilians about precedency.

8. The general History of the Church reporteth the Acts of this Councel, how they deposed Pope *Eugenius*, and substituted *Felix* in his room; for which, and other decisions therein, *Rome* beholds this Councel but with bad eyes unto this day. We will onely meddle with a difference therein, which concerned our own Nation. The Orators of several Kings began to take their places, *according to their birth-rights*; dating their age from their Nations first receiving of Christianity. Here arose the *controversie of course*, about precedency, betwixt the *English* and *Castile* Ambassadours: the former alledging *Britaines* conversion by *Joseph* of *Arimathea*; which *Alphonsus Garsias* de Sancta *Maria*, Dean of *Compostella* and *Segovia*, Doctor of Law, and Ambassadour for *Castile*, with a Speech [c] more tedious then his name and titles, much endeavoured to disprove, and his arguments may be reduced to these four heads:

c *Ex Schedis Cottonianis.*

1. First, he denied *Josephs* arrival in *Britaine*, and imposed the proof thereof on the English who affirmed it, challenging them to produce any authentick Record for the same.
2. Secondly, he urged probability to the contrary, out of the *Golden Legend*, or *Flores Sanctorum*, where it is reported, how *Titus*, taking

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taking *Jeruſalem*, cauſed a thick wall to be digged thorow, and therein found an aged man, who confeſſed himſelf to be *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, there impriſoned by the Jews for burying of Chriſt; and that ever ſince he had been fed with meat from heaven. Hence he inferred, that if *Joſeph* were in durance all this while in the *wall*, he could not, as the Engliſh pretended, come over into *Britain* to plant the Goſpel.

3. Thirdly, grant that *Joſeph*, after his enlargement by *Titus*, preached in *Britain*, which muſt needs be after the year of our Lord, ſeventy and two, *Spain* long before had received the Goſpel by the preaching of *James* the Apoſtle.

4. Fourthly, Be it granted, that *Joſeph* did preach in *England*, it was but in a corner thereof, the grand body of *Britain* remaining pagan many hundred years after.

Theſe arguments he uttered with ſuch an affected gravity, as if he could have made the matter the more by pronouncing the words the longer.

9. The Engliſh eaſily anſwered theſe exceptions, proving *James* to be ſlaughtered at *Jeruſalem* by [a] *Herod*, before his pretended preaching in *Spain*: ſeeing their own Country-man, and an [b] Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo* confeſſeth as much. They produced many ancient teſtimonies for the preaching of *Joſeph* in *Britain*, the fond fable of his being kept in a wall being beneath confutation, as atteſted onely by a worthleſs Author, *Jacobus de Voragine*. Their allegation, that *Britain* was but partially converted, by his preaching, was but impertinent to the preſent purpoſe; the point controverted not being of the *univerſality*, but the *antiquity* of firſt receiving the Chriſtian Faith. Beſides, neither *James*, nor any other Diſciple, ever converted a Kingdom totally, and entirely to Chriſtianity. However, nothing was concluded in this controverſie, alwayes agitated, never decided.

The Engliſh their anſwer.

a Acts 12. 2.

b *Rodericus Ximenius in concer. de primatu cum præſule Compoſtel. in Concil. Lateran. Anno* 1215.

1. In the Councel of *Piſa*, Anno 1409.
2. In the Councel of *Conſtance*, 1417. betwixt the Ambaſſadours of *England* and *France*.
3. In the Councel of *Sienes*, before *Martin* the fifth, Pope: wherein *Richard Fleming*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, encountered *France*, *Spain*, and *Scotland*, about precedency.

Laſtly, betwixt *England* and *Spain*, in the Councel of *Baſil*, though therein nothing concluded; thoſe politick Prelates accounting it better to keep both Princes in hope by diſcuſſing, then to put one into anger by deciding it. Yea, they loved to ſet up this controverſie (as that of the precedence of *Cambridg* and *Oxford* in Engliſh Parliaments) out of deſign, ſometimes to delay time; ſometimes by ſtarting it, to ſtop, and divert more dangerous diſputes.

13. 1437

10. *Henry Chichely*, Doctor of Law, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Colledg in *Oxford*, by the Name of *All-Souls*, for a Warden, and fourty Fellows; which number by Statute was never to be augmented, or impaired; and all void places (by death, or otherwiſe) once in a year to be ſupplied.

All-Souls College in Oxford founded.

Wardens.

Wardens.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned Writers.	Anno Dom. 1437.	Anno Regis Hen. 6 15.
1. Mr *Rich. Andrews.*	*James Gouldwel*, Bishop of *Norwich*, 1472.	King *Henry* the 6th at the procurement of the Founder, gave four *Priories Alians*, viz. *Alberbury*, *Rumney*, *Weeden-Pinkeney*, and *Languenith.*			
2. Mr *Rog. Keys.*	*Gilbert Bourn*, Bish. of *Bath* and *Wells*, 1554.				
3. Mr *Gul. Kele.*	*Gyles Tomson*, Bish. of *Glouceſter*, 1611.				
4. Mr *Gul. Poteman.*					
5. Mr *Jo. Stokie.*					
6. *Tho. Hobbys.*					
7. Mr *Gul. Brooke.*					
8. Mr *Jo. Coale.*					
9. Mr *Rob. Woodward.*					
10. Mr *Rob. Stokelie.*	*Brian Duppa*, Bish. of *Sarum*, Fellow of this House.	Queen *Elizabeth* confirmed the Parſonage of *Stanton Harcourt.*			
11. Mr *Jo. Warner.*					
12. Mr *Seth Holland.*		*Reginald Poole*, *Card.* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury.*	Sr *Clement Edmonds.*		
13. Mr *Jo. Pope.*					
14. Mr *Rich. Barber.*		Sr *William Peter*, Fellow of this Colledg, and Secretary to four Kings and Queens.	Dr *Gentilis* an excellent Civilian.		
15. Mr *Rob. Hovenden.*			Dr *Steward.*		
16. Dr *Mocket.*			Mr *Diggs.*		
17. Dr *Aſhley.*					
Dr *Shelden.*					
Dr *Palmer.*					

So that at this preſent this Colledg hath one Warden, fourty Fellows, two Chaplains, three Clerks, ſix Choriſters, beſides Officers and Servants of the Foundation, with other Students, the whole number being ſeventy. The Fellows of this College are bound by their Statutes to be *benè nati, ſpendidè veſtiti, & mediocriter docti in plano cantu.*

Know Reader, I was promiſed by my reſpected friend, Dr *Jeremy Taylor*, (late Fellow of this houſe) well known to the *world* by his worth, a Catalogue of the Eminent Scholars thereof; but it ſeems the *Preſs*, (like *Time* and *Tide*) ſtaying for no man, I have not been ſo happy ſeaſonably to receive it.

A tart jeer ſoberly returned.

11. Six years did this Arch-Biſhop ſurvive the firſt Founding of this Colledg. He was a worthy man in his generation, had not his vaſſalage to the Pope (the epidemical diſeaſe of thoſe dayes) ingaged him in cruelty againſt the poor profeſſors of the truth. Moſt of the Synods, called by him toward the latter end of his life, effected onely the advance of money, the Clergy being very deſirous to buy off the penalty of a *Præmunire* (ſo pernicious to their proceedings) but could not compleatly compaſs the ſame. I have nothing elſe to obſerve of Arch-Biſhip *Chichely*, ſave the common tradition, how King *Henry* the ſixth, acted herein by ſome *miſoclere-Courtiers* (otherwiſe in himſelf friend enough to Church-men) ſent this Arch-Biſhop, for a New-years-gift, a *ſhred-pie* indeed, as containing pieces of cloath and ſtuff, of ſeveral ſorts and colours, in jeer, becauſe his father was a Taylor at *Higham-Ferrars* in *Northampton-ſhire*. The Arch-Biſhop thankfully received the gift, even after he had ſeen the *entrals* thereof, and courteouſly entertained 1443 21. May 3.

Anno Regni Hen. 6. 21. Anno Dom. 1443

tained the messenger, requesting him to return to his Grace, *If my Lord the King do but as far exceed* Henry *the fifth (whom God assoil) his Father, as my meanness hath gone beyond my poor father, he will make the most accomplished Monarch that ever was in Christendom.* *John Stafford*, one of noble parentage, succeeded in the place of *Chichely* deceased.

24. 1446

12. This good precedent of the Arch-Bishops bounty, may be presumed a spur to the speed of the Kings liberality; who soon after Founded *Eaton Colledg*, incorporate by the name of *Præpositi & Collegii Regalis Col. Beatæ Mariæ de Eaton juxta Winsor.* It seemeth these words *Beatæ Mariæ*, are so necessary, that being left out in a Lease (wherein all the other Titles of the Foundation were inserted at large) the said [a] Lease was adjudged void for that omission. But know, this verdict passed in Queen *Maries* dayes, when *Regina Maria* made the mention of *Beatæ Mariæ*, so essential thereunto.

The Founding of *Eaton* Colledg.

[a] Abridgment of *Judge Diers* reports, *Num.* 379. *Trin. Term. quarto Mariæ.*

13. Indeed it was high time some School should be founded, considering how low *Grammer-Learning* ran then in the Land, as may appear by the following Verses made for King *Henry* the Founder; as good no doubt as the generality of that Age did afford, though (scarce deserving Translation) so that the worst scholar in *Eaton Colledg* that can make a Verse, can make a better.

The bad Poetry of that Age.

Luce tua, qui natus erat, Nicolae, sacer Rex
Henricus Sextus *hoc stabilivit opus,*
Unctum qui Lapidem postquam ponebat in Eaton
Hunc fixit Clerum commemorando suum.
Astiterant illi tunc Pontifices in honorem
Actus solennis Regis & Ecclesiæ.
*Ex Orientali * si bis septem pedetentim*
Mensurare velis, invenies Lapidem;
In festo sancti Jacobi sanctam stabilivit
Hic unctam Petram Regia sacra manus.

* Medio.

Annis M. CCCC. sexto quater X̄,
Regis & H. Regni quinto jungendo Vicena.

Devout King *Henry* of that name the sixt
Born (*Nic'las*) on thy day this building fixt.
In *Eaton* having plac'd a stone anointed
In sign, it for the Clergy was appointed.
His Prelates then were present, so the more
To honour the Kings acts and holy Chore.
From *Eastern* midst, whereof just fourteen feet
If any measure, they this stone shall meet;
On holy *James* his day, the sacred hand
Of Royal *Henry* caus'd this stone to stand.

M. four C^s. fourty six since Christ was born,
When *H.* the Crown * twenty five years had worn.

* *Viz.* Current otherwise but 24 compleat.

14. This Colledg consisteth of one Provost, Fellows, a Schoolmaster and Usher, with Kings Scholars; Besides many *Oppidanes*, maintained there at the cost of their friends; so that were *Eaton*, as also *Winchester*-School removed into *Germany*, they would no longer be accounted *Scholæ*, but *Gymnasia*, a middle terme betwixt a *School*, and an *University*. The Provostship of

A Bountiful Foundation, God continue it.

Anno Dom. 1446. Anno Reg. Hen. 6 24.

of *Eaton* is accounted one of the Gentileſt, and intireſt preferments in *England*, the Provoſt thereof, being provided for in all particulars, to the *very points of his hoſe* (my deſire is one *tag* of them may not be diminiſhed) and as a pleaſant * *Courtier* told King *Henry* the eighth, *an hundred pound a year more then enough*. How true this is I know not, this I know, if ſome *Courtiers* were to ſtint the *enough* of *Clergy-men*, even the moſt *induſtrious* of them ſhould (with * *Solomons* ſloathful man) have *poverty enough*. But take here a Catalogue of the *Provoſts* of *Eaton*.

Sir *John Harrington* in the continuation of *Godwins* Biſh. in Biſh. *Day* of *Winchester*.
* Prov. 28. 19.

1. *Henry Seilver* D. D. Almoner to King *Henry* the ſixth.
2. *William Wainflet*, B.D. afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.
3. *John Clerk*, B.D. died Provoſt, the 7th *Novemb.* 1447.
4. *William Weſtbury*, B.D. choſen Provoſt, *Anno* 1448.
5. *Hen. Boſt*, B. D. he gave an hundred Marks, and twenty pounds *per an.* to the Colledg, died the 7th *Feb.* 1503.
6. *Roger Lupton*, B. D.
7. *Robert Aldridge*, afterwards Biſhop of *Carliſle*.
8. Sr *Tho. Smith*, Doct. of Law, of Queens Colledg in *Cambridg*, choſen, *Anno* 1554.
9. *Henry Colle*, D. D. and Law, choſen in the ſame year, 1554.
10. *William Bill*, D. D. Almoner to Queen *Elizabeth*, choſen *July* 5. 1559.
11. *William Day*, B. D. Dean alſo of *Windſor*, choſen *Jan.* 5. 1561. afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.
12. Sir *Henry Savile*, Warden of *Merton* Colledg in *Oxford*, choſen, 3 *June* 1596. eminent to all poſterity for his magnificent Edition of Saint *Chryſoſtome* in Greek.
13. *Tho. Murrey*, Eſq; Tutor and Secretary to King *Charls*, whilſt Prince.
14. Sr *Henry* * *Wotton*, famous for ſeveral Embaſſies, choſen 1625.
15. *Steward*, Doct. of Law, and Dean of Sr *Pauls*.
16. *Francis Rouſe*, Eſq;

* Whoſe Life is excellently written by my worthy friend Mr *Iſaac Walton*.

This *Eaton* is a nurſery to Kings *Colledg* in *Cambridg*. All that I will add, is, to wiſh, that the prime Scholars in this School may annually be choſen to the Univerſity, and when *choſen*, their *places* may fall accordingly, not by the *death* of thoſe in Kings Colledg, but their advancement to better preferment in the *Church* and *Common-wealth*.

All quickly loſt in *France*.

15. If we caſt our eyes on the Civil eſtate, we ſhall finde our Foraign Acquiſitions in *France*, which came to us on *foot*, running from us on *horſe-back*. *Nulla dies ſine Civitate*, ſcarce a day eſcaping wherein the *French* regained not ſome City or place of importance; ſo that the Engliſh, who under King *Hen.* 6. had almoſt a *third* of *France*, beſides the City of *Paris* (another *third* in its ſelf for *Wealth* and *Populouſneſs*;) ſoon loſt all on the *Continent*, to the poor pittance of *Calice*, and a *little land*, or (if you will) ſome *large ſuburbs* round about it. 1447 25.

Occaſioned by the Engliſh diſcords.

16. Yet let not the *French* boaſt of *their Valor*, but (under Gods providence) thank our *ſins*, and particularly our *diſcords*, for their ſo ſpeedy recoveries. There were many *Cleſts* and *Chaps* in our *Councel-board*; factions betwixt the great Lords preſent thereat, and theſe differences deſcended on their Attendants and Retainers; who putting on their *Coats* wore the *Badges*, as well of the *enmities*, as of the *Armes* of their Lords and Maſters: but behold them how coupled in their Antipathies.

Deadly

Anno Regis 6 37. Anno Dom. 1459.

Deadly feud betwixt	*Deadly feud betwixt*
Edmund Beaufort, Duke of *Somerset*, / *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*.	*William Delapole*, Duke of *Suffolk*. / *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*.
Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of *Gloceſter*, / *Henry Beaufort* Cardinal, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.	*Humphrey Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*. / *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick*.

Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of *Gloceſter*, / *William Delapole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, / *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick*.

Betwixt the three laſt there was as it were a battel Royal in this *Cockpit*, each of them hating and oppoſing another. In all theſe conteſts their *ambition* was above their *covetouſneſs*; it being every ones endeavour not ſo much to raiſe and advance himſelf, as ruine and depreſs his adverſary.

17. Two of the aforeſaid principal perſons left the world this year, and in the ſame moneth. First, *Humphrey Duke of Gloceſter*, Brother to King *Henry* the fifth; Uncle and Gardian to King *Henry* the ſixth: A great Houſe-keeper. Hoſpitality being ſo common in that Age, none were *commended* for the *keeping*, but *condemned* for the *neglecting* thereof: He was much oppoſed by Queen *Margaret* (who would have none rule the *King* her husband, ſave her ſelf) and accuſed of a trecherous deſign; inſomuch that at a packt Parliament at *Bury*, he was condemned of high Treaſon, and found dead in his bed; not without rank ſuſpicion of cruel practiſes upon his perſon. The death of *Humphry* Duke of Gloceſter.

18. His death is ſuſpended betwixt *Legal execution* and *murder*; and his memory pendulous betwixt *Malefactor* and *Martyr*. However the latter hath moſt prevailed in mens belief, and the *Good Duke of Gloceſter* is commonly his character: But it is proper for ſome *Oxford* man to write his juſt Vindication. A *Manuel* in aſſerting his memory being but proportionable for him, who gave to their Library ſo many and pretious voluminous *Manuſcripts*. As for thoſe, who chewing their meat with their feet, whileſt they walk in the body of S^t *Pauls*, are commonly *ſaid to Dine with Duke Humphrey*; the ſaying is as far from *truth* as they from *dinner*, even twenty miles off: ſeeing this *Duke* was buried in S^t *Albans*, to which Church he was a great Benefactor. A fit work for a good pen.

19. The ſame Moneth with the *Duke of Gloceſter*, died *Henry Beaufort*, *Biſhop of Wincheſter*, and *Cardinal*; One of high *diſcent*, high *ſpirit*, and high *preferments*; hardly to be equalled by *Cardinal Wolſey* (otherwiſe but a *pigmy* to him in *birth*) for wealth and magnificence. He lent King *Henry* the 5^th at once twenty thouſand pounds, who pawned his Crown unto him. He built the fair Hoſpital of S^t *Croſs*, near *Wincheſter*; and although Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, was no grand Benefactor thereunto, in proportion to his own wealth (commonly called the *Rich Cardinal*) or the practiſes of his predeceſſours, *Wickham*, and *Wainefleet*. The death of the rich Cardinal.

20. The *Biſhops* * aſſembled in *Parliament*, laboured the recalling of the Act of *Præmunire*, and no wonder if *gall'd horſes* would willingly caſt off their *ſaddles*, but belike they found that *ſtatute girt* too cloſe unto them. The Lords and Commons ſtickling ſtoutly for the continuance thereof. And becauſe this is the laſt time we ſhall have occaſion to mention this Statute, and therefore muſt take our farewell thereof; it will not be amiſs to inſert the enſuing paſſage, as relating to the preſent ſubject, though it happened many years after. * The Clergie move in vain againſt the Statute of Præmunire.

An eminent instance in *Ireland*, of a priest indicted on the Statute of *Præmunire*.

21. One [a] *Robert Lalor*, *Priest*, a Native of *Ireland*, to whom the *Pope* had given the titulary *Bishoprick* of *Kilmore*, and made him *Vicar-general* of the *See Apostolick*, within the *Arch-Bishoprick* of *Dublin*, &c. boldly and securely executed his pretended jurisdiction for many years, was indicted at *Dublin*, in *Hillary Terme*, *Quarto Jacobi*, upon this *Statute* of *Præmunire*, made two hundred years before, being the sixteenth of *Richard* the second. His Majesties learned *Councel* did wisely forbear to proceed against him upon any latter Law (whereof plenty in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*) because *Recusants* (swarming in that Kingdome) might have their judgments convinced. That long before King *Henry* the eighth banished the Usurpation of the *Pope*, The *King*, *Lords and Commons* in *England* (though for the most part of the *Romish Religion*) made strict Laws for the maintenance of the *Crown* against any *foraign Invasion*. Whereupon after the party indicted had pleaded at large for himself, The *Jury* departed from the *Bar*, and returning within half an hour, found the *prisoner guilty* of the contempts whereof he was indicted; whereupon the *Sollicitor General* moved the Court to proceed to judgment, and [b] Sr *Dominick Sarsfield* (one of the *Justices* of his *Majesties chief Pleas*) gave judgment according to the form of the *Statute*, whereupon the Endictment was framed. Hence it plainly appears, that such Misdemeanours of *Papists* are punishable at this day, by vertue of those Ancient Statutes, without any relation to such as were enacted since the Reformation. Anno Dom. 1447 Anno Regis Hen. 6 25.

a Sir *Jo. Davies* in his case of *Præmunire*, fol. 83.

b *Idem* fol 99.

Cade & *Straw* like and unlike.

22 About this time *Jack Cade* raised his Rebellion, *like* and *unlike* to the former commotion of *Jack Straw*. Like, first because *Jacks* both, I mean, insolent, impudent, domineering Clowns. Secondly, Both of them were *Kentish* by their extractions. Thirdly, both of them pressed upon *London*, and there principally plaied their pranks. Fourthly, both of them after they had troubled the Land for a short time, were justly slain, and their numerous rabble routed and dispersed. In other remarkables, *Cade* differed from *Jack Straw*. First, *Straw* defied all Nobility and Learning, vowing and endeavouring their ruine and extirpation, whilest *Cade* pretended himself to be the *Lord Mortimer*, and next heir to the Crown, and no design against Learning is charged on his account. Lastly, *Straws* Rebellion is (though most falsly) fathered by Popish writers on *Wicliff* and his adherents, to have occasioned (at leastwise connived at) his commotion; but I never met yet with any *Romanists* accusing the *Lollards* (as they term them) for having any hand in *Cades* Rebellion. 1450 28.

The wars begin betwixt *York* and *Lancaster*.

23. Now began the broyls to break out betwixt the two houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, so mutually heightened, that scarce a County betwixt *York* (the place whence generally their Armies started) and *London*, (the Goal they both aimed to win) but a set Battle hath been fought therein, and if any one *Shire* lieth *fallow* in this kinde, the next afforded a *double crop* in that nature, (besides other Counties in the Marches of *Wales*) as by the ensuing Catalogue will appear. 1455. 34.

Place.	*Betwixt.*	*Time.*	*Number slain.*	*Conqueror.*
1. Sr *Albans* in *Hertfordshire.*	*Richard* Duke of *York*, and King *Henry* the 6th for *Lancaster*.	*Anno* 1455. and 34th of King *Hen.* 6. in *June.*	Slain on the Kings side five thousand. On the the Dukes six hundred.	*York* House.
2. *Blore-heath* in *Staffordshire.*	*Rich.* Earl of *Salisbury* for *York*. *James Touchet*, L. *Audley*, for *Lanc.*	*Anno* 1469. the 37th of *Hen.* 6. *Septemb.* 21.	Two thousand 4 hundred, most *Cheshire* men, slain on *Lancast.* side.	*York* House.

3. *Northampton.*

Anno Regis Hen. 6 34	Anno Dom. 1459	Place.	Betwixt.	Time.	Number ſlain.	Conqueror.
		3. *Northampton.*	*Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, for *York*. King *Hen. 6.* for *Lancaſter.*	*Anno* 1460. 38 *Hen. 6.* 9 *July.*	Ten thouſand ſlain and drowned on both ſides.	*York* Houſe.
		4. *Wakefield* in *York*-ſhire.	*Richard* Duke of *York*; Queen *Margaret* for *Lancaſter.*	In the ſame year, *Decem.* 31.	Two thouſand two hundred ſlain on *York* ſide, with their Duke.	*Lancaſter.*
		5. *Mortimors* Croſs in *Shropſhire.*	*Edward* Earl of *March*, afterwards King, for *York.*	*Anno* 1461. 39 *Hen. 6. Feb.* 2.	Three thouſand eight hundred ſlain on *Lancaſter* ſide.	*York* Houſe.
		6. S^t *Albans* in *Hertfordſhire.*	*Richard* Earl of *Warwick* for *York.* King *Henry* and *Margaret* his wife, in perſon for *Lancaſter.*	The ſame year and moneth, 17 *Feb.*	About two thouſand on both ſides.	*Lancaſter.*
		7. *Towton* in *Nottingham-ſhire.*	*Edward* Earl of *March*, for *York.* King *Hen. 6.*	Same year *March* 27. being Palm-Sunday.	Thirty five thouſand ninety and one on both ſides.	*York* Houſe.
		8. *Hexham* in *Northumberland.*	*John Nevil*, Lord *Montague.* King *Hen. 6.* and the Queen.	*Anno* 1464. 4 *Edw. 4. May* 15.	Number great but uncertain.	*York* Houſe.
		9. *Banbury* or *Edgcot* in the confines of *Oxford* and *Northampton* ſhire.	*William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke* for *York.* *Robbin* of *Ridſdale*, alias *Hilliard* for *Lancaſter.*	*Anno* 1469. 9 *Edw. 4. July* 26.	Five thouſand ſlain in the place, moſt of them Welchmen.	*Lancaſter.*
		10. *Barnet* in *Middleſex.*	*Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick* for *Lancaſter.* King *Edw. 4.* for *York.*	*Anno* 1471. 11 *Edw. 4. April* 14. *being Eaſter-day.*	Four thouſand ſlain on both ſides.	*York* Houſe.
		11. *Tewxbury* in *Gloceſter*-ſhire.	King *Edw. 4.* for *York.* Queen *Margaret* and *Edward* her ſon for *Lancaſter.*	In the ſame year on the 4^th of *May.*	Three thouſand ſlain of the Houſe *Lancaſter.*	*York* Houſe.
		12. *Boſworth* in *Leiceſter*-ſhire.	King *Rich.* 3. for *York.* *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* for *Lancaſter.*	*Anno* 1485. 3 *Rich.* 3. *Auguſt* 22.	About 4 thouſand ſlain in all.	*Lancaſter.*

Place.	*Betwixt.*	*Time.*	*Number slain.*	*Conqueror.*	Anno Dom.	Anno Regis Hen. 6
13. *Stoak* in *Notting-ham-shire.*	*John Delapole*, Earl of *Lincoln*, for *York*. King *Hen.* 7. for *Lancaster*.	*Anno* 1487. 2 King *Hen.* 7. *June* 16.	About four thousand (whereof many Irish) slain on both sides.	*Lancaster*, or rather the two houses united in King *Henry* the 7th.	1455.	34.

Besides many other Skirmishes, (corrivals with Battles) so that such who consider the bloud *lost* therein, would admire *England* had any left. And such as observe how much it had *left*, would wonder it had any *lost*, such still the populousness thereof.

But these things the Reader may best inform himself of, out of the *State-Historians*, and particularly out of that Noble *Italian Author* (elegantly and expressively translated by the Earl of *Monmouth*) who hath written a large Volume, to the great credit of our *English Nation*, of the wars betwixt *York* and *Lancaster*. So that I could heartily wish that some *English man*, in requital of his courtesie, would write the *Italian* discords betwixt the *Guelphes* and *Guibelines*, 1459 37.

Magdalen College in *Oxford* Founded by Bishop *Wainfleet.*

24. It was much, that in the middest of so many miseries of *Civil Wars*, *William*, sir-named *Patin*, from his *Parents*; but *Wainefleet* from the place of his nativity, now *Bishop* of *Wincheſter*, should Found the *fair Colledg*, Dedicated to *Mary Magdalen*, in *Oxford*, for One *President*, Fourty *Fellows*, Thirty *Demies*, Four *Chaplains*, Eight *Clerks*, and Sixteen *Choristers*, which number can never be increased. But though this *Foundation* cannot be made *broader* or *longer* (admit of more *members*) yet may it be made *deeper*, and is capable of *Benefactours* charity to augment the maintenance of the aforesaid number. This *William Wainefleet* first Founded *Magdalen-Hall* hard by (as *Scriveners* use to try their pens on a small piece of paper, before they begin what they fairly intend to write) and afterwards undertook and finished this far more stately piece of *Architecture*. For whoso observeth the magnificence of the structure, the numerousness of the *Corporation*, the largeness of their endowments, and the mutual concinnity of all parts amongst themselves therein, may possibly finde out a *College* which may *exceed* it in *some*, but hardly any that will *equal* it in *all* accommodations. Where nothing is wanting for health and pleasure, except some will say, that *Mary Maudlin weepeth too much*,, and the *walks* sometimes too wet and moist from the depressed situation thereof.

The many Worthies bred therein.

25. Nor hath this *House* been less fruitfull then any with famous persons, and it is observable that there is scarce a *Bishoprick* in *England*, to which this *College* hath not afforded one *Prelate* at the least (*doubling her files* in some places) as by the ensuing Catalogue will appear.

Presidents.

Anno Regis Hen 6 37. Anno Dom. 1459

Presidents.

Mr *William Horneley.*
Mr *William Tybbard.*
Mr *Rich. Mayewe.*
Mr *John Clarmund.*
Mr *Knolles.*
Mr *Oglethorp.*
Mr *Cole.*
Mr *Coreney.*
Mr *Laur. Humfride.*
Dr *Nich. Bond.*
Dr *Jo. Harding.*
Dr *William Langton.*
Dr *Accept. Frewen.*
Dr *John Oliver.*
Dr *Jo. Wilkinson.*
Dr *Tho. Godwin.*

Benefactors.

King *Henry* the seventh.
Thomas Ingledue, Chaplain to the Founder.
William Fitz-Allen.
Earl of *Arundel.*
John Forman.
Dr *Higden.* } Pref.
Jo. Claimund. }
Robert Morewent.
John Mullins Arch-Deac. of *London.*
Dr *John Warner*, laſt Biſhop of *Rocheſter.*

Biſhops.

John Stokeſley, Biſhop of *London*, 1530.
Thomas Cooper, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, 1584.
John Longland, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, 1521.
Tho. Bentham, Biſhop of *Covent.* and *Lichfield.*
William Overton, Biſhop of *Covent.* and *Lichfield*, 1609.
Accept. Frewen, Biſhop of *Covent.* and *Lichfield*, 1643.
Henry Cotton, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, 1598.
Tho. Godwin, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, 1584.
Thomas Wolſey, Arch-Biſh. of *York*, 1515.
John Peirce, Arch-Biſh. of *York*, 1588.
John Voyſey, Biſhop of *Exeter*, 1520.
William Bradbridg, Biſh. of *Exeter*, 1578.
Richard Mayo, Biſhop of *Hereford*, 1504.
John Harley, Biſhop of *Hereford*, 1553.
Thomas Bickley, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, 1585.
Jo. Warner, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, 1637.
Jo. Bullingham, Biſhop of *Briſtoll*, and *Gloceſter*, holding both together, 1581.
John Cotes, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, 1556.
William Downham, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, 1561.
Owen Oglethorpe, Biſhop of *Carlile*, 1556.

Writers.

John [a] *Clarmund*, afterwards Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti.*
John [b] *Hooker.*
Mich. [c] *Reniger.*
John Fox, Author of the Book of Martyrs.
Thomas Cooper, who wrote the great *Dictionary.*
Robert [d] *Crowley.*
Peter [e] *Morving.*
Alan [e] *Cope*, Proctor of the Univerſity, 1558.
Julius Palmer, Mart.
Dr *Laurence Humfride.*
John Budden, Dr of Law, who wrote many mens lives in Elegant Latin.
Dr *Hen. Hammond.*
Dr *Peter Heylyn.*

a *Pitz. de Brit. Script.* p. 688.
b *Idem.* p. 730.
c *Bale*, p. 755.
d *Idem.* p. 728.
e *Pitz* p. 735.
e *Brian Twine Ant. Ac. Ox. in Catal. Procuratorum.*

Give me leave to ſuſpect this *Catalogue* of *Preſidents* not compleat (though ſet forth by their great [f] *Antiquarie*) both becauſe Dr *Higden* (avowed [g] *Preſident* in the *Liſt* of *Benefactors*) is therein omitted, as alſo Dr *Walt.* [h] *Haddon*, whom we finde *Preſident* hereof in the beginning of *Queen Mary.* At this day there

f *Vide in calce libri.*
g *Vide* Scots Tables.
h L. *Humfrid* in the Life of Biſhop *Jewel*, p. 71.

there are therein a *President*, fourty *Fellows*, thirty *Demies*, or *Scholars*, four *Chaplains*, eight *Clerks*, sixteen *Choristers*, one *School-master* and an *Usher*, three *Readers*; of *Divinity*, *Natural* and *Moral Philosophie*, besides divers *Officers* and *Servants* of the *Foundation*, with other *Students*, being in all two hundred and twenty. Anno Dom. 1460. Anno Regis Ed. 4.

Edward the fourth gaineth the *Crown* by Conquest.

26. *King Henry* being Conquered in a fatal Battle at *Touton* in *Nottingham*-shire, fled with his *Queen* into *Scotland*; and to make himself the more welcome, resigned *Berwick* to the King thereof. *Edward*, *Duke* of *Yorke*, his *Adversary*, Reigned in his stead by the name of *Edward* the *fourth*, who, next to God and his own right, had just cause to thank *Richard Nevil*, *Earl* of *Warwick* for his *Crown*. This was that *Nevil*, who for Extraction, Estate, Alliance, Dependents, Wisdom, Valour, Success, and Popularity, was superiour to any *English Subject* since the *Conquest*. Peoples love he chiefly purchased by his Hospitality, keeping so open an House, that he was most welcome who brought the best stomach with him; the *Earl* charitably believing, that all who were *men of teeth*, were *men of Armes*. Any that looked like a man, might have in his house a full *half yard of roast meat*; namely, so much as he could strike through and carry away with his [a] *Dagger*; The *Bear* was his *Crest*, and it may be truly said, that when the *Bear* roared, the *Lions* of the *Forest* trembled, the *Kings of England* themselves being at his disposal. 1461 1.

[a] *Stows* Annals, *pag.* 421.

Why little *Church-Hist.* in this Kings Reign.

27. This *Kings Reign* affordeth very little *Church-Storie*, and therefore Mr *Fox* (whose industrie would have found out *Church-matter*, if above ground) is fein to fill it up with foreign passages, or *domestick relations* of our *civil differences*. Indeed now the sound of all *bells* in the *steeples* was drowned with the noise of *Drums* and *Trumpets*: And yet this good was done by the *Civil wars*, it diverted the *Prelates* from troubling the *Lollards*; so that this very storme was a shelter to those poor souls, and the heat of these intestine enmities, cooled the persecution against them.

Synod priviledges broken and repaired.

[b] *Antiq. Brit. pag.* 293.

28. *Thomas Bourchier*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, kept a *Synod* of his *Clergie* at *London*, when *Geoffery Longbrocke*, a *member* thereof (as *Proctor* for *Peter Courtney*, *Arch-Deacon* of *Exeter*) was at the suite of *Simon Nottingham*, arrested by the *Bailiffs* of the *Lord Major*, complaint being made hereof to the *Convocation*, they sent the *Prior* of *Canterbury* to the *Major* and *Sheriffs*, to restore the aforesaid *Geoffery* to his liberty, threatning them else with *Excommunication*; to prevent which the *party* was released. The *Parliament* sitting at the same time, bestowed many priviledges on the *Clergie*. As for the other *Synods* in this *Kings Reign*, being six, as I account them, little more then granting of *Subsidies* was propounded and concluded therein. 1462 2.

King *Henry* returned routed and imprisoned.

29. *King Henry* returned out of *Scotland*, furnished with sufficient forces from *James the third*, to recover his Crown, had success befriended him. But *King Edward* marched against him in person (one means of his being so fortunate in his fights, seeing in peace the *master his eye maketh the fat horse*, as the *Princes* in war the valiant *horse-rider*) totally defeated, took, and imprisoned him in the *Tower*. Here whilest *Church-men* observe how tender-eyed the charity, *States-men* admire how blinde the policy of that Age, in keeping *King Henry* alive. No such sure *Prison* for a *Captive King*, as a *Grave*, whose life (though in restraint) is a fair mark for the full aim of male-contents to practice his enlargement. As here it fell out in *King Henry*, who either slighted for his simplicity, that he could do no mischief, or reverenced for his sanctity, that he should suffer no ill, was preserved alive, and reserved thereby to be a future trouble to *King Edward*, who, though valiant to repel, was not wise to foresee dangers, and now conceiving himself secure, was viciously disposed, and given over to too much licenciousness. 1463 3.

The Earl of *Warwick* takes just distaste at King *Edward*.

30. *Richard Nevil*, *Earl* of *Warwick*, is sent over into *France* to obtain the *Lady Bona* (*Daughter* to the *Duke* of *Savoy*) *Wife* to *King Edward*. So powerful a *spokesman* could not but *speed*, and all things are concluded, save 1465 5.

the

Anno Regis Ed. 4. 5. Anno Dom. 1463

the meeting of the *Parties* and a *Prieſt* to marry them. Mean time *King Edward* marrieth the *Lady Elizabeth Grey*, , the firſt *Engliſh King* who ſince the *Conqueſt* wedded his *Subject*; I might alſo add, and the firſt that match'd with a *Widow*, ſeeing *Elinor*, *Wife* to *King Henry* the *ſecond*, divorced from *Lewis* the yonger, *King* of *France*, was properly neither *maid*, nor *widow*. *Warwick* ſtormeth hereat, that he had taken ſo much pains about nothing, highly ſenſible of the *affront*, ſeeing a *potent Arme* is not to be employed about a *ſleeveleſs errand*. He reſolves revenge, and becauſe he could not make her *Queen* whom he deſired, he would make him *King* whom he pleaſed.

8. 1468

31. Take hereof this curſory account: After many *bloudy battles*, *King Edward* was taken *Priſoner* at *Wolney* in *Warwick*-ſhire, and committed by the *Earl* of *Warwick*, to the cuſtody of his *Brother George Nevil*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *York*. *Henry* is brought out of the *Tower*, ſhall I call him the *ſixth* or the *ſeventh*, becauſe dead, (though not in Law, in dignity, and once Depoſed) he is now *reſtored* again to wear the *Royal Robes*, not ſo much as his *own garments*, but as the *Livery* the *Earl* of *Warwick* his liberality. However he acted a very ſhort part of *Soveraignty*, wherein he revenged not any perſonal wrongs offered unto him in his reſtraint. For one who thruſt him into the ſide with a ſword, when he was *Priſoner* in the *Tower*, was afterwards pardoned by him, when reſtored to his former dignity.

King *Edward* taken priſoner, and King *Henry* enlarged.

32. Mean time the *Arch-Biſhop* allowed *King Edward* liberty to ride abroad and follow his pleaſure; now a careleſs *Keeper* giveth his *Priſoner* a *warning*, and ſheweth him a *way* to make his eſcape. *King Edward* followeth his *hawking* ſo long, that he taketh *his own flight* at laſt. Over he gets beyond the *Seas* to his *Brother in law Charles*, *Duke* of *Burgundie*, by whom he was ſupplied, to the proportion of a competent ſubſiſtence; but not enabled for the recovering of a *Crown*. However he returned into *England*, landed in the *North*, marched to *York*, deſired to be received therein, as into the place whence he received his *Title*, but in no other notion then a *Subject* to *King Henry*, taking the *Sacrament* on the truth thereof; but having gotten the *City* as *Duke*, he kept it as *King*, contrary to his *oath*, for which his *Children*, are conceived to fare no whit the better.

Edward eſcaped, flieth beyond ſea, and returneth.

33. Let the *State-Hiſtorians* inform you with what various changes K. *Edward* made hence into the *South*, and at laſt near *Barnet*, bid battle to, and defeated the *Earl of Warwick*, ſlain with his *Brother* the *Marqueſs Montague* on the place. Learn alſo from them how King *Henry* was cruelly put to death, and his *Son* and *Queen Margaret* ſoon after overthrown at *Tewxbury*. For when a Royal Family is once falling, all things conduce to expedite their deſtruction. Henceforward King *Edward* (ſaving the differences of his own, with his *wives* Kindred) paſſed the remnant of his dayes in much peace, plenty, and pleaſure.

10. 1470

Recovereth the Crown by Conqueſt.

34. In moſt of the Battles we may obſerve, it was the *word general* of the weaker ſide, *for London*, *for London*, as the moſt *martial thrift* to Conquer a *Kingdom* in a *City*. For ſuch whoſe neceſſities can allow their *Armies* but little time to ſtay, do *burn day light* in pelting againſt petty *Towns* in the *out skirts of a Land*, eſpecially if all other humane hopes be in one deſperate puſh. Hence was it that ſo many *Battles* were fought about *Barnet* and St *Albans* (the *Cock-pit of War*) the lines of all Armies drawn from the circumference of the Land, being the cloſer together, the nearer they approched *London*, the *Center* in Trade and Wealth, though not in exact poſition thereof.

Why moſt Armies make for *London*.

35. Come we now to a tamer conteſt, and more proper for our pen, continuing all this Kings time, betwixt the *Begging Friers*, and *Secular Prieſts*; the

Brawls betwixt Mendicants and Secular Prieſts.

Anno Dom. 1479. Anno Regis Ed. 4. 10.

the former not content to cry up the dignity of their own *Order*, but caſt contempt on the reſt of the *Clergie*. But theſe *bold Beggers met with as bold ſayers nay*, I mean, theſe *Mendicants* found their matches in the *Secular Prieſts*, effectually humbling their pride herein. For it was beheld as a moſt *peſtiferous doctrine*, the Friers ſo heightning the perfection of begging, that according to their principles all the *Prieſthood* and *Prelacy* in the Land, yea, by conſequence the *Pope* himſelf did fall ſhort of the ſanctity of their *Order*. Yet hard was it for them to perſwade his *Holineſs* to quit *Peters Patrimony*, and betake himſelf to poverty, although a *Fryer* (*Thomas Holden* by name) did not bluſh to preach at *Pauls Croſs*, that [a] *Chriſt himſelf* (as *firſt Founder* of their *Society*) was a *Beggar*, a manifeſt untruth, and eaſily confuted out of *Scripture*.

[a] *Fox Acts and Mon. p. 717.*

Chriſt falſely traduced to be a beggar.

36. For vaſt the difference betwixt *begging*, and taking what the bounty of others doth freely confer, as our *Saviour* did from ſuch *who* [b] *miniſtred unto him of their ſubſtance*. We never read him begging any thing, ſave when from the [c] *woman of Samaria*, he asked water, a creature ſo common and needful, that it was againſt the law of nature to deny it him. Nor is it probable he was a *Mendicant*, who was rated in the *Publicans Tole-Book*, and paid *Tribute* unto [d] *Cæſar*: Not to ſay that he was ſo far from begging, that it was his cuſtom (eſpecially about the time of the *Paſſeover*) to relieve others, and *Judas* his *Purſe-bearer* was his *Almoner* to diſtribute to the *poor*.

[b] *Luke 8. 3.*
[c] *John 4. 7.*
[d] *Mat. 17. 24.*
[e] *John 13. 29.*

Writers *pro & con* in the cauſe.

37. Here it will not be amiſs to reckon up the *principal Champions* on both ſides, whoſe pens publickly appeared.

For *Mendicants*.	Againſt *Mendicants*.
1. *Henry* [f] *Parker*, a *Carmelite*, bred in *Cambridg*, living afterwards in *Doncaſter Covent*, impriſoned for preaching.	1. *Thomas* [h] *wilton*, *Doctor* of *both Laws*, and, ſay ſome, Dean of Saint *Pauls*, moſt zealous in his preachings and diſputings.
2. *Jo.* [g] *Milverton*, bred in *Oxford*, *Carm.* of *Briſtol*, being excommunicated by the *Biſhop* of *London*, and appealing to the *Pope*, found no favour, but was kept three years captive in S[t] *Angelo*.	2. *William Ive* [i] Canon of S[t] *Pauls* in *London*, who wrote very learnedly in the defence of *Rich. Hill*, *Biſhop* of *London*, who impriſoned two Mendicants for their proud preaching.

[f] *Pitz. p. 660.*
[g] *Idem. p. 673*
[h] *Idem. p. 659*
[i] *Idem. p. 654*

But after *Pope Paul* the *ſecond* had interpoſed herein, concluding, *quod Chriſtus publicè mendicavit, pro damnata hæreſi undique declarandam & conculcandam eſſe*, the *Mendicants* let fall their *Bucklers*, and the controverſie ſunk in ſilence nevermore revived.

A prodigious feaſt at an Arch-Biſhops inſtallation.

38. Never had *England* at once two *Arch-Biſhops* of ſo high extraction as at this time, namely, *Thomas Bourchier*, *Son* of *Henry Earl* of *Eſſex*; and *George Nevil*, *Brother* to the *Great Earl* of *Warwick*. The latter is famous for a prodigious Feaſt, wherein, whoſo noteth the number and quality of the *Gueſts*, (all the *Nobility*, moſt of the *prime Clergie*, many of the *Great Gentry*) will wonder where he got meat for ſo many mouthes, whileſt ſuch, who number the diſhes thereof, will more admire where he got mouthes for ſo much meat. But ſee the *Bill of fare*.

Quarters

Anno Regis Ed. 4. 10. Anno Dom. 1470

Quarters * of Wheat,	300	Ducks,	4000	Cold Cuſtards,	4000
Tuns of Ale,	330	Hernſews,	400	Hot Cuſtards,	2000
Tuns of Wine,	104	Pheaſants,	200	Pikes,	300
Pipe of Spiced Wine,	1	Partriges,	500	Breams,	300
Fat Oxen,	80	Woodcocks,	4000	Seals,	8
Wilde Bulls,	6	Plovers,	400	Porpaiſes,	4
Weathers,	1004	Curlews,	100	Tarts,	400
Hoggs,	300	Quailes,	100		
Calves,	300	Egrets,	1000		
Geeſe,	3000	Rees,	200		
Capons,	3000	Bucks, Does, Roes, more then	400	Earl of *Warwick*, Steward.	
Piggs,	300	Hot Veniſon Paſties,	1506	Earl of *Bedford*, Treaſurer.	
Peacocks,	100	Cold Veniſon Paſties,	4000	Lord *Haſtings*, Controler; with many more Noble Officers.	
Cranes,	200	Diſhes of Gelly parted,	1000	Servitours,	1000
Kids,	200	Diſhes of Gelly plain,	4000	Cooks,	62
Chickens,	2000			Kitchiners,	515.
Pigeons,	4000				
Rabbits,	4000				
Bittours,	204				

* *Godwin* in his Catalogue of the Biſhops of *York*, *pag.* 65.

People preſent at this *Feaſt* needed ſtrong ſtomachs to devour, and others abſent, ſtronger faith to believe ſo much meat at one time. Take the proportion by *ſheep*, whereof *magnificent Solomon* ſpent but an [a] *hundred a day* in his *ſumptuous Court*; and here was ten times as many expended at this *Feaſt*, as he in a dayes proviſion for all his *numerous retinue*. How long this entertainment laſted is uncertain, but by the *Porke*, *Doves*, and *woodcocks* eaten therein, it plainly appears kept in *Winter*, when ſuch are in ſeaſon; and how the ſame can be reconciled with ſo much *Summer Fowl* as was here uſed, I little know, and leſs care to reſolve.

[a] 1 *King.* 4 23.

12. 1472 39. But ſeven years after, this *Arch-Biſhop* to entertain *King Edward*, made another *Feaſt* at *More-Park* in *Hertford*-ſhire, inferiour to the former for plenty, yet perchance equalling it in price. For the *King* ſeized on all his *Eſtate*, to the value of twenty thouſand prounds, amongſt which he found ſo rich a *Mitre*, that he made himſelf a *Crown* thereof. The *Arch-Biſhop* he ſent over *priſoner* to *Callis* in *France*, where *Victus jacuit in ſumma inopia*, *he was kept bound in extreme poverty*, juſtice puniſhing his former [b] prodigality, his hungry ſtomach being glad of ſuch reverſions (could he get them) which formerly the *Voider* had taken away at his *Riotous Inſtallation*.

A ſecond ſadder in the concluſion.

b *Idem ibidem.*

14. 1474 40. He was afterwards reſtored till his liberty and *Arch-Biſhoprick*, but never to the cheerfulneſs of his ſpirit, drooping till the day of his death. It added to his ſorrow that the *Kingdom* of *Scotland*, with twelve *Suffragan Biſhops* therein, formerly ſubjected to his *See*, was now by *Pope Sixtus Quintus*, freed from any further dependence thereon; S[t] *Andrews* being advanced to an *Arch-Biſhoprick*, and that *Kingdom* in *Eccleſiaſtical matters*, made intire within its ſelf: Whoſe *Biſhops* formerly repaired to *York* for their *Conſecration*, not without their great danger, eſpecially in times of hoſtility between the two *Kingdoms*. In vain did this *Nevil* plead for ſome compenſation to be given his *See* in lieu of ſo great a loſs, or at leaſtwiſe that ſome *acknowledgment* ſhould be made of his former juriſdiction; the *Pope* powerfully ordering againſt it. Henceforward no *Arch-Biſhop* of *York* medled more with *Church matters* in *Scotland*, and happy had it been if no *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* had ſince intereſted himſelf therein.

Scotland freed from the See of *York*.

Anno Dom. 1474. Anno Regis Ed. 4. 14.

John Goose Martyr.

41. About this time *John Goose*, sole *Martyr* in this *Kings Reign*, suffered at *Tower-Hill*. Let *Papists* who make themselves sport at the simplicity of his name, remember how their *Pope Os porci* or *Swines face*, could change his name into *Sergius*, which liberty if allowed here, would quickly mar their mirth. This *Goose* when ready to suffer, desired meat from the *Sheriff*, which ordered his execution, and had it granted unto him. I *will* a *eat* (saith he) *a good competent dinner, for I shall pass a sharp shower ere I come to supper.*

a *Fox Act. & Mon. de Polychron.*

King *Edward* preacheth his own Funeral Sermon.

42. King *Edward* foreseeing his approaching death (who, by intemperance in his diet, in some sort, digg'd his grave with his own teeth) caused his own, and Wives kindred (sadly privy to the grudges betwixt them) to waite on him when he lay very sick on his bed. To these he made a passionate speech, to exhort them to unite, from the profit of peace, and danger of discord: and very emphatically urged it, insomuch, that seemingly they were his *converts*, and in token thereof shook hands together, whilest their hearts, God knows, were far asunder. This speech I may call King *Edward his own Funeral Sermon*, preached by himself (and it may pass also for the Funeral Sermon of his two Sons, finding no other obsequies at their burial) though very little was really thereby effected. Thus died King *Edward*, who, contrary to the ordinary observation, that men the *elder the more covetous* (as indeed dying-mens hands grasp what is next, and hold it hard) was gripple in the beginning of his Reign, and more bountiful towards the end thereof. 1482 22.

SECT.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

SECT. III.

TO JOHN FERRARS OF TAMWORTH Caſtle, Eſquire.

SIR!

MOdeſt Beggars *in* London-*ſtreets*, *commonly chuſe* twylight *to prefer their* Petitions; *that ſo they may have* light *enough to* diſcover *Him to whom they ſue*, *and* darkneſſe *enough to* cover *and conceal themſelves.*

This may make you the more to admire my boldneſſe, *who in a* meer mid-night (*utterly* unknowing *you*, *and* unknown *to you*) *requeſt you to accept this Dedication. But know Sir, though I know not your face, I know you are a* FERRARS, *enclined by your* Extraction *to a Generous* Diſpoſition, *as I have found by one of your neareſt* Relations.

Ed. 5. 1483. 1. MIſerable King *Edward* the fifth ought to have ſucceeded his Father; but alas! He is ever pictured with a *chaſma*, or diſtance, betwixt his head, and the Crown; and, by the practice of his Uncle, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, choſen Protector (to protect him from any of his friends to come near him) was quickly made away, being a King in right, though not in poſſeſſion; as his Uncle *Richard* was in poſſeſſion, though not in right. All the paſſages whereof are ſo elegantly related by Sir *Thomas More*, that a man ſhall get little who comes with a *forke*, where Sr *Thomas* hath gone with a *rake* before him, and by his judicious induſtry collected all remarkables. Onely (as proper to our employment) let us take notice of the carriage of the Clergie in theſe diſtractions.

After *More*, no more.

Anno Dom. 1483 | Anno Regis Ed. 5. 22.

Clergy complying, not active.

2. Although moſt of the Prelates were guilty of cowardly compliance with King *Richard*, yet we finde none eminently active on his ſide. Indeed the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was employed to get *Richard* Duke of *York*, from his Queen-Mother in the Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*, and very pathetical he was in the perſwading her to part with him: haply on a point of conſcience, as fearing, if denied, ſome injury would be offered to the prejudice of the Church, and therefore more willing himſelf to wooe him from her with eloquence, then that others ſhould wreſt him thence with violence. Yet he is generally conceived innocent herein, as not as yet ſuſpecting any fraud in the Duke of *Gloceſter*: except any will ſay, that it was a fault in him, that ſo great a States-man was no wiſer, then to have been deceived by his diſſimulation.

Shaw: ſhameleſs Sermon.

3 But of the inferiour Clergie, Dr *Shaw*, a popular preacher, made himſelf infamous to all poſterity. His Sermon at St *Pauls Croſs* had nothing but the text (and that in the [a] *Apocrypha*) good therein; as conſiſting of two parts, defaming of the dead, and flattering of the living; making King *Edward* far worſe then he was, and Duke *Richard* far better then ever he would be. He made King *Edward* the fourth, and the Duke of *Clarence*, both to be baſtards, and Duke *Richard* onely right begotten, ſo proclaiming *Cicilie* his Mother (ſtill ſurviving) for a whore; all being done by ſecret inſtructions from Duke *Richard* himſelf, who hereby gave a worſe wound to his Mothers credit, then that which at his birth he cauſed to her body, being (as it is commonly reported) cut out from her. With *Shaw* we may couple another brawling cur of the ſame litter, *Pynkney* the Provincial of the Auguſtinian Friers, who in the ſame place uſed ſo loud adulation, he loſt his credit, conſcience, and voice, altogether. Theſe two were all (and they too many) of the Clergie whom I finde actively ingaging on his party, whileſt multitudes of the Laity ſided with him. So that thorough the popularity of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Law-learning of *Catesby*, the City-intereſt of *Shaw*, (then Lord Major of *London*, and brother to the preacher) the rugged rigor of *Ratcliffe*, and the aſſiſtance of other inſtruments in their ſeveral ſpheres, the Queens kindred were killed, the Lord *Haſtings* murdered, King *Edward* and his Brother impriſoned, and at laſt *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* elected King of *England*. *Ric.3* 1.

[a] *Eccleſ.* 23. 25. *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas.*

The ſumptuous Coronation of King *Richard*.

4. His Coronation was performed with more pomp then any of his Predeceſſours; as if he intended with the glory thereof, ſo to dazle vulgar eyes, that they ſhould not be able to ſee the ſhame of his uſurpation. Indeed ſome of our Engliſh Kings, who by undouoted right ſucceeded to the Crown, accounted their Coronation but a matter of courſe (which did not *make* but *manifeſt* them to be Kings) and ſo leſs curious in the pompous celebration thereof. But this Uſurper appprehended this ceremony more ſubſtantial, and therefore was moſt punctual in the obſervation of it, cauſing all the Nobility, who held Lands in grand Soveraignty, to do their ſervice in ſtate: amongſt whom *Richard Dimock*, Eſquire, hereditary Champion by tenure, with a ſafe piece of valour (having ſo many to back him) caſt down his Gauntlet, challenging any that durſt oppoſe the title of King *Richard*, and (for ought I do know to the contrary) he afterwards made his challenge good in *Boſworth* field. And, becauſe *ſure binde, ſure finde*; he is ſaid, and his Queen, to be Crowned again in *York* with great ſolemnity.

King *Edward* and his brother ſtifled.

5. Soon after followed the murder of King *Edward*, and his Brother *Richard* Duke of *York*. It was high time they ſhould ſet, when another already was riſen in the throne. By a bloudy bloudleſs death they were ſtifled with pillows, and then obſcurely buried. The uncertainty of their interment gave the advantage to *Perkin Warbeck*, afterwards to counterfeit *Richard* Duke of *York*: ſo like unto him in age, carriage, ſtature, feature, favour, that he wanted nothing but ſucceſs; to make him who did but perſonate Duke *Richard*, to paſs current for the perſon of Duke *Richard*.

6. After

Anno Regis Ric. 3. 2 | Anno Dom. 1484

6. After this bloudy act, King *Richard* endeavoured to render himself popular. First by making good Laws in that sole Parliament kept in his Reign. *Benevolence*, *malevolence*, which formerly the subjects *unwillingly willing* had paid to their Soveraign (power, where it requests, commands; it not being so much thank-worthy to grant, as dangerous to deny it) he retrenched, and reduced to be granted onely in Parliament. He regulated Trading, which the *Lombards*, and other foraigners had much ingrossed, to the detriment of the English Nation. Now, although all people carry much of their love and loyaltie in their purses, yet all this would not ingratiate this Usurper with them, the dullest nostrils resenting it done, not for love of vertue, but his own security. And, that affects none, which all palpably discover to be affected.

King *Richard* vainly endeavoureth to ingratiate himself by makeing good Laws.

7. Next he endeavoured to work himself into their good will, by erecting and endowing of Religious Houses; so to plausiblelize himself, especialy among the Clergy. Thus he built one far North, at *Middleham*, and and a College in the Parish of [a] *Alhallows-Barking*, hard by the Tower, as if he intended by the vicinity thereof, to expiate those many murders, which he therein had committed. Besides, he for his time dis-Forested *Whichwood* in [b] *Oxford*-shire (then far more extended then in our Age) which his brother *Edward* had made Forest to the great grievance of the Country thereabouts. Yet all would not do, the people being [illegible] patient for an injury done by King *Edward*, then thankful for the favour this *Richard* bestowed upon them. He is said also to have given to *Queens Colledge* in *Cambridg* [c] five hundred marks of yearly rent; though at this time, I believe, the College receives as little benefit by the Grant, as *Richard* had right to grant it. For, it was not issued out of his own purse, but given out of the lands of his enemy, the unjustly proscribed Earl of *Oxford*; who being restored by *Henry* the seventh, made a resumption thereof.

As also by building of Monasteries.

a *Stows* Survey of *London*, in Tower-street Ward.

c *Cambdens Brit.* in *Oxford* shire, *pag.* 374. out of *John Rouse*.

c *Stow* in his Annals, p. 470.

8. Duke *Richard* was low in stature, crook-backed, with one shoulder higher then the other, having a prominent gobber-tooth, a war-like countenance which well enough became a souldier. Yet a modern [d] Author, in a Book by him lately set forth, eveneth his shoulders, smootheth his back, planeth his teeth, maketh him in all points a comly, and beautiful person. Nor stoppeth he here, but proceeding from his naturals to his morals, maketh him as vertuous, as handsome (which in some sense may be allowed to be true) concealing most, denying some, defending others of his foulest facts, wherewith in all ages since he standeth charged on record. For mine own part, I confess it no heresie to maintain a paradox in History, nor am I such an enemy to wit, as not to allow it leave harmlesly to disport it self for its own content, and the delight of others. Thus *Cardan* hath written his *Encomium Neronis*, and others (best husbandmen who can improve the barrenest ground) have by art endeavoured to praise as improbable subjects. But, when men shall do it cordially, in sober sadness, to pervert peoples judgments, and therein go against all received Records, I say, singularity is the least fault can be laid to such mens charge. Besides, there are some Birds (Sea-pies by name) who cannot rise except it be by flying against the winde, as some hope to atchieve their advancement, by being contrary, and paradoxal in judgment to all before them.

Art hath done more for King *Richard*, then ever nature did.

e *George Buck* Esqus a claw-back to Crook-back.

9. Soon after followed the execution of the Duke of *Buckingham*, King *Richard* his grand enginere, or, *Master of the fabrick of his preferment*. The occasion thus; The Duke requested-required of King *Richard* (as confident that his merits were incapable of a denial) the Earldome of *Hereford*, and the hereditary Constable-ship of *England*, laying title to them by discent. Well did he ask both together, which would be granted both together. For the Earldome of *Hereford* was an *Abishag*, concubine to the former Kings of *England*, which had long lien in the Crown (whilest in the Lancastrian line) so imbraced and interlaced therewith, that it was difficult to dissever them. And

The request of the Duke of *Buckingham* denied.

And the affecting thereof proved as fatall to *Buckingham*, as the desiring of the other was to *Adonijah*, being interpreted in both an ambition of the Kingdome. The Hereditary Constableship was conceived too unlimited a power to be trusted to a Subject, lest he should make more disorder, then he should mend therewith; so that in fine, *both* in effect were denied unto him. Anno Dom. 1484. Anno Regis Ric. 3. 2.

Buckingham surprised and beheaded.

10. *Buckingham* stormes thereat, Shall a Coronet be denied him, by him, on whom he had conferred a Crown? Yet, what anger soever boiled in his heart, none ran over in his mouth, pretending very fair in his behaviour. But, *hard it is to halt before a cripple*, and dissemble before King *Richard*. The Duke withdraws to *Brecknock* in *Wales*, with his prisoner Bishop *Morton* of *Elie* (committed unto him by the King on some distaste) who tampered with him about the marriage of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, with the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth. The Duke carried himself so open therein, that (surprised by King *Richard*) his head was divorced from his body, before this marriage was compleated.

Morton make-peace.

11. More cunning was Bishop *Morton* to get himself over into *France*, there to contrive the Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. If, *Blessed be the peace-makers*, be pronounced of such as reconcile party and party: how much more must it be true of his memory, the happy instrument to unite *those Houses*, to the saving of the effusion of so much bloud. Some will say, it was a design obvious to every capacity, to make such an union. But, we all know, when a thing is done, then it is easie for any to do it. Besides, it is one thing for men in their brains barely, and notionally to apprehend a project; and another (as our *Morton* did) to elect proportionable means, and, by the vigorous prosecution thereof, really to effect it.

Mr *Pryn* charged for charging Bishop *Morton* of Treason.

12. A modern Writer in his voluminous book, which he hath Entituled, *The Rebellions, Treasons, Conspiracies, Antimonarchical practises &c. of the English Prelates*, to swell his number, chargeth this Bishop *Morton* with Treason against King *Richard* the third. But, is it treason for one, in favour of the true heir, to oppose an Usurper in Title, and Tyrant in practice? Surely unbiased judgments behold *Morton* herein under a better notion. Had this Bishop been active on King *Richards* side, how would the same Author have proclaimed him for a Traitor against King *Henry* the seventh? Thus I see an inevitable necessity, that *Morton* must be a Traitor whatsoever he did; and can observe, that no practice will please which cometh from one, whose person, or profession is distasted.

Earl *Henry* landeth at *Milford* Haven.

13. But King *Richard* his cruelties had so tired out Divine patience, that his punishment could be no longer deferred. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* lands with an handful of men at *Milford* Haven. A landing place politickly chosen, near *Pembroke*, the place of his Nativity, in the heart of his Countrymen, and Kinsmen, the *Welsh* (his grand-father *Owen ap Theodore*, *alias*, *Tuthar*, having thence his extraction) and far from *London*, the Magazine of King *Richards* might. From *Milford* the Earl marched North-East, through the bowels of *Wales*; and, both his Army, and the fame thereof, *crevit eundo*, *grew by going*. Many old Propheſies (the people about *Leicester* will load a stranger with them) were fulfilled in him, and this amongst the rest may be remembred. It was foretold, that in a great battle, which was to be fought near *Leicester*, whosoever should *shoot the arrow first*, *should have the victory*. This most understood, that the archer in the fight which should first let loose, should gain the day to his side. When behold the Earl of *Richmond*, bending his march out of *Wales*, to the middle of *England*, first passed *Arrow*, a rivolet in the confines of *Worcester* and *Warwick*-shire, and accordingly proved victorious. For into *Leicester*-shire he came, and in the navel thereof is met by King *Richard*, and next morning both sides determine to trie their fortunes in fight. This night the Earl had sweet and quiet rest, whilest King *Richard* his guilty conscience was frighted with hideous dreams, 1585 3.

Anno Regis Ric. 3. 3. Anno Dom. 1485

dreams, and fanciful apparitions, as no wonder if no pillow could give him quiet sleep, who with a pillow had so lately smothered his Lord and Master.

14. The Battle is called the Battle of *Bosworth* (though fought full three miles from the [a] Town, and nearer other Country Villages) because *Bosworth* is the next Town of note thereunto. The Earls Army fell far short of the Kings in number, and Armes; equalled it in courage, exceeded it in cause, and success. Indeed the Kings Army was *hollow at the heart*, many marching in his *main battle*, who were much suspected (and therefore purposely placed there to secure them from flying out) and fought as unwilling to overcome. Yet the scales of victory seemed for a long time so equal, that an exact eye could not discern on which side the beam did break. At last the coming in of the *Lord Stanley* with three thousand fresh men, decided the controversie on the Earls side. King *Richard* fighting (valiantly, so his friends; desperately, say his foes) fell in the midst of his enemies, and his corps were disgracefully carried to *Leicester*, without a rag to cover his nakedness; as if no modest usage was due to him when dead, who had been so shameless in his cruelty when alive. The *Crown ornamental* being found on his head, was removed to the Earls, and he Crowned in the field, and *Te Deum* was solemnly sung by the whole Army.

The Battle of *Bosworth*.

[a] *Burton* in his description of *Leicestershire*.

Hen. 7 1.

15. Soon after King *Henry* married the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter unto King *Edward* the fourth, whereby those Roses (which formerly with their prickles had rent each other) were united together. Yea, sixfold was King *Henry* his title to the Crown. First, Conquest. Secondly, Military election, the Souldiers crying out in the field, King *Henry*, King *Henry*. Thirdly, Parliamentary Authority, which setled the Crown on Him, and His Heirs. Fourthly, Papal confirmation, his Holiness, forsooth, concurring with his religious complement. Fifthly, Discent from the House of *Lancaster*. But, that (all know) was but the *back-door* to the Crown, and this *Henry* came in but by a *window* to that *back-door* (there being some bastardy in his pedigree) but that was salved by *post-legitimation*. Sixthly, Marriage of King *Edwards* Daughter, the first and last being worth all the rest. Thus had he *six strings to his bow*, but commonly he let five *hang by*, and onely made use of that one, which, for the present, he perceived was most for his own advantage. Yet, for all these his Titles, this politick Prince thought fit to have his Person well secured, and was the first King of *England* who had a standing Guard to attend him.

Henry the seventh his sixfold title to the Crown.

2. 1586

16. *Thomas Bourchier* Cardinal, and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, had the honour first to marry, then to Crown King *Henry* and the Lady *Elizabeth*. And then having sitten in a short Synod at *London* (wherein the Clergie presented their new King with a tenth) quietly ended his life, having sate in his See two and thirty years. He gave an hundred and twenty pounds to the University of *Cambridg*, which was joyned with another hundred pounds which Mr *Billingsforth* (Master of *Bennet* Colledg) had some years before given to the said University; and this joynt stock was put into a Chest, called at this day, the Chest of *Billingforth and Bourchier*; and Treasurers are every year chosen for the safe keeping thereof.

The death of Arch-Bishop *Bourchier*.

17. *John Morton* born (say some) at *Beare*, but more truly at St *Andrews Milbourne* in *Dorcet*-shire (where a worshipful family of his name and lineage remain at this day) succeeded him in the See at *Canterbury*. He was formerly Bishop of *Elie*, and appointed by *Edward* the fourth, one of the *Executors* of his Will, and on that account hated of King *Richard* the third, the *Executioner* thereof. He was, as aforesaid, imprisoned, because he would not betray his trust, fled into *France*, returned, and justly advanced by King *Henry*, first to be Chancellor of *England*, and then to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

John Morton succeeded him.

18. Now

A gift not worth the taking.

18. Now began the Pope to be very busie by his officers, to collect vast summes of money in *England*, presuming at the Kings connivance thereat, whom he had lately gratified with a needless Dispensation, to Legitimate his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Cousin so far off, it would half pose a Herald to recover their Kindred; For, Anno Dom. 1486. Anno Regis Hen. 7. 2.

1. *Edward* the third, on *Philippa* his Queen, begat

2. *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, who on *Elizabeth* his Lady, begat
3. *Philippa* on whom *Edward Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, begat
4. *Roger* Earl of *March*, who on begat
5. *Anne*, on whom *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, begat
6. *Edward* the fourth King of *England*, who on *Elizabeth Woodvile*, begat
7. *Elizabeth* his Eldest Daughter, who was married unto

2. *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, who of *Katharine Swinford*, begat
3. *John de Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, who on begat
4. *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, who on *Marg. Beauchamp*, begat
5. *Margaret* on whom *Edmund Tuther* Earl of *Richmond* begat
6. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, afterwards (7th of that name) King of *England*.

Neither Law, Divine or Civil, forbad marriage at this distance; but the Pope would be over-officious, both to oblige the King, and interest himself, as if no Princes could well be married, except the Pope had a finger in joyning their hands together.

Exorbitancies of Sanctuaries retrenched.

19. More material to the King was the help of his Holiness, to regulate the exorbitancies of abused Sanctuaries: In this age could an offendor get such an house over his head, he accounted himself instantly innocent, though not in conscience, yet as to outward punishment, the Kings enemies once Sanctuaried, daring him no less then the Jebusites in their strong fort of *Sion* defied *David*, [a] *Though shalt not come in hither*, : The Pope therefore, in favour of the King, and indeed of equity it self, ordered, 1487 3.

a 2 *Sam.* 5. 6.

b Lord *Verulam* in *Hen* 7. *pag.* 39.

1. [b] That if any Sanctuary man did by might or otherwise, get out of Sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of Sanctuary for ever after.
2. That howsoever the person of the Sanctuary man was protected from his Creditors, yet his goods out of Sanctuary should not.
3. That if any took Sanctuary for cause of Treason, the King might appoint him keepers to look to him in Sanctuary.

Surely had the King been pleased to interpose his own power, he might have reformed these abuses; but he thought fitter to make use of the Popes *Spiritual artillery*, against these *Spiritual Castles of Rebellion*, that he might not seem to intrench on their lawful priviledges, having formerly, at least in pretence, appeared a great Patron of Sanctuaries, and a severe punisher of the unjust infringers thereof. On which account this King (who was never uxorious husband, nor over-dutiful son in law, confined the Queen Dowager, his wives Mother) to a Religious House in *Bermansey*, because three years since

she

Anno Regis Hen. 7. 4. Anno Dom. 1488.

ſhe had ſurrendred her two Daughters out of the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, to *Richard* Duke of *York*.

20. A Synod was holden by Arch-Biſhop *Morton* at *London*, wherein the Luxury of the *London* [a] Clergie in cloaths (that City alwayes the ſtaple of bravery) with their frequenting of Taverns was forbidden; ſuch Preachers alſo were puniſhed, who with popular applauſe enveighed againſt Biſhops in their abſence; the next year alſo a Synod was called, but little therein effected, but vaſt ſummes of money granted by the Clergie to the King.

Two Synods at *London*.

a *Antiquit. Brit. pag.* 298.

5. 1489

21. *John Giglis* an Italian, about this time imployed by the Pope, got an infinite maſs of money, having power from the Pope to abſolve people from Uſury, Symonie, Theft, Manſlaughter, Fornication, Adultery, and all crimes whatſoever, ſaving Smiting of the Clergie, and conſpiring againſt the Pope; and ſome few cales reſerved alone to his Holineſs: This *Gigies* gat for himſelf the rich Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*; yea, we obſerve, that in that See a *Team* of Four [b] Italians followed each other.

Italians good at getting and holding.

b *Godwin* in his Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Nor.* p. 520.

1. *John Giglis.*	3. *Julius Medices*, afterwards *Clement* the 7th.
2. *Silveſter Giglis.*	4. *Hieronymis de Negutiis.*

Thus as weeds in a garden, once got in, hardly got out, as *ſowing themſelves*, ſo theſe Italians having planted themſelves in that rich place, were never gotten out (pleading as it were preſcription of almoſt fourty years poſſeſſion) till the power of the Pope was partly baniſhed *England*, and then *Hugh Latimer* was placed in the Biſhoprick.

10. 1494

22. Arch-Biſhop *Morton*, as one much meriting from the Pope, was not onely honoured with a Cardinals Hat, of the title of S^t *Anaſtatius*, but alſo privileged from his Holineſs, to viſit all places formerly exempt from Archiepiſcopal juriſdiction. Impowring him alſo to diſpenſe his Pardons where he ſaw juſt cauſe. Hereupon *Rocheſter* Bridge being broken down (*Morton* to appear a *Pontifex* indeed, beſtowed remiſſion from [c] Purgatory for all ſins whatſoever committed within the compaſs fourty dayes, to ſuch as ſhould Bountifully contribute to the building thereof.

Rocheſter Bridg repaired by Pardons.

c *Antiquit. Brit.* p. 298.

23. The King had more then a *moneths minde* (keeping ſeven years in that humour) to procure the Pope to Canonize King *Henry* the ſixth for a Saint. For Engliſh Saint-Kings ſo frequent before the Conqueſt, were grown great dainties ſince that time. *France* lately had her King Saint *Lewis*, and why ſhould not *England* receive the like favour, being no leſs beneficial to the Church of *Rome*? Nor could the unhappineſs of our King *Henry* (becauſe Depoſed from his Throne) be any juſt bar to his Saintſhip, ſeeing generally Gods beſt ſervants are moſt ſubject to the ſharpeſt afflictions. His Canonizing would add much Luſtre of the Line of *Lancaſter*, which made his Kinſman and mediate ſucceſſor King *Henry* the ſeventh ſo deſirous thereof. Beſides, well might he be made a Saint who had been a Prophet. For when the Wars between *Lancaſter* and *York* firſt began, *Henry* the ſixth beholding this *Henry* the ſeventh, then but a Boy playing in the Court, ſaid to the ſtanders by, *See this youth one day will quietly enjoy what we at this time ſo much fight about.* This made the King with much importunity to tender this his requeſt unto the Pope. A requeſt the more reaſonable, becauſe it was well nigh fourty years ſince the death of that *Henry*, ſo that onely the skeletons of his vertues remained in mens memories, the fleſh and corruption (as one may ſay) of his faults being quite conſumed and forgotten.

The King deſired King *Henry* then the ſixth to be Sainted.

24. Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, inſtead of granting his requeſt, acquainted him with the requiſites belonging to the making of a Saint. Firſt, that to confer that honour (the greateſt on earth) was onely in the power of the Pope, the proper judg of mens merits therein. Secondly, that Saints

The requiſites to a Canonization.

were not to be multiplied but on just motions, lest commonness should cause their contempt. Thirdly, that his life must be exemplarily holy, by the testimony of credible witnesses. Fourthly, that such must attest the truth of reall Miracles wrought by him after death. Fifthly, that very great was the cost thereof, because all Chaunters, Choristers, * Bell-ringers (not the least clapper in the steeple wagging, except money was tied to the end of the rope) with all the officers of the Church of Saint *Peter*, together with the Commissaries and Notaries of the Court, with all the officers of the Popes Bed-chamber, to the very Lock-smiths, ought to have their several fees of such Canonization. Adding that the total summe would amount to fifteen hundred Duckets [a] of Gold.

Anno Dom. 1494. Anno Regni Hen. 7. 10.

*The Latin is *Parafrenarii*.

a *Antiq. Brit. pag. 299.*

Tantæ Molis erat Romanum condere Sanctum.

Concluding with that which made the charges, though not *infinite, indefinite*, that the costs were to be multiplied, *secundum Canonizati Potentiam, according to the power or dignity of the person to be Canonized.* And certain it was, the Court of *Rome* would not behold this *Henry* the sixth in the notion he died in, as a poor prisoner, but as he lived a King, so long as he had this *Henry* his Kinsman to pay for the same.

These applied to King *Hen. 6.*

25. Most of these requisites met in King *Henry* the sixth, in a competent measure. First, the holiness of his life was confessed by all, save that some sullen persons suggested that his simplicity was above his Sanctity, and his life pious, not so much out of hatred, as ignorance of badness. As for Miracles, there was no want of them, if credible persons might be believed, two of whose Miracles it will not be amiss to recite.

A brace of Miracles wrought by King *Hen. 6.*

25. *Thomas Fuller*, a very honest [b] man, living at *Hammersmith*, near *London*, had a hard hap accidentally to light into the company of one who had stolen and driven away Cattle, with whom, though wholly innocent, he was taken, arraigned, condemned, and executed: When on the Gallows, blessed King *Henry* (loving justice when alive, and willing to preserve innocence after death) appeared unto him, so ordering the matter, that the halter did not strangle him. For having hung an whole hour, and taken down to be buried, he was found alive; for which favour he repaired to the Tomb of King *Henry* at *Chertsey* (as he was bound to do no less) and there presented his humble and hearty thanks unto him for his deliverance. The very same accident *mutatis mutandis*, of place and persons (with some addition about the apparition of the Virgin *Mary*) hapned to *Richard Boyes*, dwelling within a mile of *Bath*, the story so like, all may believe them equally true.

b *Harpsfield Hist. Ecclesiastica Saculo decimo quinto pag. 846.*

26. All the premisses required to a Saint, appearing in some moderate proportion in *Henry* the sixth, especially if charitably interpreted (Saints themselves needs some favour to be afforded them) it was the general expectation that he should be suddenly Canonized. But Pope *Alexander* the sixth delaied, and in effect denied King *Henry*'s desire herein, yea, *Julius* his next successor of continuance (not to mention the short liv'd *Pius* the third) continued as sturdy in his denial.

Reasons why King *Hen. 6.* was not Sainted

27. Men variously conjecture why the Pope in effect should deny to Canonize King *Henry* the sixth; a witty, but tart reason is rendred by a Noble [c] pen, because the Pope would put a difference betwixt a *Saint* and an *Innocent*: But others conceive King *Henry* not so simple himself, his parts onely seeming the lower, being over-topped with a high spirited Queen; more probable it is what another [d] saith, that seeing King *Henry* held the Crown by a false title, from the true heir thereof; the Pope could not with so good credit fasten a Saintship on his memory. But our great [e] Antiquary resolveth all in the Popes covetousness, *In causa fuit Pontificis avaritia*, demanding more then thrifty King *Henry* the seventh would allow; Who at last

c The Lord *Bacon.*

d See Mr *Habington* in the life of *Ed. 4.*

e *Camd. Brit.* & *Surrey.*

Anno Regis Hen. 7. 10. Anno Dom. 1494. laſt contented himſelf (by the Popes leave hardly obtained) to remove his Corps from *Cherſey* in *Surrey*, where it was obſcurely Interred, to *Windſor* Chappel, a place of greater reputation. Thus is he whom Authors have obſerved twice Crowned, twice Depoſed, twice Buried; the beſt was, though he was not Canonized, yet there was plenty of Popiſh Saints beſide him, wherewith the Calender is ſo overſtocked, that for want of room they juſtle one another.

14. 1497 28. But the Sainſhip of *Anſelme*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was procured on cheaper terms, though it coſt Arch-Biſhop *Morton* much money, who procured the ſame. Indeed *Anſelme* being *alterius orbis Papa, the Pope of the Engliſh world* (as the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was termed) no wonder if one Pope upon reaſonable termes, did this courteſie for another. Beſides, great was the merit of *Anſelme* to the Church of *Rome* (little whereof goes far to obtain a Canonization) ſeeing he was the Champion and confeſſor of the Popes cauſe, about inveſting of Biſhops, againſt two Kings ſucceſſively, *William Rufus*, and King *Henry* the firſt.

Arch-Biſhop *Morton* procureth the Sainting of *Anſelm.*

29. Obſervable was the carriage of King *Henry* towards the *Pope*, the *Clergie*, and the poor *Lollards*. To the *Pope* he was ſubmiſſive, not ſervile, his devotion being ſeldom without deſign, ſo uſing his Holineſs, that he ſeldom ſtooped down to him in any low reverence, but with the ſame geſture he took up ſomething in order to his own ends.

The Kings carriage to the Pope.

30. To the Clergie of deſert he was very reſpectful, truſting and imploying them in State affairs, more then his Nobility. To the diſſolute and vitious Clergie he was juſtly ſevere, and pared their priviledges, ordeining that *Clerks* [a] *convict ſhould be burnt in the hand*; both that they might taſte a corporal puniſhment, and carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act, the King himſelf was afterwards branded by *Mock-King-Perkins* proclamation for an execrable breaker of the Rights of Holy Church. He alſo made a [b] Law, that begging ſcholars, though Clerks, ſhould be reputed Vagabonds, without they ſhew the Letters of the Chancellor of the Univerſity, from whence he ſaith he cometh.

Severe to the vitious Clergie.

[a] Lord *Verulam* in *Hen.* 7. *pag.* 66.

[b] Statutes *undecimo* Hen. 7. *cap.* 2.

31. To the *Lollards* (ſo were Gods people nick-named) he was more cruel then his predeceſſors; for he not onely in the beginning of his Reign connived at the cruel perſecutions which *Jo. Halſe* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* raiſed againſt them, but towards the end of his Reign appeared in his perſon very bloudy unto them, if the ſtory be true which is very lamely delivered unto us. There was in *Canterbury* an old Prieſt ſo reſolute in *Wicliffs* opinions, that none of the Clergie there could convince him of the contrary: The King caſually coming thither in the moneth of *May*, undertook the Prieſt himſelf, though we never read before of his Majeſties diſputing, ſave when he diſputed *Boſworth field* with King *Richard* the third. The King, by what arguments we know not, converted this Prieſt, and then preſently gave order he ſhould be burnt, which was done [c] accordingly. Surely there was more in the matter, then what appeared in the Record, or elſe one may boldly ſay, that if the *Kings Converts* had no better incouragement, this was the firſt he made, and the laſt he was ever likely to make.

Sad to be the Kings Convert.

14. 1498

[c] *Fox Acts & Mon. pag.* 556.

32. Two moſt needleſs pieces of Cruelty were committed at this time, the one, an aged old man burnt in *Smithfield*, the other, one *Joan Baughton* widow, which ſeemeth a woman of ſome quality, as Mother to the Lady *Young* (who was afterwards Martyred) ſhe being fourſcore [d] years of age, was burnt for an Heretick, poſting her to the Stake which was going to the Grave.

Needleſs cruelty.

[d] *Fox, Ibid.*

33. *William Smith*, ſometimes Fellow of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridg*, and Biſhop of *Lincoln*, this year began the Foundation of *Braſen-noſe* Colledg in *Oxford*; I meet not with any ſatisfactory reaſon why ſo called, ſave the fancy of the Founder. Except any will ſay, it was ſo named, becauſe built [e] where anciently *Braſen-noſe Hall* ſtood, though this does not ſo much re-

The Found. ing of *Braſen-noſe* Colledg.

solve the Question, as put it a degree further off. But when such who cavil at the name, build a Colledg, it shall be left at their free liberty to call it according to their own pleasure. This Bishop lived not to finish his intentions, and therefore after his death *Richard Sutton* Esq; took upon him to perfect the same, and accomplished it accordingly.

Anno Dom. 1498 — Anno Regis Hen. 7 14

Principals.	*Bishops.*	*Benefactors.*	*Learned men.*
Matthew Smith.	*Richard Barnes,* Bishop of *Durham.*	*William Clifton.*	*Richard Caldwell,* Doctor of Physick, and [a] Founder of a *Chirurgery* Lecture in *London.*
John Hawarden.		*William Porter.*	
Tho. Blanchard.		*Jo. Elton,* alias *Baker.*	
Rich. Harris.		*Hum. Ogle.*	
Alex. Noel.		*Edw. Darby.*	
Tho. Singleton.		*Jo. Claymond.*	
Dr *Ratcliffe.*		*Jo. Williamson.*	
Tho. Yates.		*Brian Higden.*	
Dr *Greenbelgod*		*Alexand. Noel.*	
		Joyce Frankland.	
		Richard Harper.	
		Sr *Jo. Port.*	*Ro. Bolton,* a famous Preacher.
		Jo. Lord *Mordant.*	
		Dr *Jo. Barneston.*	
		Geo. Palin.	

[a] *Camdens Eliz.* in *Anno* 1585.

So that at this present the Colledg is much beautified with buildings, and ornaments, for the perfecting whereof, great summes have been expended within these few last years; maintaining a Principal, twenty Fellows, besides Scholars, Officers and Servants of the Foundation, in all *Anno* 1634. amounting to one hundred eighty six. *Cheshire-men,* whose County is called *Nobilitatis Altrix,* and those of *Lancashire* (most commendable *ob honitatem habitudinis & decorem aspectus*) are in this Colledg most proper for preferment.

The Death of Arch-Bishop *Morton.*

34. *John Morton* Cardinal and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* deceased, many condemned him in his life for acting and putting the King forward to be burthensome to his Subjects with his Taxes; but his innocence appeared after his death, that he rather tempered the Kings covetousness then otherwise: He was a Learned man, and had a fair Library (*Rebus's'd* with *More* in text and *Tun* under it) partly remaining in the possession of the late *Earl of Arundell.* I finde him in the Catalogue of the Benefactors of S[t] *John's* Colledg in *Cambridg,* understand it by his Executors, otherwise the first Brick of that House was laid nine years after the Arch-Bishops death. Now as this was a sad year to *Canterbury,* wherein their good Arch-Bishop departed, so was it a joyful year at *Rome* for the coming in of that Jubilee, which brought men and money there: Yet many went to *Rome* in effect, which staied in *England,* by commuting their journey into money, which was equally meritorious, the Popes Officers being come over to receive the same. 1500 16

The End of the Fifteenth Century.

THE Church-History OF BRITAINE.

The Fifth Book.

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.



LONDON,
Printed in the Year, M. DC. LV.



THE EIGHTH
KING HENRY
OF
CONTAINING THE REIGN
THE FIFTH BOOK
BRITAINE
OF
CHURCH-HISTORY
THE

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.



To the Right Honourable,

LIONEL CRANFIELD,

EARL of *MIDDLESEX*,

BARON *CRANFIELD*

OF

CRANFIELD, &c.

SAint PAUL *gave a great charge to* * Timothy *to bring the* Cloak which he left at *Troas*, but especially the Parchments. *Here we have the* Inventory *of a* Preachers *estate, consisting of a* few Cloathes *and* Books, *what he* wore, *and what he had* written. *But the* Apostles *care was not so much concerned in his* Cloathes (*which might be bought new*) *as in his* Writings, *where the damage could not be repaired.* * 2 Tim. 4. 13.

I am sadly sensible (though far be it from me to compare Scribling *with* Scripture) *what the loss of a* Library (*especially of* Manuscripts) *is to a* Minister, *whose* Books *have passed such hands which made* riddance *of* many, *but* havock *of* more.

Was

Anno Dom. Anno Regis

Was it not cruelty to torture *a Library, by* maiming *and* mangling *the* Authors *therein? neither* leaving *nor* taking *them intire. Would they had* took leſs, *that ſo what they* left *might have been* uſeful *to* me, *or* left leſs, *that ſo what they* took *might have been* uſeful *to* others. *Whereas now,* miſchievous Ignorance *did a prejudice to me, without a profit to its ſelf, or any body elſe.*

But would to God *all my* fellow Brethren, *which with* me *bemoan the* loſs *of their* Books, *with* me *might alſo* rejoyce *for the* recovery *thereof, though not the ſame numerical Volumes. Thanks be to your* Honour, *who have beſtow'd on me* (*the* Treaſure *of a* Lord-Treaſurer) *what remained of* your Fathers *Library. Your* Father, *who was the* greateſt Honourer, *and* Diſgracer *of* Students, *bred in Learning.* Honourer, *giving due reſpect to all men of merit:* Diſgracer, *who by his meer* natural parts *and* experience, *acquired that perfection of* invention, expreſsion *and* judgment, *to which thoſe who make* learning *their* ſole ſtudy *do never arive.*

It was a Gift *I confeſs, better proportioned to your* Dignity *then my* deſerts, *too great, not for your* Honour *to beſtow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God by your bounty equivalently reſtored unto me, what* the Locuſts and the Palmer worme *&c.* have devoured, *ſo that now I envy not the* Popes Vatican, *for the numerouſneſs of Books, & variety of Editions therein, enough for* uſe, *being as good, as* ſtore *for* ſtate, *or* ſuperfluity *for* magnificence. *However hereafter I ſhall behold my ſelf under no other notion then as your* Lordſhips Library-keeper, *and conceive it my duty, not onely to ſee* your Books *dry'd and rubb'd* (*to* rout *thoſe* moaths *which would* quarter *therein*) *but alſo to* peruſe, ſtudy *and* digeſt *them, ſo that I may* preſent *your* Honour *with ſome choice Collections out of the ſame, as this enſuing* Hiſtory *is for the main extracted thence, on which* account *I humbly requeſt* your acceptance *thereof; whereby you ſhall engage my daily prayers*

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

ers for your happineſs, and the happineſs of your moſt Noble Conſort.

I have read how a Roman Orator, *making a* Speech *at the* Funeral *of his deceaſed* Mother in law, *affirmed, that he had never been* Reconciled unto her for many years: *Now whileſt his* ignorant auditors *condemned their mutual* vindicativeneſs, *the* wiſer ſort admired *and* commended *their* peaceable diſpoſitions, *becauſe there never happened the leaſt difference between them, needing an* agreement, *as that* bone *cannot be* ſet, *which was never* broken. *On which account, that never any* reconciliation *may be between* your ſelf *and* other ſelf, *is the deſire of*

Your Honours moſt

bounden Beadſman,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

THE CHVRCH-HISTORY OF BRITAINE.

BOOK V.

Hen. 7 17. 1501

1. GOD hath alwayes been ambitious to preserve and prefer *little things*, the *Jews* the *least of all Nations*, DAVID their King, *least in his fathers family*; *little* Benjamin *the Ruler*; *little Hill of Hermon*; the Virgin *Mary*, *the lowlinesse of thy handmaiden*: Gods children severally are stiled *his little ones*, and collectively make up but a *little flock*. And surely it renders the work of grace more visible and conspicuous, when the object can claim nothing as due to it self. A pregnant proof hereof we have in Divine Providence, at this time preserving the inconsiderable pittance of faithful professors against most powerful opposition. This handful of men, were tied to *very hard duty*, being constantly to stand *Sentinels* against an Army of enemies, till God sent *Luther* to *relieve them*, and the work was made lighter, with more hands to do it, as in the sequel of our story, God willing will appear. Mean time we must remember that *Henry Dean* succeeded in the place of Arch-Bishop *Morton*, lately deceased, and enjoyed his honour but two years, then leaving it to *william Warham*, one well qualified with learning and discretion.

Poor professours still preserved by Gods providence.

22. 1506

2. Now it is no small praise to *Buckingham*-shire, that being one of the lesser *Counties* of *England*, it had more *Martyrs* and *Confessors* in it, before the time of *Luther*, then all the Kingdom besides: where *William Tylsworth* was burnt at *Amersham*, (the *Rendezvous* of Gods children in those dayes) and

Some burnt, some branded, for the profession of the truth.

Anno Dom. 1506 | Anno Regis Hen. 7. 22.

Joan his onely daughter, and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own *hands* to set fire to her dear [a] *father*. At the same time sixty *professors*, and aboue, did bear *fagots* for their penance, and were enjoyned to wear on their right *sleeves*, for some years after, a square piece of cloath, as a disgrace to themselves, and a difference from others. But what is most remarkable, a new *punishment* was now found out of branding them in the *cheek*. The [b] manner thus: Their necks were tied fast to a post with *towels*, and their hands holden that they might not stir; and so the hot *Iron* was put to their *cheeks*. It is not certain whether branded with *L* for *Lollard*, or *H* for *Heretick*, or whether it was onely a formless *print* of Iron (yet nevertheless painful) this is sure, that *they* [c] *bare in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus*. And no doubt they had so well learned our *Saviours* [d] precept, that rather then they would have revenged themselves, by unlawful means, to them that *smit them on the one cheek, they would have turn'd the other also*. Surely Ecclesiastical constitutions did not reach thus far, as to impose any corporal torture: and whether there be any Statute of the Land that enjoyns, (not to say permits) such punishments, let the *learned* in the *Laws* decide. This I am sure, if this was the first time that they fell into this (supposed) *Heresie*, by the *Law* they were onely to abjure their errours; and if it were the second time, upon relaps into the same again, their whole bodies were to be burnt. Except any will say, that such as by these bloudy *Laws* deserved death, were branded onely by the favour of *William Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and one may have charity enough to encline him to this belief, when considering the same *william* (Founder of *Brazen-nose* Colledg in *Oxford*) was generally a lover of learning and goodness, and not cruelly disposed of himself. However some of *Gods children, though burnt, did not dread the fire*. And Father [e] *Rever*, alias *Reive*, though branded at the time, did afterwards suffer at a stake; so that the brand at the first did but take *livery* and *seisin* in his cheek, in token that his whole body should afterwards be in the free and full possession of the *fire*.

a *Fox* his Acts and Monuments, 1. Volume, *p.* 1010.

b *Fox* 1011.

c *Gal.* 6. 17.

d *Ma.* 5. 39.

e *Fox* p. 1011.

The cruel killing of *Thomas Chase*.

3. They who desire further information of the number and names of such as suffer'd about this time, may repair to the *Acts* and *Monuments* of Mr *Fox*, onely *Thomas Chase* of *Amersham* must not be *here* omitted, being barbarously butchered by bloudy hands in the Prison of *Wooburne*. Who to cover their cruelty, gave it out that he had hang'd himself, and in colour thereof, caused his body to be buried by the high ways side, where a stake knock't into the *grave*, is the monument generally erected for Felons *de Se*. *Fear not those* (saith our Saviour) *who kill the body, and afterwards have no more that they can do*: But these mens malice endeavoured to do more, having kill'd his body, to murder his memory with slanderous reports; although all in vain. For the Prison it self did plead for the innocence of the prisoner herein, being a place so low and little, that he could not stand upright. Besides the *woman* that saw his dead body, (a most competent *witness* in this case) declared, that he was so loaden with *Manicles* and *Irons*, that he could not well move either *hand* or *foot*. But we leave the full discussing, and finall deciding hereof to *him*, who makes inquisition for *bloud*, at that *day*, when such things as have been done in *secret*, shall be made *manifest*.

The Pope and King *Hen* 7. share the money for Pardons betwixt them.

4. By this time we may boldly say, that all the arrears of money due to the *Pope*, for *Pardons* in the year of *Jubilee*, five years since were fully collected, and safely returned to *Rome*, by the officers of his *Holiness*, the lagging money which was last sent thither, came soon enough to be received there. We wish the *sellers* more honesty, and the *buyers* more wisdom. Yet we envy *Rome* this payment the less, because it was the last in this kind, she did generally receive out of *England*. Mean time time *King Henry* the seventh did enter common with the [f] *Pope*, having part allowed to connive at the rest. Thus whilest *Pope* and *Prince* shared the wooll betwixt them, the

f *Antiq Brit. de Henrico Deno.*

people

Anno Regis Hen. 7. 22. Anno Dom. 1506 *people* were finely fleeced. Indeed King *Henry* was so thrifty, I durst call him covetous, not to say sordid, had he been a private man, who knowing what tickliſh termes he ſtood upon, lov'd a reſerve of treaſure, as being (beſides his claims of Conqueſt, match, and diſcent) at any time, a good title *ad Corroborandum*. (And we may the leſs wonder that this money was ſo ſpeedily ſpent by his ſucceſſor, a great part thereof being gotten by ſin, was ſpent on ſin :) Was it then charity or remorſe, giving or reſtoring, that 24. 1508 hereupon King *Henry* the ſeventh Founded the rich Hoſpital of the *Savoy* in the *Strand*, with the finiſhing whereof he ended his own life. And it is queſtionable whether his body lies in more magnificence in that ſtately and coſtly Tomb and Chappel of his own erecting, or whether his memory lives more laſtingly in that learned and curious Hiſtory, which the Lord *Bacon* hath written of his Reign ?

Hen. 8. 1. 5. *Henry* the eighth, his Son, ſucceeded him, one of a beautiful perſon, and majeſtick preſence, inſomuch that his picture in all places is known at the firſt ſight. As for the character of his minde, all the vertues and vices of all his predeceſſors from the Conqueſt, may ſeem in him fully repreſented, both to their kinde and degree, learning, wiſdom, valour, magnificence, cruelty, avarice, fury, and luſt ; following his pleaſures whileſt he was young, and making them come to him when he was old. Many memorable alterations in Church and State happen'd in his age, as God willing, hereafter ſhall appear.

Hen. 8. ſucceedeth his father.

1509 6. On the third day of *June* he was ſolemnly Married to the Lady *Katharine* Dowager, formerly wife to his brother Prince *Arthur* deceaſed. Two Popes took the matter in hand to diſcuſs and decide the lawfulneſs thereof, *Alexander* the ſixth, and *Pius* the third ; but both died before the buſineſs was fully effected. At laſt comes Pope *Julius* the ſecond, and by the omnipotency of his diſpenſation, removed all impediments and obſtructions, againſt the laws of God or man hindering or oppoſing the ſaid marriage. We leave them for the preſent wedded and bedded together, and twenty years hence ſhall hear more of this matter ; onely know that this marriage was founded in covetous conſiderations, meerly to ſave money, that the Kingdom might not be impoveriſhed by reſtoring her Dowry back again into *Spain*, though hereupon a greater maſs of coyn was tranſported out of the Land, though not into *Spain*, into *Italy*. Thus ſuch who conſult with covetouſneſs in matters of conſcience, embracing ſiniſter courſes to ſave charges, will finde ſuch thrift to prove expenſive at the caſting up of their audit ; however Divine Providence over-ruling all actions to his own glory, ſo ordered it, that the breaking off the Popes power, with the baniſhing of Superſtition out of *England*, is at this day the onely ſurviving iſſue of this marriage.

He marrieth the reliſt of his brother *Arthur*.

Sanders de ſchiſmate Anglicano, lib. 1. pag. 2.

7. The beginning of this Kings Reign was but barren (as the latter part thereof, ſome will ſay, over-fruitful) with eminent Church-paſſages. And therefore we will *ſpare when we may*, and be brief in his firſt ; that we may *ſpend when we ſhould*, in the larger deſcription of his latter years. Cruelty ſtill continued and increaſed on the poor *Lollards* (as they call them) after abjuration, forced to wear the faſhion of a faggot wrought in thread, or painted on their left ſleeves, all the dayes of their lives ; it being death to put on their cloaths without that cognizance. And indeed to poor people it was true, *put it off, and be burned ; keep it on, and be ſtarved* ; ſeeing none generally would ſet them on work, that carried that badg about them.

Abjured *Lollards* wear faggots.

8. On this account *William Sweeting*, and *James Brewſter* were re-impriſoned. In vain did [a] *Brewſter* plead, that he was commanded to leave off his badg, by the Controller of the Earl of *Oxfords* houſe, who was not to controll the orders of the Biſhops herein. And, as little did *Sweetings* plea prevail, that the Parſon of *Mary Magdalene*'s in *Colcheſter*, cauſed him to lay his

Sweeting and *Brewſter* burnt.

[a] *Fox*, Volum. 2. pag. 12.

his faggot aside. These, like *Isaac*, first bare their fagots on their backs, which soon after bare them, being both burnt together in *Smithfield*. The Papists report, that they profered at their death, again to abjure their opinions, the truth whereof one day shall appear. Mean time, if true, let the unpartial but judge, which were most faulty, these poor men for want of constancy in tendring, or their Judges, for want of charity, in not accepting their abjuration. Anno Dom. 1511 Anno Regis Hen. 8. 4. Octob. 18.

Richard Hunn murdered in Lollards-tower.

9. *Richard Hunn*, a wealthy Citizen of *London*, imprisoned in *Lollards Tower*, for maintaining some of *Wiclifs* opinions, had his neck therein secretly broken. To cover their cruelty, they gave it out, that he hang'd himself; but the Coroners inquest sitting on him, by necessary presumptions, found the impossibility thereof, and gave in their verdict, that the said *Hunn* was murdered. Insomuch that [a] *Persons* hath nothing to reply, but, that the Coroners Inquest were simple men, and suspected to be infected with *Wicliffian* heresies. But we remit the Reader to Mr *Fox* for satisfaction in all these things, whose commendable care is such, that he will not *leave an hoof of a martyr behinde him*, being very large in the reckoning up of all sufferers in this kinde. 1514 7. Dec. 3. 6.

a Exam. of Fox his Mart. for the month of Decemb. pag. 279. and 282.

Cardinal Bainbrigg why poison'd at Rome.

10. Cardinal *Bainbrigg*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, being then at *Rome*, was so highly offended with *Rivaldus de Modena*, an Italian, his Steward (others say his Physician, and a Priest) that he fairly cudgelled him. This his passion was highly censured, as inconsistent with Episcopal gravity, who should be [b] *no striker*. But the Italian shewed *a cast of his Countrey*, and with [c] poison sent the Cardinal to answer for his fact in another world, whose body was buried in the English Hospital at *Rome*.

b 1 Tim. 3. 3.

c Godwin in Cat. of Bish. of *York*, pag. 72.

The Founding of Corpus-Christi-Colledg in Oxford.

11. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, Founded and endowed *Corpus-Christi-Colledg* in *Oxford*, bestowing thereon Lands, to the yearly value of four [d] hundred and one pounds eight shillings and two pence. And, whereas this Foundation is characted by an *Oxford* [e] man, to be *Ex omnibus minimum, vel certè ex minimis unum*, at this day it acquitteth it self in more then a middle equipage amongst other Foundations. *Erasmus* is very large in the praise thereof, highly affected with a Library, and Study of tongues, which, according to the Founders Will, flourished therein; insomuch that for some time it was termed, *The Colledg of the three learned Languages*; 1516 8.

d Godwin in the Bishops of *Winchester*, pag. 297.

e *Prizeus de Acad. Oxon.* pag. 86,

[f] *Est locus Oxonii, licet appellare trilingue*
Musæum, à Christi Corpore nomen habet.

f *John White in libro dicacio, &c.*

Sure I am, that for all kinde of Learning, Divine and Humane, this House is paramount for eminent persons bred therein.

Presidents.	*Bishops.*	*Benefactors.*	*Learned writers.*
John Claymond.	*Cardinal Poole.*	*Hugh Oldham*, Bishop of *Exeter.*	*George Etheridge.**
Robert Nerwent.	*John Jewel.*	*John Claymond*, first President.	*Richard Hooker.*
William Chedsey.		Mr *Mordent.*	
William Butcher.		*William Frost.*	
Thomas Greeneway.		Mrs *Moore.*	*Brian Twine*, the industrious Antiquary of *Oxford.*
William Cole.		Dr *John Raynolds.*	
John Raynolds.		Sr *George Paul*, Knight.	
John Spencer.			
Dr *Anian.*			
Dr *Holt.*			Dr *Jackson.*
Dr *Jackson.*			
Dr *Stanton.*			

* See more of him, *Anno* 1584.

So

Anno Regis Hen. 8. 8. Anno Dom. 1516

So that a Preſident, twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars, two Chaplaines, two Clerks, and two Choriſters, beſides Officers and Servants of the Foundation, are therein maintained, which with other Students, *Anno* 1634. made up threeſcore and ten.

12. This *Hugh Oldham*, in the front of Benefactors, becauſe he was Biſhop of *Exeter*, for names-ſake, intended his bounty to *Exeter Colledg*. But, ſuffering a repulſe from that Society (refuſing at his [a] requeſt to make one *Atkin* a Fellow) diverted his liberality to *Corpus-Chriſti-Colledg*; ſo bountifull thereunto, that, as *Founder* is too much, ſo *Benefactour* is too little for him. He was one of more piety then learning, courteous in his deeds, but very harſh and rugged in his ſpeeches, making himſelf but bad *Orations*, yet good *Orators*, ſo many eloquent men were bred by his bounty. Nor let it be forgotten, that, as *Fox*, the Founder of this Houſe, was Fellow and Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*; ſo *Oldham* alſo had his education in *Queens* [b] *Colledg* in *Cambridg*; ſo much hath *Oxford* been beholding to her Nephews or Siſters Children. But as once *Ephron* [c] ſaid to *Abraham*, *What is that betwixt me and thee?* ſo, ſuch their mutual affection, it matters not, what favour one Siſter freely beſtoweth on the other.

Hugh Oldham his bounty.

a *Godwin* in the Biſhops of *Exeter*, pag. 473.

b See *Jo. Scot.* his Tables.

c *Gen.* 23. 15.

11. Hen. 8. 4. 1519

13. *John Collet*, *Dean* of *Pauls*, died this year [in the fifty third year of his age] of a peſtilential ſweating, at *Shene* in *Surry*. He was the eldeſt (and ſole ſurviving) childe, of S[r] *Henry Collet*, *Mercer*, twice *Lord Major* of *London*, who with his ten *Sons* and as many *Daughters*, are depicted in a glaſs window, on the *North-ſide* of S[t] *Anthonies* (corruptly S[t] *Antlins*) to which [d] Church he was a great Benefactor. His *Son John* Founded the FREE-SCHOOL of S[t] *Pauls*, and it is hard to ſay, whether he left better *Laws* for the government, or *Lands* for maintenance thereof.

The death of Dean *Collet*.

d *Stows* Survey, p. 265.

14. A *Free-School* indeed to all Natives or Foraigners of what Country ſoever, here to have their education (none being excluded by their Nativity, which exclude not themſelves by their unworthineſs) to the number of *one hundred fifty and three* (ſo many [e] fiſhes as were caught in the net by the Apoſtles) whereof every year ſome appearing moſt pregnant (by unpartial examination) have ſalleries allowed them for ſeven years, or untill they get better preferment, in the Church or Univerſity.

Founder of *Pauls* School.

e *John* 21. 11.

15. It may ſeem *falſe Latin*, that this *Collet* being *Dean* of S[t] *Pauls*, the School Dedicated to S[t] *Paul*, and diſtanced but the breadth of the Street from S[t] *Pauls* Church, ſhould not be intruſted to the inſpection of his ſucceſſors, the *Dean* and *Chapter* of *Pauls*, but committed to the care of the Company of the *Mercers*, for the managing thereof. But [f] *Eraſmus* rendreth a good reaſon, from the mouth and minde of *Collet* himſelf, who had found by experience many Lay-men as conſciencious as Clergy-men in diſcharging this truſt in this kinde, conceiving alſo, that whole **Company** was not ſo eaſie to be *bowed to corruption* as any ſingle perſon, how publick and eminent ſoever.

The Mercers made Overſeers thereof.

f In his Epiſtle unto *Jodocus Jonas*.

16. For my own part, I behold *Collets* act herein, not onely *prudential*, but ſomething *Prophetical*, as *foreſeeing* the ruine of *Church-lands*, and *fearing* that this his *School*, if made an *Eccleſiaſtical Appendent*, might in the *fall* of *Church-Lands*, get a *bruiſe*, if not *loſe a limb* thereby.

Out of providient preſcience.

17. *William Lily* was the firſt *School-maſter* thereof, by *Collets* own appointment. An excellent *Scholar*, born at *Odiam* in *Hampſhire*, and afterward he went on *Pilgrimage* as far as [g] *Jeruſalem*: In his return through *Italy* he applied himſelf to his ſtudies. And becauſe ſome perchance would be pleaſed to know the *Lilies* of *Lily*, (I mean his *Teachers* and *Inſtructers*) know that *John Sulpitius* and *Pomponius Sabinus*, two eminent *Criticks*, were his principal informers. Returning home into his native Country well accompliſhed with Latin, Greek, and all Arts and Sciences, he ſet forth a Grammer, which ſtill goes under his name, and is univerſally taught all over *England*.

W. Lilly firſt School-Maſter.

g *Pitzæus de Ang. Scriptor.* pag. 697.

18. Many

His Grammer often printed.

18. Many were the Editions of this Grammer, the first set forth *Anno* 1513. (when *Pauls* School was Founded) as appears by that instance, *Meruit sub Rege in Gallia*, relating to *Maximilian* the *German Emperour*, who then at the Siege of *Therovenne* in *Flanders*, fought under the banner of *King Henry* the *eighth*, taking an [a] *hundred crowns a day* for his pay. Another Edition *Anno* 1520. when *audito Rege Doroberniam proficisci*, refers to the Kings speedy journey into *Canterbury*, there to give entertainment to *Charles the fifth Emperour*, lately landed at *Dover*.

[a] *Godwins Annals*, pag. 16.

And priviledged by authority.

19. Formerly there were in *England* almost as many *Grammers* as *School-masters*, children being confounded, not onely with their *variety*, but [sometimes] *contrariety* thereof, *rules* being *true* in the one, which were false in the other. Yea, which was the worst, a boy, when removed to a new *School*, lost all he had learned before: Whereupon *King Henry* endeavoured an *uniformity* of *Grammer* all over his Dominions; that so *youths*, though changing their *School-masters*, might keep their *learning*. This was performed, and *William Lilies Grammer* enjoyned universally to be used. A stipend of four pounds a year was allowed the *Kings Printer* for *Printing* of it; and it was penall for any publickly to teach any other. I have been told how lately *Bishop Buckeridge* examining a *Free-School* in his *Diocess* of *Rochester*, the Scholars were utterly ignorant of *Lilies* rules, as used to others; whereat the Bishop exclaimed, *What, are there Puritans also in Grammer?*

Since amended by many.

20. I deny not but some since have discovered *blasted leaves* in our *Lily*, observing defects and faults therein, and commendable many persons pains in amending them; however it were to be desired, that no needless variations be made, and as much left of *Lily* as may be: The rather, because he submitted his *Syntaxis* to the *judgment* of [b] *Erasmus* himself, so that it was afterward printed amongst his works. Indeed *Quæ Genus* was done by *Thomas Robinson*, and the *Accidens* (as some will have it) by other Authors, after *Lily* was dead, and *Prince Edward* born, *of* and *for* whom it was said *Edwardus is my proper name*. And thus we take our leave both of *Lily* and *Pauls-School*, flourishing at this day as much as ever, under the care of Mr *John Langly*, the *able* and *Religious School-master* thereof.

[b] *Pitzæus* ut *prius*.

King *Henry* writes against *Luther*.

21. *King Henry* had lately set forth a Book against *Luther*, endeavouring the confutation of his opinions as novel and unsound. None suspect this *Kings lack of learning*, (though many his *lack of leisure* from his pleasures) for such a design; however it is probable, some other *Gardner* gathered the *flowers* (made the collections) though *King Henry* had the honour to *wear the posie*, carrying the credit in the title thereof. Anno Dom. 1521 Anno Regis Hen. 8. 13.

Stiled by the Pope Defender of the Faith.

22. To requite his pains, the Pope honoured him and his Successors with a specious title, *A Defender of the* [c] *Faith*. Indeed it is the bounden *Duty* of every *Christian*, *earnestly to contend for the faith which once was given to the Saints*, but it is the *Dignity* of few men, and fewer *Princes*, to be able effectually to appear in *Print* in the Vindication thereof.

[c] *Jude* 3.

His Jesters reply.

23. There is a tradition, that *King Henry*'s *Fool* (though more truly to be termed by another name) coming into the *Court*, and finding the *King* transported with an unusual joy, boldly asked of him the cause thereof, to whom the *King* answered, it was because that the *Pope* had *honoured* him with a stile more eminent then any of his *Ancestours*; *O good Harry* (quoth the Fool) *let Thou and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend it self*. Most true it is, that some of his *Successors* more truly deserved the *Title*, then he to whom it was given: Who both learnedly, then solidly engaged their pens in the asserting of true *Religion*.

Wolsey his unlimited power and pride.

24. At this time, though *King Henry wore the sword*, *Cardinal Wolsey bare the stroke* all o're the Land; being *Legate de Latere*, by vertue whereof he visited all *Churches* and *Religious Houses*, even the *Friers Observants* themselves, notwithstanding their stoutness and stubbornness, that first [d] opposed him. *Papal* and *Royal* power met in him, being the *Chancellor* of the

[d] *Fox* Acts & Monumnets.

Land,

Anno Regis Hen. 8 13. Anno Dom. 1521

Land, and keeping ſo many *Biſhopricks* in *Commendam*, his *yearlie income* is ſaid to *equal*, if not *exceed* the *Revenues of the Crown*.

25. The more the pitty, that having of his own ſuch a *flock of preferment*, nothing but the poor mans [a] *Ewe-lamb* would pleaſe him, ſo that being to Found two Colledges, he ſeiſed on no fewer then *fourty ſmall Monaſteries*, turning their inhabitants out of houſe and home, and converting their means principally to a Colledg in *Oxford*. This alienation was confirmed by the preſent *Pope Clement* the ſeventh, ſo that in ſome ſort his Holineſs may thank himſelf, for the demoliſhing of *Religious Houſes* in *England*.

He was the firſt confounder of Abbies.

a 2 *Sam.* 12 3.

16. 1524

26. For the *firſt* breach is the *greateſt* in effect: And Abbies having now *loſt their Virginity*, (diverted by the *Pope* to *other*) ſoon after *loſt their Chaſtity*, proſtituted by the *King* to *ordinary* uſes. And now the *Cardinal* was buſied in building his *Colledg*, conſiſting of ſeveral *Courts*, whereof the principal is ſo fair and large, it would have equalled any *Princes Palace*, if finiſhed according to the deſign, all the *Chambers* and other *Offices* being intended ſuitable to the magnificent *Hall* and *Kitchin* therein.

A precedent quickly followed.

27. Indeed nothing mean could enter into this mans minde, but of all things his ſtructures were moſt ſtately. He was the beſt *Harbinger* that ever *King Henry* had, not onely *taking up before-hand*, but *building up* beautifull houſes for his entertainments, which when finiſhed [as *White-Hall*, *Hampton Court* &c.] he either freely gave them to the *King*, or exchang'd them on very reaſonable conſiderations.

Wolſey a Royal Harbinger.

28. Some ſay he intended this his *Colledg*, to be an *Univerſity* in an Univerſity, ſo that it ſhould have therein by it ſelf profeſſours of all *Arts* and *Sciences*: But we may believe that all theſe go but by gueſs, as not knowing the *Cardinals* minde, (who knew not his own) daylie embracing new deſigns of magnificence, on the emmergency of every occaſion. Yet let not the greatneſs of his buildings ſwallow up in ſilence the memory and commendable devotion of *Simon Iſlip Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, who Founded *Canterbury Colledg*, taken in with this *Cardinals* unfiniſhed Foundation.

His vaſt deſign, why unknown.

29. However too tart and bitter was the expreſſion of *Rodulphus Gualterus* a Germane, who comparing the Cardinals *project* with his *performance*, ſaid of him, *inſtituit Collegium & abſolvit Popinam, he began a Colledg and built a Kytchin*: For had he not been civilly *defunct*, before naturally *dead*, not a *pane* of *glaſs*, nor *peg* of *wood* had been wanting in that Edifice.

An over-tart Sarcaſme.

30. More *wit* then *Truth* was in anothers return, who being demanded what he thought concerning the ampleneſs of this Foundation, made this *homonymous anſwer*, *Fundatione nihil amplius, there is nothing more, [or more ſtately] then this Foundation*; whereas indeed had not he himſelf been unexpectedly ſtript of his eſtate, he had left more and better lands to this houſe, then *King Henry* conferr'd upon them, who conceiving *Church-means* fitteſt for *Chriſt-Church*, exchang'd many of their beſt *Manors* for *Impropriations*.

A ſecond ſomewhat milder.

31. This Colledg did thrice change its name in ſeven years, accounting it no ſmall credit thereunto, that it alwayes *aſcended*, and was *advanced* in every *alteration*; firſt call'd *Cardinals Colledg*, then *Kings Colledg*, and at laſt *Chriſts Church*, which it retaineth at this day.

Three names to one Colledg.

32. *King Henry* took juſt offence that the *Cardinal* ſet his own [b] Arms above the *Kings*, on the Gate-houſe, at the entrance into the Colledg. This was no verbal but a real *Ego & Rex meus*, excuſable by no plea in *Manners* or *Grammer*; except onely by that (which is rather *Fault* then *Figure*) a harſh down right *Hyſteroſis*; but to humble the *Cardinals* pride, ſome afterwards ſet up on a window, a painted [c] Maſtiff-dog, gnawing the *ſtate-bone* of a ſhoulder of Mutton, to minde the *Cardinal* of his extraction, being the *Son* of a *Butcher*, it being utterly improbable (that ſome have fancied) that that picture was placed there by the *Cardinals* own appointment, to be to him a *monitour* of *humility*.

The pride of the Cardinal humbled by others.

b *Rex Platonicus pagina* 44.

c *Idem*, p. 45.

Deans.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned Writers.	Anno Dom. 1594	Anno Regin. Eliz. 36.
1. *John Higdon.*	*Richard Cox*, Bishop of *Ely.*	*Otho Nicholson*, one of the Examiners of the Chancery, bestowed eight hundred pound in building and furnishing a fair Library.	Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.		
2. Doct. *Moore.*	*Thomas Goodwin*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells.*				
3. *John Oliver.*	*Thomas Cooper*, Bishop of *Winchester.*				
4. *Richard Cox.*	*John Piers*, Arch-Bishop of *York.*		Sir WALTER RAWLEY.		
5. *Richard Marshall.*	*Herbert Westphaling* Bishop of *Hereford.*		WILLIAM CAMDEN.		
6. *George Carow.*	*William James*, Bishop of *Durham.*				
7. *Thomas Samson.*	*Thomas Ravis*, Bishop of *London.*				
8. *Thomas Goodwin.*	*John King*, Bishop of *London.*				
9. *Thomas Cooper.*	*Richard Corbet*, Bishop of *Norwich.*		*Robert Gomersall.*		
10. *John Piers.*	*William Piers*, Bishop of *Bath* & *Wells.*		JOHN GREGORY.		
11. *Tobias Matthew.*	*Brian Duppa*, Bish. of *Salisbury.*		*Cartwright.*		
12. *William James.*					
13. *Thomas Ravis.*					
14. *John King.*					
15. *William Goodwin.*					
16. *Richard Corket.*					
17. *Brian Duppa.*					
18. *Fell.*					
19. *Edward Reynolds.*					
20. *John Owen.*					

Here I omit the many eminent Writers still surviving, Dr *Merick Casaubon*, and Dr *George Morley*, both no less eminent for their sound *Judgments*, then patient *sufferings*; Dr *Barton Holiday*, and Dr *Jasper Main*, who have refreshed their severer studies with Poetry, and sallies into pleasant learning, with many more in this numerous Foundation. Beholding, as for his wealth to King *Henry* the eighth, so for a great part of the Wit and Learning thereof to his Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*, whose *School-boyes* at *Westminster* become as good *School-men* here, sent hither (as to *Trinity* Colledg in *Cambridg*) by her appointment; so that lately, there were maintained therein, One *Dean*, Eight *Canons*, Three publick Professors of Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, Sixty Students, Eight Chaplains, Eight Singing-men, an Organist, Eight Choristers, Twenty four Almesmen; at this present Students of all sorts, with Officers and Servants of the Foundation, to the number of Two hundred twenty three.

33. Know that *John Higdon*, first *Dean* of this *Colledg*, was a great *Persecutor* of poor *Protestants*, as by the ensuing *Catalogue* will appear.

Persecution in the Cardinals Colledg.

a Such whose names are noted with a cross, did afterwards turn zealous Papists.

* *Fox Acts & Mon. p. 1032.*

a *John Clark.*	† *John Fryer.*	*William Betts.*
John Frith.	*Goodman.*	*Lawney.*
Henry Sumner.	† *Nicholas Harmar.*	*Richard Cox.*
Baley.	† *Michael Drumme.*	*Richard Taverner.*

All these were questioned for their *Religion*,* being cast into a prison in a deep *Cave* under ground, where the salt fish of the *Colledg* was kept, the stench whereof

Anno Regis Hen. 8. 16. Anno Dom. 1524

whereof made ſome of them to die ſoon after, and others eſcaped with great difficulty. *Taverner* was excellently skill'd in Muſick, on which account he eſcaped, though vehemently accuſed, the *Cardinal* pleading for him, *that he was but a Muſician*, though afterward he repented, to have *ſet tunes* to ſo many Popiſh *ditties*

34. We muſt not forget that all in the foreſaid *Catalogue*, whoſe *Chriſtian names* are expreſſed, were originally [a] *Cambridg* men, and invited by the *Cardinal* on promiſe of preferment, to plant his new Foundation; beſides *Florence*, a *Dominican*, *John Akers*, and many more famous for their *Learning*, which at this time removed to *Oxford*, ſeaſoned both with good *Learning* and true *Religion*.

Chriſt-Church a Colony of *Cambridg*-men.

[a] *Caius de Antiq. Cant. Acad.*

35. Know alſo this, *John Higdon*, firſt Dean, was he, of whom Cardinal *Wolſey* (when fallen into diſtreſs) did borrow two hundred pounds, therewith to pay and reward ſome of his pooreſt ſervants, giving them money on this condition, that hereafter they ſhould ſerve no ſubject, but onely the [b] *King* himſelf, as if this had been *ſuſcipere gradum Simeonis*, for thoſe who ſo long had attended on a *Lord-Cardinal*. But this happened many years after; we return to this proud *Prelate*, while he flouriſhed in the height of his *Proſperity*.

Wolſeys pride in his ſervants.

[b] *Rex Platonicus*, pag. 43.

36. Their heads will catch cold, which wait bare for a dead Popes Triple-Crown. *Wolſey* may be an inſtance hereof, who, on every avoidance of *St. Peters* Chaire, was ſitting down therein, when ſuddenly ſome one or other, clapt in before him. Weary with waiting, he now reſolved to revenge himſelf on *Charles* the Emperour, for not doing him right, and not improving his power, in preferring him to the Papacy, according to his promiſes and pretences. He intends to ſmite *Charles* through the ſides of his Aunt, *Katharine* Queen of *England*, endeavouring to alienate the Kings affections from her. And this is affirmed by the generality of our Hiſtorians, though ſome of late have endeavoured to acquit *Wolſey*, as not the firſt perſwader of the King divorce.

Wolſey turns his waiting into revenge.

37. Indeed he was beholding, for the firſt hint thereof, to the Spaniards themſelves. For, when the Lady *Mary* was tendered in marriage to *Philip*, Prince of *Spain*, the Spaniſh Embaſſadours ſeemed to make ſome difficulty thereof, and to doubt her extraction, as begotten on a mother formerly married to her husbands elder brother. *Wolſey* now put this ſcruple into the head of Biſhop *Longlands*, the Kings Confeſſour, and he inſinuated the ſame into the Kings conſcience; adviſing him hereafter to abſtain from the company of his Queen, to whom he was unlawfully married. Adding moreover, that after a divorce procured (which the Pope in juſtice could not deny) the King might diſpoſe his affections where he pleaſed. And here *Wolſey* had provided him a ſecond Wife, *viz.* *Margarite*, Counteſs of *Alenzon*, ſiſter to *Francis* King of *France*; though heavens reſerved that place, not for the *Miſtreſs*, but her *Maid*, I mean *Anna Bollen*, who (after the return of *Mary*, the French Queen for *England*, attended in *France* for ſome time on this Lady *Margarite*.

The ſcruple of the Kings marriage.

38. *Tander* needs no *torch* to light it, the leaſt ſpark will preſently ſet it on flame. No wonder if King *Henry* greedily reſented the motion. Male iſſue he much wanted, and a young Female more on whom to beget it. As for Queen *Katharine*, he rather reſpected, then affected; rather honoured, then loved her. She had got an *habit of miſcarrying*, ſcarce curable in one of her age, intimated in one of the Kings private papers, as *morbus incurabilis*. Yet publickly he never laid either fault or defect to her charge; that, not diſlike of her perſon or conditions, but onely principles of pure conſcience, might ſeem to put him upon endeavours of a Divorce.

The King willingly embraceth the motion.

39. The buſineſs is brought into the Court of *Rome*, there to be decided by Pope *Clement* the ſeventh. But the Pope at this time was not *ſui juris*, being a priſoner to the Emperour, who conſtantly kept a guard about him.

The Pope a Captive.

So that one wittily ſaid, it was now moſt true, *Papa non poteſt errare*, *The Pope could not wander*, as cooped up, and confined. Yet, after ſome delaies, the Pope at laſt, to ſatisfie the King, and clear his own credit, diſpatch'd a Commiſſion to two Cardinals, *Wolſey*, and *Campegius*, an Italian, at *London* to hear and determine the matter. Anno Dom. 1528 Anno Regni Hen. 8 20.

The character of *Campegius*.

40. *Campegius* was the junior Cardinal, and therefore the rather procured by *Wolſey* to be his Collegue in this buſineſs, whoſe pride would ſcarce admit an equal, but abhorr'd a ſuperiour, that any Foraign Prelate ſhould take place of him in *England*. As *Wolſeys* junior, ſo was he none of the moſt Mercurial amongſt the Conclave of Cardinals, but a good *heavy man*, having *ingenium par negotio*, neither too much, nor too little, but juſt wit enough for the purpoſe the Pope imployed him in. *Wolſey* might ſpur *Campegius*, and *Campegius* would bridle *Wolſey*, keeping them both ſtrictly to the letter of their inſtructions. *Wolſey* hearing *Campegius* was come to *Calis*, with an equipage not ſo Court-like as he could have deſired, and loath that his own pomp ſhould be ſhamed by the others poverty, cauſed him to ſtay there, till he ſent him more ſplendid accommodations (at leaſt in outward ſhew) and then over he came into *England*. But ſee the ſpight of it. As the Cardinals Mules paſſed *Cheap-ſide*, out of unrulineſs they chanced to break the Trunkes they carried, which were found full of nothing but emptineſs, which expoſed his *mock-ſtate* to the more ſcorn and contempt. *Empty Trunks*, the lively embleme of this Cardinals Legacy, coming hither with intent, and inſtruction to do little, and going hence having done nothing at all. However a Court is ſolemnly called, and the Cardinals (having firſt read their Commiſſion) ſet themſelves to examine the matter.

A matchleſs ſight.

41. It was faſhionable amongſt the Heathen, at the celebration of their *Centenary Solemnities*, which returned but once in an hundred years, to have an Herauld publickly to proclaim, *Come hither to behold what you never ſaw before, and never are likely to ſee again.* But here happ'ned ſuch a ſpectacle (in a great room called the *Parliament-Chamber* in *Black-Friers*) as never before, or after, was ſeen in *England*, *viz.* King *Henry* ſummoned in his own Land to appear before two Judges, the one *Wolſey*, directly his Subject by birth; the other his Subject occaſionally by his preferment, *Campegius* being lately made Biſhop of *Sarisbury*. Summoned, he appeared perſonally, and the Queen did the like the firſt day, but afterwards both by their Doctors. 1529 21. *May* 31.

42. For the KING.	For the QUEEN.
Rich. Samſon, *John Bell*, *Peter* and *John Tregonwell*.	*Nic. Weſt*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; *Hen. Standiſh*, Biſhop of S^t *Aſaph*.

Here the Queeen aroſe, and after her reſpects dealt to the Cardinals, in ſuch manner as ſeemed neither uncivil to them, nor unſuting to her ſelf, uttered the following Speech, at the Kings feet, in the *Engliſh tongue*, but with her *Spaniſh-tone*, a clip whereof was ſo far from rendring it the leſs intelligible, that it ſoundeth the more pretty, and pleaſant to the hearers thereof. Yea, her very pronunciation pleaded for her with all ingenious auditors, providing her ſome pitty, as due to a Foraigner far from her own Country. But hear her words:

Sir!

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SIR!

I Desire * you to take some pitie upon me, and do me justice and right: I am a poor woman, a stranger, born out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Councel, and less assurance of friendship. Alas, wherein have I offended, or what cause of displeasure have I given, that you intend thus to put me away? I take God to my Judge, I have been to you a true and humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, never gainsaying any thing wherein you took delight, without all grudg or discontented countenance; I have loved all them that loved you, howsoever their affections have been to me-ward; I have born you Children, and been your Wife now this twentie years; of my Virginitie and Marriage-bed, I make God and your own conscience the Judge, and if it otherwise be proved, I am content to be put from you with shame. The King your Father in his time for wisdom was known to be a second *Solomon*; and *Ferdinando* of *Spain* my Father, accounted the wisest among their Kings; could they in this match be so far overseen, or are there now wiser and more learned men, then at that time were? Surely, it seemeth wonderful to me, that my marriage after twentie years should be thus called in question, with new invention against me, who never intended but honestie. Alas Sir! I see I am wronged, having no Councel to speak for me, but such as are your Subjects, and cannot be indifferent upon my part. Therefore I most humbly beseech you, even in charity to stay this course, untill I have advice, and Counsel from *Spain*; if not, your Graces pleasure be done.

Queen *Katharine* her Speech.

* *Speed*, pag. 766.

June 18. 1529

This her Speech ended, She departed the Court, and, though often recalled, would not return; whereupon she was pronounced Contumacious. Many commending the greatness of her spirit, and moe condemning the stoutness of her stomach, as every one stood affected.

43. The most pungent passage in this her Speech, was her appeal to the Kings conscience, that he found her a Virgin, when first coming to her bed. Her words gained the more credit, because coming from one generally known to be *spare of speech*, and such may be rationally presumed to take best aim at the truth, who so seldom discharge in discourse; The rather, because she saying it, and the King not gainsaying it, many interpreted his silence herein consent. Whilest others imputed the Kings silence to his discretion, because both of them were parties, who though they knew the most, were to speak the least in their own cause, remitting it to the triall by the testimony of others.

The sting in her Speech.

44. As

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Fishers short plea.

44. As for the Queens Councel, (which, though assigned to her, appear not dearly accepted by her, as chosen rather by others for her, then by her for her self) I finde at this present little of moment pleaded, or performed by them. Onely Bishop *Fisher* affirmed, that no more needed to be said for the validity of the marriage, then, *Whom God hath joyned together, let no man put asunder.* A most true position in it self, if he could have cleared the application thereof to his Royal Client, but *Hoc restat probandum*; the contrary, *that God never joyned them together*, being vehemently urged by her adversaries.

The pleas of the Kings Councel.

45. Notwithstanding the Queens ablence, the Court proceeded: And first the Kings Proctors put in their exceptions against both *Bull*, and *Breve* of Pope *Julius* the second, dispensing with the Kings marriage with his brothers wife; *viz.*

1. That they were not to be found amongst the Original Records in *Rome*.
2. That they were not extant in Chartaphylacio, amongst the King of *Englands* papers (most concerned therein) but found onely in *Spain*, amongst the writings of a State-Officer there.
3. That in them it was falsely suggested, as if the same were procured at *the instance of Henry, Prince of Wales*, who then, not being above thirteen years old, was not capable of such intentions.
4. That the Date thereof was somewhat discrepant from the form used in the Court of *Rome*.

Secrets *sub sigillo thalami.*

July 12.

46. After this, many witnesses on the Kings side were deposed: and though this favour is by custome indulged to the English Nobility, to *speak on their Honours*; yet the Canon-Law taking no notice of this their municipal priviledg, and for the more legal validity of their testimonies, required the same on oath, though two Dukes, one Dutchess, one Marquess, many Lords and Ladies gave in their depositions. These attested,

1. That both were of sufficient age, Prince *Arthur* of fifteen years, the Lady *Katharine* somewhat elder.
2. That constant their cohabitation, at board, and in bed.
3. That competent the time of the same, as full five moneths.
4. That entire their mutual affection, no difference being ever observ'd betwixt them.
5. That *Henry*, after his Brothers death, by an instrument produced in Court, and attested by many witnesses, refused to marry her, though afterwards altered by the importunity of others.
6. That, by several expressions of Prince *Arthur*'s, it appeared, he had carnal knowledg of the Lady *Katharine*.

The beds of private persons are compassed with curtaines, of Princes vailed also with canopies, to conceal the passages therein, to which modesty admitteth no witnesses. Pitty it is, that any, with *Pharaoh*, should discover what is exchanged betwixt *Isaac* and *Rebekah*; all which are best stifled in secrecy and silence. However, such the nature of the present cause, that many privacies were therein discovered.

A shrewd retortion.

47. Observe by the way, that, whereas it was generally alledged in favour of the Queen, that Prince *Arthur* had not *carnal knowledg* of her; because,

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because, soon after his marriage, his consumptionish body seemed unfit for such performances; this was retorted by testimonies on the Kings side, his witnesses deposing, that generally it was reported and believed, the Prince impaired his health, by his over liberal paiment of *due benevolence*.

48. It was expected that the Cardinals should now proceed to a definitive sentence, according as matters were alledged, and proved unto them. The rather because it was generally reported, that *Campegius* brought over with him a *Bull Decretal*, to pronounce a nullity of the match, if he saw just cause for the same. Which rumor (like the *silken flie* wherewith Anglers cheat the fishes) was onely given out to tempt King *Henry* to a longer patience, and quiet expectation of the event. But by this time Queen *Katharine* had privately prevailed with the Pope, to *advoke* the cause to *Rome*, as a place of more indifferency for a plea of so high concernment. Whereupon *Campegius* took his leave of the King, and returned into *Italy*.

An end in vain expected.

Oct. 22.

49. The Papists tell us, that Cardinal *Campegius* sent over before him some amatorious Letters, which passed written with the Kings own hand, betwixt him and his *dear Nan*, as he termed her. These are said to import more familiarity then chastity betwixt them, and are carefully kept, and solemnly shewn in the *Vatican* to strangers, especially of the English Nation, though some suspect them to be but forged. For though the King had wantonness enough to write such Letters, yet *Anna Bollen* had wit and wariness too much, to part with them. It would more advance the Popish project, could they shew any return from her to the King accepting his offers, which they pretend not to produce. Our Authors generally agree, her denialls more inflamed the Kings desires. For though perchance nothing more then a *woman* was wish'd by his wilde fancy, yet nothing less then an *husband* would content her conscience. In a word, so cunning she was in her chastity, that the farther she put him from her, the nearer she fastened his affections unto her.

Love-Letters of King *Hen.* kept in the *Vatican*.

50. Still was the Kings cause more delaied in the Court of *Rome*. If a melancholick School-man can spin out a speculative controversie with his *Pro's* and *Con's*, to some quires of paper, where the profit is little to others, and none to himself, except satisfying his curiosity, and some popular applause; no wonder if the *Casuists* at *Rome* (those cunning *Masters of Defence*) could lengthen out a cause of so high concernment, and so greatly beneficial unto them. For, English silver now was current, and our gold volant in the Popes Courts, whither such masses of money daily were transported, *England* knew not certainly what was expended, nor *Rome* what received herein. Yea, for seven years was this suit depending in the Popes Court; after which Apprentiship, the Indentures were not intended to be cancelled, but the cause still to be kept on foot, it being for the interest, to have it *alwayes in doing*, and *never done*. For, whilest it depended, the Pope was sure of *two great friends*; but, when it was once decided, he was sure of one great foe, either the Emperour, or our King of *England*.

No haste to end the Kings cause at *Rome*.

51. It was a Maxime true of all men, but most of King *Henry*, *Omnis mora properanti nimia*. He (who would have not onely *what*, but *when* he would himself) was vexed with so many delayings, deferrings, retardings, prorogations, prolongations, procrastinations, betwixt two Popes (as one may say) *Clement* that *was*, and *Wolsey* that *would be*. So that all this while, after *so much adoe*, there was nothing done in his business, which now was no nearer to a final conclusion, then at the first beginning thereof. Yea, now began Cardinal *Wolsey* to decline in the Kings favour, suspecting him for not cordial in his cause, and ascribing much of the delay to his backwardness herein. More hot did the displeasure of Queen *Katharine* burn against him, beholding

King and Queen both offended with *Wolsey*.

beholding him as the chief engine, who set the matter of her Divorce first in motion. Anno Dom. 1529 Anno Regni Hen. 8. 25.

Wolsey looks two wayes in this design.

52. Be it here remembred, that in perswading the Kings Divorce, *Wolsey* drave on a double design: by the recess of the Kings love from Queen *Katharine*, to revenge himself of the Emperour; by the access of his love to *Margaret* of *Alenson*, to oblige the King of *France*. Thus he hoped to gain with both hands, and presumed, that the sharpness of his two-edged policy should cut on both sides: when God, to prevent him, did both blunt the edges, and break the point thereof. For, instead of gaining the love of two Kings, he got the implacable anger of two Queens; of *Katharine* decaying, and *Anna Bollen* increasing in the Kings affection. Let him hereafter look but for few fair dayes, when both the *Sun-rising*, and *setting*, frowned upon him.

SECT.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

SECT. II.

TO Mr THOMAS JAMES OF BUNTINGFORD in *Hertford*-ſhire.

CORner Stones (*two* walls *meeting in them*) *are* poliſhed *with the more* curioſity, *and* placed *with more* carefulneſs. *So alſo* corner bones (*as I may ſay*) *which do* double duty, *and attend the ſervice of* two joynts, (*in the* Elbow *and* Knee) *are rarely fixed by the providence of Nature.*

This Section *being in the* turning of Religions, (*the* going out *of the* Old, *and* coming in *of the* New) *ought to have been done with moſt induſtry*, difficultie *meeting therein with* dark inſtructions. *However I have endeavoured my utmoſt*, (*though falling ſhort of the merits of the matter, and doubt not but you will be as* candid *in the* peruſing, *as I have deſired to be* careful *in the* writing *thereof.*

Hen. 8 22. 1530

1. KNow now in the next year, the Lords in Parliament put in a Bill of fourty four particulars againſt *Wolſey*. The moſt material was his exerciſing of power-Legative, without leave, to the prejudice of the Kings Crown and Dignity. The Bill is brought down into the *Houſe of Commons*, where Mr *Cromwel*, then Servant to the Cardinal, chanced to be a *Burgeſs*. Here he defended his Maſter with ſuch wit and eloquence, that even thoſe who hated the *Client*, yet praiſed the *Advocate* who pleaded in his behalf. This was the firſt time, that publick notice was taken of *Cromwel* his eminent parts, and advantagious *ſtarting* is more then *half the way* in the *race* to preferment, as afterwards in him it came to paſs. As for *Wolſey*, though at this time he eſcaped with life and liberty, yet were all his goods, of ineſtimable value, confiſcated to the King, and he outed of moſt of his Eccleſiaſtical promotions.

Accuſed in Parliament and well defended by Mr *Cromwel* his ſervant.

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Prosecuted by his Enemies and removed to *York*.

2. Court-favourites, when it is once past noon, it is presently night with them, as here it fared with *Wolsey*. His enemies, of whom no want, *follow the blow* given unto him. For they beheld him, rather in a *Sown*, then as yet *Dead* in the Kings favour, and feared if his submission should meet with the Kings remembrance of his former services, they might produce his full restitution to power and dignity. The rather because the Cardinal was *cunning* to improve all to his own advantage, and the King (as yet) not *cruel*, though too perfect in that lesson afterwards. His enemies would not trust the Cardinal to live at *London*, (nor at *Winchester* within fifty miles thereof) but got the King to command him away to *York*, sending him thither, whither his conscience long since should have sent him, namely to visit his Dioceſs, so large in extent, and reside therein.

Large means allowed him.

3. Indifferent men thought that he had enough, his Foes that too much, onely himself that too little was left unto him. Pride accounts the greatest plenty, if without Pomp no better then Penury. Yet he had the whole revenues of *York* Arch-Bishoprick (worth then little less then four thousand pounds yearly) besides a large Pension paid him out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. Was not here *fuel* enough, had there not been too much *fire* within, such his covetousness and ambition?

He *states it* at *York*.

4. Earthly Kings may make men *humbled*, God alone *humble*. *Wolsey* began to *state* it at *York* as high as ever before, in proportion to his contracted revenues. Preparation is made in a Princely equipage for his Installation, attracting envie from such as beheld it. All is told unto the King, and all made worse by telling it, complaining *Wolsey* would never leave his pride, till life first left him. His old faults are revived and aggravated, and the King incensed afresh against him.

Arrested of Treason and dieth.

5. The Earl of *Northumberland* by the Commission from the King, Arrested him of high-Treason, in his own chamber, at *Cawood*. By slow and short journeys he setteth forward to *London*, meeting by the way with contrary messages from the King; Sometimes he was tickled with hopes of pardon and preferment, sometimes pinched with fears of a disgraceful death, so that he knew not how to dispose his minde, to Mirth or Mourning. Age and anguish, brought his disease of the dysentery, the pain lying much in his guts, more in his heart. Especially after Sr *William Kingston* was sent unto him, who being Lieutenant of the Tower seemed to carry a *restraint* in his looks. Coming to *Leicester* he died, being buried almost as obscurely as he was born. Nov. 27. 30.

Wolseys credulity befooled with a dubious Prophecy.

6. I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here, (however we will put it on the adventure) that *Cardinal Wolsey*, in his life time was inform'd by some Fortune-tellers, that he should *have his end at Kingston*. This his credulity interpreted of *Kingston* on *Thames*, which made him alwayes to avoid the riding through that Town, though the neareſt way from his house to the *Court*. Afterwards understanding that he was to be committed by the Kings express order to the charge of Sr *Anthony* * *Kingston*, it struck to his heart, too late perceiving himself deluded by that Father of Lies in his homonymous prediction.

* *Hen.* Lord *Howard* in his Book against Prophesies, *chap.* 28. *fol.* 130.

The King deluded with delays at *Rome*.

7. *Anna Bollen* did every day look fairer and fairer in the King's eyes, whilest the hopes of his marriage with her, seemed every day farther and farther from him. For, the Court at *Rome* meddled not with the merits of the cause, but fell upon by-points therein of lesser concernment. Yea, they divided his *case* into *three* [a] *and twenty particulars*; whereof the first was, *Whether Prince Arthur had car. al knowledg with the Lady Katharine?* This bare about a years debate; so that according to this proportion, King *Henry* would be, not onely past marrying, but past living, before his cause should be decided. This news put him into a passionate pensiveness, the rather, because meeting with sadness here, many populous places in *England*, and *Cambridg* particularly, being at the present visited with the sickness.

[a] Hist. of Councel of *Trent*, pag. 69.

8. But

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8. But, it is an evil plague which brings no body profit. On this occasion Dr *Cranmer* retired to *Waltham* with two of his Pupils, the sons of Mr *Cressey* (a name utterly extinct in that Town where God hath fixed my present habitation) long before the memory of any alive. But, consulting *Weavers* [a] *Funeral-Monuments* of *Waltham*-Church (more truly then neatly by him composed) I finde therein this *Epitaph*,

Here lyeth Jon *and* Jone Cressy,
On whose soulys Jesu *hav mercy*. Amen.

It seems paper sometimes is more lasting then brass; all the ancient *Epitaphs* in that Church being defac'd by some barbarous hands, who perchance one day may want a grave for themselves.

9. The *King* coming to *Waltham*, Dr *Fox* his *Chaplain* and *Almoner* (afterwards *Bishop* of *Hereford*) is lodged in Mr *Cressy*'s house: Discoursing about the Kings *Divorce*; *Cranmer* conceived that the speediest course was to prove the *unlawfulness* of his *Match* by *Scripture*; whence it would follow, that the *Pope* at first had no power to dispence therewith; and that the *Universities* of *Christendom* would sooner and truer decide the case, then the *Court* of *Rome*. This passage *Fox* reports to the King; who, well pleased thereat, professes that this man had *the* [b] *Sow by the right ear: An ear* which the King never left *worrying*, till he had got it *off*, and effected his will therein: *Cranmer* being sent for, comes to the King, who very lovingly entertains him. Indeed he was a most comely person, having an amiable eye (and as the soul sees much by the eye, so is it much seen in them) and pleasing countenance, as by his lively [c] *Picture* doth appear. Glad was the King to see, more to hear him enlarge himself on the former subject, that it was above the Popes power to dispense with Gods work in the Kings case. And now what fitter *Nurse* for the *Childe*, then the *own Mother*; what *person* more proper to manage this matter then *Cranmer* himself, who first moved it. The King resolves, and *Cranmer* consents he should be sent to the *Pope*, there to make God his petition. Leave we *Cranmer* for a time, preparing himself for his long journey; and come briefly to state the Kings Controversie out of *Gods Word*, and several Authors who have written thereof.

10. It plainly appears that a *marriage* with a *Brothers Wife* is *unlawful*; because expresly forbidden.

Dost. *Cranmer* comes to *Waltham*.

a In *Essex*, *pag.* 645. But see the former part of *Cranmers* life until this time, in our History of *Cambridg*.

Is imployed by the King to the Pope.

b *Fox* Acts & Mon. 1861.

c Which I have seen at *Chesthunt* in the house of Sir *Tho. Dacres*, done as I take it by *Hans Holbein*.

Marriage with Brothers Wives twice forbidden in Scripture.

Levit. 18. 16.

Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Brothers Wife, it is thy Brothers Nakedness.

Wherein we have

1. A Prohibition.

Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Brothers Wife: See all these Laws are made to men; it being presumed that the weaker sex, (whose part it is to take, not tender; accept, not offer love) would be so modest, as not to adventure of themselves on any incestuous act, except first solicited by men thereunto.

2. *The Reason thereof.*

It is thy Brothers Nakedness. God could according to his Dominion *peremptorily* have forbidden the same, without rendring a reason of his Prohibition; but that men might pay the more willing obedience to his *Law*, he maketh those who were to keep it, in some sort Judges of the justness thereof, endeavouring to convince their consciences, and make their souls sensible of the natural uncleanness of such an act. *It is thy Brothers nakedness.*

Such *marriages* are again forbidden in another *Text*. Nor can I render other reason of this *Duplicate*, whereas others are but once, that this should be twice prohibited; save, that God, foreseeing in his providence mens corrupt inclinations, prone here to climb over, did therefore think fit to make a double fence. Anno Dom. 1539 Anno Regni 31.

LEVIT. 20. 21.

And if a man shall take his Brothers Wife, it is an unclean thing; he hath uncovered his Brothers Nakedness, they shall be Childless.

Here we have the *Prohibition* backt with a *Commination* of being *Childless*, which is variously interpreted, either that they *shall never have children*, or if having them, they shall not survive their *Parents*, or if surviving, they shall not be counted *children*, but *Bastards*, illegitimate in the Court of Heaven. This *Commination* of being *childless*, as applied *ad hominem*, fell heavy on King *Henry* the eighth; who sensible that his *Queen*, though happy often to conceive, was unhappy almost as often to miscarry. *Henry* his onely *Christian* son, by her, died before a full year old; a second was nameless, as never living to the honour of *Baptism*; and of many blasted in the bud, *Mary* onely survived to womans estate.

This proved to be a Law of Nature.

11. Such as inquire into the nature of this Law finde it founded in Nature it self, being onely declaratory of what true reason doth dictate to man. God in making this Law did not imprint a new writing in mens hearts, but onely rub off some old rust from the same; wherefore it is added, *Levit.* 18. 27, 28. *For all these abominations have the men of the Land done, which were before you, and the Land is defiled; that the Land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the Nations that were before you.* Surely the Land would never have vomited out the *Heathen* for not observing a positive precept, never immediately delivered unto them, which plainly shews it was imprinted in nature, though partly obliterated by their corrupt customes to the contrary; and their consciences in their *Lucid Intervals* were apprehensive thereof. This would make one the more to admire, that any should maintain, that this Law, the breach whereof made the Country to avoid her *Pagan Inhabitants*, should be onely [a] *lex impositiva & Ecclesiastica*, an *imposed* and *Church-Law*. To hear of a *Church-Law* amongst the *Canaanites*, is a strange Paradox.

[a] *Sanders de schism. Angli. pag.* 3.

The Objection to the contrary.

12. It is objected this could not be a Law of Nature, because almost at the beginning of nature, men brake them by the consent and permission of the God of heaven; For *Cain* and *Seth* with the elder *sons* of *Adam* must be allowed to have married their own *sisters*, far nearer in nature then their *Brothers wife*.

Answered.

13. It is answered, when God first created man-kinde, it was his pleasure all men should derive their original from *Eve*, as she from *Adam*. For had he made (as one may say) two distinct houses of Man-kinde, what falling out and fighting, what bickering and battleing would have been betwixt them. If men now adayes descended from the loyns of one general Father, and womb of one mother, are full of so fierce hatred, how many and keen may their differences be presumed, had they spring from several Fountains, and then all their hatred would have been charged, not on their corruption, but on their Creation? God therefore (as the Apostle saith) *Acts* 17. 26. *hath made of one bloud all nations*. Now in the beginning of Man-kinde absolute necessity gave *Brethren* liberty to *marry their own sisters*. Yea, God himself, interpretatively, signed and sealed the same with his own *consent*, because his wisdom had appointed no other means without miracle,

for

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for the propagation of man-kinde. But when men began to be multiplied on the earth, that neceſſity being removed, the *light of Nature* dictated unto them the unlawfulneſs of ſuch marriages, and of ſome others more remote, as coming within the compaſs of *Inceſt*; though the corrupt practiſes of *Pagans* ſometimes treſpaſſed in that kinde. God therefore being to give his Law to the Jews, cleared and declared that *light of Nature*, by his poſitive Law unto his people, to whom his Goodneſs *gave a Garden*, and *forbad a Tree*, ſo inconſiderable were thoſe few prohibited, to the many perſons permitted them in marriage. For whereas there came out of [a] *Egypt* about *ſix hundred thouſand men, beſides children*, fifty *perſons* at the moſt (counting thoſe forbidden, as well by conſequence as expreſly) were interdicted unto them; amongſt whom one was the *Marriage* with a *Brothers Wife*. For although God permitted this by a judicial Law to his own people in caſe of [b] *raiſing up ſeed* to a Brother deceaſed *childleſs* (the *will* of God being the *Law* of *Laws*;) yet otherwiſe it was utterly unlawful, as whereon God had ſtamped (as is aforeſaid) a double Note of *natural uncleanneſs*.

a *Exod.* 12. 37.

b *Deut.* 25. 5.

14. The Law then of forbidding marriage with a Brothers Wife, being founded in nature, it was pride, and preſumption in the Pope to pretend to diſpenſe therewith. Indeed we read that *the diſpenſation of the Goſpel* (to ſee it dealt and diſtributed to ſeveral perſons) was *committed to* [c] S^t *Paul* (whoſe joynt ſucceſſour, with S^t *Peter*, the Pope pretends to be) but a *Diſpenſation from the Law of God*, to free men from the ſame, neither *Paul* nor *Peter* ever pretended unto. Let the Pope make relaxations of ſuch Church Canons, which meerly Eccleſiaſtical Authority hath made, there he may have the ſpecious power to remit the rigour thereof at ſome times, places and perſons, as he apprehendeth juſt occaſion. But let him not meddle to grant liberty for the breach of Gods Law. The firſt *Diſpenſation* in this kinde is what Satan in the Serpent gave our firſt Parents in Paradice, [d] *you ſhall not ſurely dye*; and whether the Granter had leſs power therein, or the receivers leſs profit thereby, we their woful poſterity have little comfort to decide.

Gods Laws indiſpenſable with by the Pope.

c 1 *Cor.* 9. 17.

d *Gen.* 3. 4.

15. Nor doth it any thing alter the caſe, (what was ſo much controverted in the Court of *Rome*) whether or no Prince *Arthur* had *carnal knowledg* of his *Wife*, ſeeing we may obſerve, that in the Court of Heaven *Marriages* bear date, not from their Copulation, but ſolemn Contract; And they thenceforward are eſteemed *Man and Wife* before God. For it is [e] provided, that *if a Damſel be betrothed to a Husband ſtill remaining a Virgin, and ſhall be layen with by another man, both of them ſhall be ſtoned to death*, and *ſhe* puniſhed for an *Adultereſs*, he for *humbling* his *Neighbours Wife*. Be then the Lady *Katharine* known or unknown by Prince *Arthur*, due Benevolence is the effect, not the cauſe of Marriage, which was compleated before God, and *they two* made *one fleſh*, when ſolemnly joyned together in the face of the Congregation.

Carnal knowled not material in this controverſie.

e *Deut.* 22. 24.

16. Such a Marriage with a Brothers wife, thus appearing againſt the Law of God, it is ſtrange that any ſhould maintain that *Publica honeſtas*, *publique honeſty*, was the onely obſtacle of this marriage, which obſtruction (ſay they) by the Popes diſpenſation was removed, becauſe *Publica Utilitas*, the *Publick Profit* was greater, that redounded by permitting this *match*. Now ſuppoſe this all the obſtacle, the Poſition is dangerous and unſound; For, firſt, Chriſtians are not ſenſible of *utility* (as falſely ſo called) which ſtands at diſtance with *Publick Honeſtie*. Secondly, the publickneſs of the Profit was not adæquate to the publickneſs of the Scandal. The Profit or State-benefit thereby, onely extended to the *Crowns* of *England* and *France* as concerned therein; whileſt the Scandal dilated it ſelf to the People of all Chriſtian Provinces, juſtly offended thereat. And although we confeſs, that in this reſpect the world is narrower to Princes then to private perſons, as not affording ſo fit matches unto them; yet Kings have no Commiſſion to enlarge themſelves herein, by the actual breach of Gods Commandment.

No Chriſtian utility inconſiſtent with honeſty.

17. Thus

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Armies of writers pro & con in this point.

17. Thus far the ſumme of the ſenſe of *Proteſtants* and others, no fewer then an *hundred* Authors, writing at this time againſt this Marriage, all which were produced by the *King* in the next *Parliament*. Yet very many *Papiſts* profeſſed their judgments in print, on the contrary ſide, both Engliſh and outlandiſh *Divines*: and (to give them their due) brought very plauſible Arguments. Of all theſe,

b *Mark* 6. 18.

John Fiſher Biſhop of *Rocheſter* led the *Front*, whom ſome Catholicks call St *John*, becauſe beheaded like the *Baptiſt*, though on contrary accounts: *John Baptiſt* for ſaying, *it is* b *not lawful*; *John Fiſher* for ſaying, *it is lawful for thee to have thy Brothers Wife.*

* We order them by the ſeniority of their writing.

* *John Holiman*, *John Clerke*, *Cuthbert Dunſtall*, *Nicholas Weſt* } Biſhop of { *Briſtol.*, *Bath & Wells.*, *London.*, *Ely.* } *Thomas Abel*, *Edward Powel*, *Richard Featherſtone*, *Ridley* } Engliſhmen, and Canoniſts.

c Properly people of *France*, living betwixt the Rivers of *Garumna* and *Sequana*.

Francis Royas, *Alphonſe de Veruez*, *Alphonſe de Caſtro*, *Sepulveda* } Spaniards.

Cardinal *Cajetan*, *Lewes Nugarola* } Italians.

Egwinarus Baro, *Franciſcus Duarenus*, *Convanus* } c *Celtæ*.

Alvarus Gometius } Portugueſe.

John Cochlæus } High-German.

Ludovicus à Schora, a Low-Country-man.

Eraſmus, a greater Scholar then Divine, was very doubtful in his judgment herein. He is made by ſome modern Apocalyptical Commentaries to be the Angel flying ἐν μεσουρανήματι, that is (as they will have it) *in a middle diſtance betwixt Heaven and Earth*, which how it agrees to the Text, I know not. It alludeth well to his dubious poſture betwixt different opinions in Religion, and particularly in this Controverſie; ſometimes being for King *Henry*, and ſometimes againſt him herein.

Cranmer accompanies others in an Embaſſie to *Rome*.

18. Return we to *Cranmer* employed now in his *Embaſſie* to *Rome*: The *ſtate* whereof lay on *Thom. Bullen*, Earl of *Wilt*-ſhire, but the *ſtrength* of it (as to the diſputing part) on Dr *Cranmer*, Dr *Stokeſley*, Dr *Carne*, Dr *Bennet*, &c. ſo that a little *Univerſity* of Learned men went along thither. Theſe were well armed with *Arguments*, being to carry a *challenge* to all the *Canoniſts* at *Rome*. Coming thither, they found the *Pope* in his *Grandetza* proffering his *Toe* to them, which none offered to kiſs, ſave the unmannerly *Spaniel* (to ſay no worſe of him) to the Earl of *Wilt*-ſhire, whom the *Jeſuit* calls a d *Proteſtant-Dog*, for biting the *Popes Toe*; But let him tell us what Religion thoſe *Dogs* were of, which eat up e *Jezebel* the harlot. The Earl preſented the *Pope* a Book of *Cranmers* penning, proving Gods Law indiſpenſable with by the *Pope*: A Book as welcome to his *Holineſs* as a *priſon*, beholding his own power therein limited and confined. Promiſe was made of a publick Diſputation, but never performed, Onely the *Pope* (who is excellent at the making of nothing ſomething, by the ſolemn giving thereof) made *Cranmer* *ſupreme Penitentiary* (an empty Title) throughout all his Dominions; This was onely to ſtay his ſtomach for that time, in hope of a more plentiful Feaſt hereafter, if *Cranmer* had been pleaſed to take his *repaſt* on any Popiſh preferment.

d Father *Floud*, ſee *Maſon de miniſt. Ang.* pag. 157.

e 2 *Kings* 9. 36.

Foreign Univerſities determine for the King.

19. Mean time King *Henry* imployed his Agents to the *Univerſities* in ſeveral parts of *Chriſtendom*, to ſound their judgments in the matter of his *Marriage*. Some report that *Reginald Poole*, then living at *Paris* was practiſed

ſed

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sed upon by promise of preferment, to act the University there in favour of the King: but he being a perfect *Katharinist* declined the employment. Sr *Richard Morisin*, a learned Knight, was used by the King in *Germany*; [a] *Edmund Bonner*, afterwards Bishop of *London*, employed in *Italy*, and *William Langée*, a Native French-man, made use of in his own Countrey; so that ten of the Universities subscribed the Case, that it was above the Popes power to dispense with the positive Law of God.

[a] *Hollinsh.* in *Hen.* 8. *pag.* 923.

1. *Cambridg*	*England.*	6. [d] *Tholouse*	*France.*
2. *Oxford*		7. [e] *Anjou*	
		8. [f] *Bituriges*	
3. [b] *Paris*	*France.*	9. [g] *Bononia*	*Italy.*
4. [c] The Faculty of *Paris*		10. [h] *Padua*	
5. *Orleans*			

May b 2. c 7. June f 10. g 10. July e 1. h 2. d 10. d 1.

Wonder not herein, at the silence of many *Dutch Universities*, *Wittemberg*, *Heidelberg*, *Tubing*, *Bazil*, that they interposed not their opinions herein; for these having formerly utterly exploded the Popes power, were conceived partial, and therefore incompetent Judges in this point: Wherefore the King onely solicited such Universities in this his Case, which [as yet] remained in fast and firm obedience to the *See* of *Rome*.

20. Of all the Universities declaring for the Popes inability to dispence with Gods positive command, most bold and daring (because largest, fullest clearest) was that of *Bononia*, the chief City in *Romandiola*, a Province of *Peters Patrimony*, and that City the Popes retiring place. Nor can I omit the conclusion of their Declaration. *We confidently do hold and witness, that such Marriage is horrible, accursed, and to be cried out upon, and utterly abominable, not onely for a Christian man, but for an Infidel, unfaithful or heathen, and that it is prohibited under grievous pains and punishments, by the Law of God, of Nature, and of man; and that the Pope, though he may do much, unto whom Christ gave the* [i] *Keys of the Kingdom of heaven, hath no power to give a dispensation to any man to contract such Marriage. In witness whereof we confirm this our judgment, both under the Seal of our University, as also with the Seal of our Colledg of Doctors of Divinity, and have subscribed it in the Cathedral Church of* Bonony, *this tenth of* June, *in the year of our Lord*, 1530.

The bold Declaration of the University of Bononia.

[i] *Speed's Chro. in H.8.p.766.*

21. [k] *Sanders* hath little to say against so many and clear decisions of the Universities; onely he tels us, that all the Kings Agents had not equal success in their Negotiations: and particularly that one *Hutton*, the Kings instrument herein could not bow those of *Hamborough* and *Lubeck*, to express themselves against the Marriage. But surely these two places were onely *Gymnasia*, for I finde them not mentioned amongst the Dutch Universities. Also he saith that *Richard Crook*, another of the Kings *Emissaries*, prevailed nothing on many *Germane Professors*, and particularly he praiseth the University of *Colen*, for their recusancy therein. As for such who subscribed on the Kings side, he pretends that *Bribes* bought their *judgments*; as if our King *Henry* had learnt from King [l] *Solomon*, that *Money recompenceth all things*. The best is, the cleanly *hands* of the *Court* of *Rome*, had never, no doubt any bribes sticking to their fair *fingers*. But though that English-*Angels* flew over to foraign *Universities*, yet there lieth a real distinction betwixt a *Bribe* and a *Boon*, freely bestowed, not to bow and bias their opinions; but to gratifie their pains, and remunerate their industry, in studying of the point.

The Recusancy of other Universities.

[k] *De schismate Anglic. p. 60, 61.*

[l] *Eccles.10.19*

22. As for our English *Ambassadours* at *Rome*, finding themselves onely *fed* with delaies; no wonder if they were *sharp set* to return home. All came

Cranmer travelleth into *Germany*.

came back again ſave Dr *Cranmer*, who took a journey to the *Emperours Court* in *Vienna*. Here he grew acquainted with *Cornelius Agrippa*, who had written a Book of the *Vanity of Sciences*, having much of the *Sciences*, but more of the *vanity* in himſelf. Here alſo he converſed with many great Divines, and ſatisfied ſome of them out of Scripture and Reaſon, which formerly were unreſolved in the unlawfulneſs of the Kings Marriage. Anno Dom. 1530 Anno Regis Hen. 8 22.

The Clergy caught in a *præmunire*.

23. A *Parliament* was now called, wherein the *Clergie* were found guilty of a *Præmunire*, becauſe they had too much promoted the *Papal intereſt*, and acted by vertue of his power, to the damage and *detriment* of the *Crown* of *England*; whereupon being willing to redeem their whole eſtates forfeited by *Law*, they were glad to commute it into a ſumme of money: the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* alone, beſtowed on the King, one hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid by equal portions, in the ſame year, ſay ſome; in four years ſay others, and that in my opinion with more probability. 1531 22.

Acknowledg the King Supreme Head of the Church.

24. But the King would not be ſo ſatisfied with the payment of the money, except alſo they would acknowledg him to be **Supreme Head of the Church.** This was hard meat, and would not eaſily down amongſt them, however being throughly debated in a Synodical way, both in the upper and lower houſes of Convocation; they did in fine agree, on this expreſſion, *cujus (Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ) ſingularem Protectorem, unicum & ſupremum Dominum, & (quantum per Chriſti leges licet) ſupremum caput ipſius Majeſtatem recognoſcimus.*

Confirmed by Act of Parliament.

25. This thus conſented unto, and ſubſcribed by the hands of the *Clergie*, (as appears at large in the Records and Acts of the *Convocation*) and ſo preſented to the King in the name of his Clergie; was afterwards confirmed by Parliament, and incorporated into a ſolemn Act for the ratification thereof.

The death of Arch-Biſhop *Warham*.

26. During theſe tranſactions, *William Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ended his life. A politick perſon, well learned in the Laws, generally reputed a *moderate man*, though (ſpecially towards his latter end) a *ſtill* and *ſilent perſecutor* of poor Chriſtians. He was firſt Parſon of *Barly* in *Hertford*-ſhire (as appears by an [a] inſcription in that Church) thence riſing by degrees to great preferment. In his *Will* he requeſted his Succeſſour not to ſue his [b] *Executors* for *Dilapidations*, as having expended ſome thouſands of pounds in repairing his ſeveral Palaces. We verily believe his requeſt was granted, ſeeing *Cranmer* was free from all exacting in that kinde. *Sede vacante*, *John Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, was Preſident in the Convocation. 1532 23. Aug. 23.

a *Weavers* Funeral Mon.

b *Antiq. Brit. pag.*

Cranmer ſent for, and unwilling, accepteth the Arch-Biſhoprick.

27. Meſſengers are ſent into *Germany* for *Thomas Cranmer*, to finde him out, and fetch him home with all poſſible ſpeed, the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* waiting his acceptance thereof. The Poſt eaſily doth the firſt, but *Cranmer* prolonged his journey by [c] *ſeven weeks*, at the leaſt, hoping that in the mean time the King might forget him, and confer the place on another, being really unwilling to imbrace the preferment, having *aliquid intus, ſomething within him*, which reluctated againſt thoſe ſuperſtitions through which he muſt wade in the way thereunto. But there lieth no *Nolo Epiſcopare* againſt *King Henry* his *Volo te Epiſcopum eſſe*; It being as mortal to *refuſe favours* from *him*, as to *offer injuries to him*. *Cranmer* therefore now come home, muſt *in his own defence* be Arch-Biſhop, who, to *ſerve* the *King* and *ſalve* his own *conſcience*, uſed the *expedient* of a *Proteſtation*, whereof hereafter.

c Fox Acts & Mon. *p.* 1703.

A preparative to *Cranmers* juſt defence.

28. The Philoſoper gives us this *note of direction*, whereby to finde out a *vertue*, *viz.* that it is accuſed by both *Extremes*. Thus *Liberality* is charged by *Prodigals* to be *Covetouſneſs*, by *covetous* men to be *Prodigality*. By the ſame proportion *Cranmer* appears a worthy Prelate, taxed by *Papiſts* to be an *Heretick*, by others [*no Papiſts*] as guilty of *Superſtition*. We will endeavour his juſt defence, conceiving the *Proteſtants cauſe* much concerned therein, the

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the Legality of his *Conſecration* having an influence on all the *Biſhops* made by him, that of the Biſhops making an impreſſion on the *Prieſts* and *Deacons* by them *ordained*, and their rightful *ordination*, deriving validity to the *Sacraments* by them *adminiſtred* to all the *members* of the *Church* of *England*.

29. A Papiſt [a] objects, *non fuit conſecratus ab ullo Epiſcopo, ſed à ſolo Rege intruſus, that he was conſecrated by no Biſhop, but thruſt in by the King alone.* The falſeneſs whereof doth appear on publick Record, ſtill to be ſeen in the Regiſter, being ſolemnly conſecrated by

Cranmer lawfully conſecrated.

a *Becan. contro: Angl.* c 4 q. 9. n. 6.

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John [b] *Lincoln.*
John Exeter.
Henry St *Aſaph.*

b *Regiſt. Cranm.* fol. 5.

and none that pretendeth to skill in *Canon Law*, can deny the number inſufficient for ſuch a performance.

30. Another urgeth him uncapable of a Biſhoprick as debarr'd by *Bigamy*, even by the cenſure of the [c] *Apoſtle*, *Let a Biſhop be the husband of one wife*, *Cranmer* being ſucceſſively twice married. It is Anſwered, ſuch *ſucceſſive marriage* is no *Bigamy*; the *Apoſtle* onely forbidding the having of *many wives at once*, (a fault faſhionable amongſt the *Jews*, then and many years after, by the teſtimony of [d] *Juſtine Martyr*) and the ſame is ſo expounded alſo by [e] *S Hierom. præcipit ut ſacerdotes ſingulas uno tempore habeant uxores.*

His double marriage no bar unto him.

c 1 *Tim.* 3. 2.

d *In dial. cum Tryph.*

e *Eph.* 83.

31. But grant *Cranmer* guilty but of *one wife* at *once*, even that made him (as his adverſaries rejoyn) uncapable of the *Arch-Biſhoprick*, becauſe prohibited by the *Canons*. To which we anſwer, that [f] *Spiridion*, [g] St *Hilary*, [h] *Gregory Nazianzen*, and many other *Biſhops*, eminent for Learning and Sanctity in the Primitive times, are confeſſed married men by authentick Authors, in the beſt times accounted no bar to their *Epiſcopal function*. Yea, the Romaniſts are concerned to allow *Cranmer* a lawful *Arch-Biſhop*, becauſe allowing ſuch as were Conſecrated by him, as *Thomas Thyrlby*, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Anthony Kitchin*, Biſhop of *Landaff*, for lawful Biſhops, to whom he could not derive any *orders*, if not legally inveſted therein himſelf.

Biſhops married in the Primitive times.

f *Sozomenus* lib. 1. ca p. 11.

g *Baptiſta Mantuanus.*

h *In carmine de vitâ ſuâ.*

32. Paſs we now to ſuch acceptions which a [m] Modern writer (zealous againſt Popery) taketh againſt him, being no fewer then *nine*, as if he intended what they want in weight to make up in number. 1. *That he took the like Oath to the Pope which his Predeceſſors have done, and therefore was deeply charged of perjury by* Martin *a Papiſt.*

Cranmer took not the like Oath with his predeceſſors.

m *Will. Pryn* in his antipathy of prelacy to Monarchie, *pag.* 131.

* 33. I Anſwer, he took not the like Oath. His Predeceſſours took it abſolutely and ſimply. Not ſo *Cranmer*. Not that he was guilty of any *clandeſtine equivocation* or *mental reſervation* therein, but publickly entred a ſolemn *Proteſtation*, remaining on Record in his [n] office in manner and form following.

* The copy of his proteſtation.

n *Ex Regiſt. Cranmer.* fol. 4.

IN *Dei nomine, Amen, Coram nobis, &c. Non eſt, nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujuſmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualiterq́, verba in ipſis poſita ſonare videbuntur me obligare ad aliquid, ratione eorundem, poſthac dicendum, faciendum, aut attentandum, quid erit, aut eſſe videbitur contra legem* Dei, *vel contra illuſtriſſimum* Regem *noſtrum* Angliæ, *aut* Rempublicam *hujus ſui* Regni Angliæ, *legeſve, aut prærogativa ejuſdem; & quòd non intendo per hujuſmodi juramentum vel juramenta quovis modo me obligare, quo minùs liberè loqui conſulere, & conſentire valeam, in omnibus & ſingulis reformationem* Religionis Chriſtianæ, *gubernationem* Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, *ac prærogativam coronæ ejuſdem* Reipublicæ! *vè commoditatem quoquo modo concernentibus, & ea ubiq́, exequi & reformare, quæ mihi in* Eccleſiâ Anglicanâ *reformanda videbuntur.*

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videbuntur. Et ſecundum hanc interpretationem, & intellectum hunc, & non aliter, neq; alio modo dictum juramentum me præſtiturum proteſtor, & profiteor, &c.

This *Proteſtation* he did not privately ſmother in a corner, but publickly interpoſed it *three ſeveral times, viz.* once in the *Chapter-houſe* before authentick witneſſes; again, on his bended knees at the *High-Altar*, many people and Biſhops beholding him when he was to be conſecrated; and the third time, when he received his **Pall** in the ſame place.

No cavil but a juſt charge.

34. Secondly, he accuſeth him for having a hand in the condemnation and execution of *Lambert*, *Frith*, and other Godly Martyrs. This indeed cannot be denied. For though I am loath that *Cranmers head* ſhould (by the *weight* and *violence* of his cauſleſs detractors) be plucked *under water*, where he was *innocent*, I will leave him to *ſink* or *ſwim* by himſelf where he was *guilty*. Onely adding, *In many things we offend all.*

A happy match in the event.

a Mr *Pryn*, *pag.* 132.

35. His third accuſation, *he was a chief man in accompliſhing King* Henries *Divorce*, *which* [a] *occaſioned much trouble, diſſention, and War.* But he might have remembred, which alſo produced the peerleſs Princeſs Queen *Elizabeth*, who perfected the Reformation, and by her long peaceable and victorious Reign, brought much honour, wealth and renown to our Nation. Beſides, that *Divorce* is generally defended by *Proteſtant* writers, whoſe judgments this accuſer will rely on when it makes for his purpoſe.

A Rebels weapon.

b Mr *Pryn ut prius.*

36. Fourth accuſation, the *Lincoln*-ſhire Rebels, in their *ſix Articles* of their grievances preſented to King *Henry* the eighth complain, that this Arch-Biſhop, and other Prelates of his Graces late promotion, had [b] *ſubverted the Faith of Chriſt*, &c.

Ill uſed againſt a loyal ſubject.

37. I Anſwer, they were the *Lincoln*-ſhire *Rebels that ſaid it*, and this their pretended *ſubverting of the faith*, was the *reforming* and *confirming* thereof; *Cranmer* ſerving the God of his *Fathers* in that way which they termed *Hereſie*. Wellthereforе might this cavil have been waved, good onely to ſwell the Volume.

The grand cavil.

c Mr *Pryn*, *pag.* 133.

38. Fifth Cavil, though *Matthew Parker* reports (as this [c] Delator confeſſes) *that Cranmer oppoſed this act of the ſix Articles at firſt, then cauſed it to be moderated, and at laſt to be repealed in King* Edwards *dayes, but others ſeem to imply that he gave conſent thereunto at firſt.*

Anſwered.

39. To this I Anſwer three things: Firſt, to *imply* is far leſs then to *expreſs*, and ſuch *implications* are often the bare *ſurmiſes* of a *byaſſed apprehenſion*. Secondly, to *ſeem to imply*, is leſs then to *imply*, *nulla videntur quæ non ſunt*. Thirdly, the *Others* by him mentioned, ought to have been nominated, this Author generally giving no *ſcant meaſure* in ſuch *wares*; ſo that his margin (commonly over-thronged) is here quite empty of quotations. *Inopem nunc copia fecit.* We may aſſure our ſelves he would have alledged ſuch *Other Authors*, but for ſeveral ſubſtantial reaſons, whereof this was one, *becauſe he had none to alledg.* And ſhall an uncertain, un-named *No body*, be believed againſt *Cranmer*, before Mr *Fox*, and Dr *Parkers* clear teſtimonies in his behalf?

Violent no juſt depriving.

40. Seventh Cavil. *He ſuffered Martyrdome, not while he was a Biſhop, but when degraded and deprived.* What of this? does this tend any thing to the diſgrace of *him* or his *order*, ſeeing ſuch an injurious and violent degradation, deprived him not of his Epiſcopal indeleble character, ſo that ſtill in *right* he remained a *Biſhop?*

God ſend valour at laſt.

41. Eight Cavil. *He failed more in his Martyrdome, by reaſon of his cowardly recantation, thorow hopes of life, and reſtitution to his former dignity, then any of his fellow Martyrs.* Anſwer, It is confeſſed: But his *final conſtancy* may well cover his *intermediate failings*. Better it is *faintly* and *fearfully* to bear in our body the *marks of our Lord Jeſus*, then *ſtoutly* and *ſtubbornly* to endure the *brands of our own indiſcretion.*

42. Laſt

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42. Laſt Cavil. *He was condemned for high Treaſon, for an act done by him as an Arch-Biſhop, and Councellor of State, for which he profeſſed both his ſorrow* [a] *and repentance.* Did he ſo indeed, by the confeſſion of his adverſary? The more unworthy man his accuſor, after this his *ſorrow and repentance* to upbraid him therewith. Mr *Pryn* might alſo remember that the two Lord chief Juſtices were in the ſame Treaſon (whoſe Education made them more known in the Laws of the Land) and our *Cranmer* was laſt and leaſt in the fault, it being long before he could be perſwaded to ſubſcribe to the diſinheriting of *Queen Mary.*

Remember not what God had forgotten.

[a] Mr *Pryn*, 134.

43. We appeal to the unpartial Reader, upon the peruſal of the premiſſes, whither an *ordinary charity*, might not, yea ought not to have paſt by theſe accuſations, and whether the memory of *Arch-Biſhop Cranmer* may not juſtly ſay of Mr *Pryn*, as once the King of [b] *Iſrael*, of the King of *Syria*, *wherefore conſider I pray you, and ſee how he ſeeketh a quarrel againſt me?* Indeed ſo great is his antipathy againſt *Epiſcopacy*, that if a *Seraphim* himſelf ſhould be a *Biſhop*, he would either finde or make ſome *ſick feathers* in his *wings.*

An appeal to any indifferent.

44. *Cranmer* was now ſetled in his Arch-Biſhoprick, and the firſt eminent act of his office was exerciſed in the *Kings* Divorce. A Court is called in the Priory of *Dunſtable* in *Bedford*-ſhire, as a favourable place, indifferently diſtanced, but five miles from *Amphil*, where Queen *Katharine* reſided. With *Cranmer* were the *Biſhops* of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, with many other great Prelates. Theſe ſummoned *Queen Katharine* to appear before them, full *fifteen* dayes together, on whoſe refuſal they not onely adjudged her *contumacious*, but alſo pronounced her match with the King as *null* and *unlawful by Scripture*; and ſoon after it was proclaimed, that hence forward none ſhould call her **Queen**, but the **Dowager** of *Prince Arthur.* And thus a *few dayes* had diſpatched that *Divorce*, which had depended many years in the *Court of Rome.*

Cranmer Divorceth King *Henry.*

45. And now I cannot call King *Henry* a *Batchelor*, becauſe once married; nor a *married man*, becauſe having no *wife*; nor properly a *widower*, becauſe his *wife* was not dead. But he therefore a *ſingle*, or rather a *ſeparated* perſon, remaining ſo (if at all) but a very ſhort time, as ſoon after ſolemnly married to the Lady *Anna Bollen*, of whom largely hereafter.

Who Marrieth a Lady, and a Bollen.

46. Now began *Elizabeth Barton* to play her tricks, commonly called the holy Maid of *Kent*, though at this day *of Kent* alone is left unto her, as whoſe *Maiden-ſhip* is vehemently ſuſpected, and *holineſs* utterly denied; ſhe was famous on a double account. Firſt, for knowing ſecrets paſt, and indeed ſhe could *tell* any thing which was *told* her; converſing with Fryers her *familiars*, and other folks *Confeſſors*, who revealed many privacies unto her. Secondly, ſhe was eminent for foretelling things to come, and ſome of her predictions hit in the mark, procured to the reſt the reputation of prophecy with credulous people. She foretold that *King Henry* ſhould not be *King* a full twelve moneth, except he reaſſumed *Queen Katharine* to be his Wife.

The Impoſture of *Elizabeth Barton.*

47. I am heartily ſorry that the *gravity* of *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rochecheſter* ſhould be ſo *light*, and the ſharp ſight of Sr *Thomas More* ſo blinde, as to give credit to ſo notorious an *Impoſtrix*, which plunged them both into the Kings deep diſpleaſure. As for *Elizabeth Barton*, ſoon after ſhe was executed, with many of her complices and complotters. The *Papiſt* at this day, unable to defend her forgery, and unwilling to confeſs her cheating, ſeek to ſalve all by pleading her to be diſtracted. Thus if ſucceeding ſhe had been praiſed (and perchance Canonized) for her devotion; now failing ſhe muſt be pardoned and pitied for her diſtraction.

Fiſher & *More* beſooled by her forgery.

48. We may remember, how, not long ſince, the *Clergie* did own, and recognize *King Henry* the *eighth*, for *Supreme Head* of the *Church*, which was clearly carried by a plurality of voices in the *Convocation.* *John Fiſher*, *Biſhop* of *Rocheſter*, was the onely eminent *Clergy-man*, who openly oppoſed it.

Biſh. *Fiſher* impriſoned for refuſing the Oath of Supremacy.

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it. One obnoxious to the *Kings* displeasure, on a threefold account; first, for engaging so zealously, (above the earnestness of an *Advocate*) against the *Kings Divorce*. Secondly, for tampering with that notable *Impostrix*, the *holy maid* of *Kent*. Thirdly, for refusing the *Oath of Supremacy*, for which he was now imprisoned. Indeed this *Bishop* lost himself (both with his *friends* and his *foes*) by his inconstancy at the first, seeing he who should have been as *staid* as the *Tower*, was as *watering* as the *weather-cock*, neither *complying* with the *King*, nor agreeing with *himself*; but *would* and *would not*, acknowledge the *Kings* Supremacy. But at last he fixed himself on the negative, and resolutely continued therein till the day of his death, of whom more largely hereafter.

The Convocation of *York* denies the Kings Supremacy.

49. The *Clergie* in the *Province* of *York* did also for a long time deny the *Kings* Supremacy. Indeed the *Convocation* of *York* hath ever since *struck Tallies* with that of *Canterbury*, though not *implicitly*) *unanimously post-concurring* therewith; But here they dissented, not because more *knowing* in their *judgments*, or *tender* in their *consciences*, but generally more *superstitious*, and addicted to *Popery*. Insomuch that they sent two Letters to the *King* (I conceive them written, one from the *upper*, the other from the *lower* house of *Convocation*) wherein they acquainted his *Highness* with their *judgments*, (interlacing many expressions of general submission) and their *Reasons* in a large discourse, why they could not acknowledg him to be *Supreme Head* of the *Church*.

Edw. Lee Arch-Bishop of *York* a furious Papist. *De Scriptoribus Brit. in Edwardo Sexto.*

50. Give me leave to suspect *Edward Lee*, *Arch-Bishop of York*, for a secret fomentor of this difference. He was a virulent *Papist*, much conceited of his own Learning, (which made him to write against *Erasmus*) and a *persecutor* of *Protestants*; witness *John Bale*, convented before him for *suspicion of heresie*, who in vain earnestly pleaded *Scripture* in his own defence, till at last he casually made use of a distinction out of *Scotus*, which the *Arch-Bishop* more valued, then all which he had before more pertinently alledged out of the *Old* and *New Testament*.

King *Henry* his answer to *York* Convocation.

51. *King Henry* wrote a fair and large Letter to the *Convocation* of *York*, too long here to be inserted, (though otherwise I have a good [a] *Copy* thereof) wherein the King began mildly to make the passage for his *Supremacy* into their *consciences*, by a *Rational* and *Argumentative* way. He disclaimed all design by *fraud* to *surprize*, or by *force* to *captivate* their *judgments*, but onely to convince them of the *Truth*, and *Equity* of what he desired. He [b] declavered the sence of *Supreme Head* of the *Church*, (though offensive in the sound to ignorant ears) claiming nothing more thereby, then what *Christian Princes* in the *Primitive times* assumed to themselves, in their own *Dominions*, so that it seems he wrought so far on their affections, that at last they consented thereunto.

[a] Communicated unto me by my good friend Dr *Littleton*.

[b] It is printed in the second part of the Cabal.

A couseless cavil.

52. Here I wonder at the cavil of the Papists, which being so *causeless*, should be so *clamorous*, accusing us to have a [c] *Parliament Religion*, a *Parliament Faith*, a *Parliament Gospel*; and [d] another addeth *Parliament Bishops*, and a *Parliament Clergy*. Whereas upon serious examination it will appear, that there was nothing done in the *Reformation* of *Religion*, save what was acted by the *Clergy* in their *Convocations*, or grounded on some *Act* of theirs, *precedent* to it, with the advice, counsel, and consent of the *Bishops* and most eminent *Church-men*; confirmed upon the *Postfact*, and not otherwise, by the *Civil Sanction*, according to the usage of the best and happiest times of *Christianity*.

[c] *Harding* against *Jewel*.

[d] *Stubbings*.

The Cavil retorted.

53. By the same proportion in the dayes of *Queen Mary* the *Popish Religion*, might have been stiled a *Parliament Religion*, because after the same had been debated on, and concluded of in the *Convocation*, it was confirmed by the *Queen*, *Lords* and *Commons*, by the Act of *Parliament*.

SECT.

Anno Regis | Anno Dom.

SECT. III.

To the Right Worſhipful,

Sir *RICHARD SHUGBOROUGH*

OF

SHUGBOROUGH in Warwick-ſhire.

MAſter Haward *returned this anſwer to* Queen Mary (*demanding the cauſes of his coming to* Court) *that it was partly to ſee* Her Highneſs, *and partly that* Her Highneſs *ſhould ſee him*; *an anſwer, which though more* witty *then* Court-like; *yea, more* blunt, *then* witty, *ſhe took in good part.*

You will not be offended at this my Dedication, partly that I may know you, *partly that I may be* known unto you. *Beſides, being informed, that you love to have your* Hoſpital Table *handſomly attended with* Ancient Servitors; *I preſumed that this Section, containing much of* memorable Antiquity, *would not be unwelcome unto* you.

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1. NOw though nothing was done in matters of Religion, but what was fairly and largely diſcuſſed; firſt by the moſt Learned of the Clergy; yet this year the Clergy in the Convocation ſo ſubmitted themſelves to the King, that each one ſeverally promiſed in *verbo Sacerdotis, never henceforth to preſume to alledg, claim, or put in ure, any new Canons, unleſs the Kings moſt Royal Aſſent might be had unto them*, and this ſoon after the ſame was ratified by Act of *Parliament*.

The Clergie bind themſelves to the King.

2. And here it will be worth my pains, and the Readers peruſal to obſerve the differences between *Engliſh Synods* or *Convocations*, which may eminently be diſtinguiſhed into four ranks, ſuch as were,

A fourfold ſort of Convocations.

1. Called

Anno Dom. 1533. Anno Regni 25.

1. Called before the Conqueſt.
2. Called ſince the Conqueſt, but before the *Statute* of *Præmunire* was made.
3. Called after the aforeſaid *Statute*, but before another made in the *Reign* of *King Henry* the *eighth*, wherein the *Clergie* were bound up, for doing ought, without the *Royal aſſent*.
4. Called after the twenty fifth year of the *Reign* of *King Henry* the *eighth*.

Theſe did plainly differ in the ſeveral manners of their meeting, and degrees of power, of their acting in Spiritual matters.

Kings Acted in Church matters before the Conqueſt.

3. As for *Councels*, called before the Conqueſt, whileſt the Popes power, had not as yet Lorded it over the Kings of *England*, the Kings ever were (if not in *perſon*) in *power* preſent thereat; as by peruſing Sr *Henry Spelmans Councils* plainly doth appear. Yea, matters both of Church and Common-wealth were often dictated and concluded in the ſame *Meeting*, *Communi conſenſu tam Cleri quam* a *Populi Epiſcoporum, procerum, comitum, nec non omnium Sapientum, Seniorum populorumq; totius Regni.*

a Sir *Henry Spelman, Anno* 665. pag. 118.

Of the ſecond ſort of Convocations.

4. For the ſecond ſort (called after the *Conqueſt*, but before the *Statute* of Præmunire) the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* or *York*, uſed upon all extraordinary, and immergent caſes, *toties, quoties*, as their own diſcretions adjudging neceſſary or convenient, to aſſemble the *Clergie* of their reſpective *Provinces*, at what place they pleaſed, continuing Convocations in them ſo long, or diſſolving them, as ſoon as they pleaſed. And this they did, either as *Metropolitans*, or *Primates*, or as *Legati Nati* to the *Pope* of *Rome*, without any leave from the *King* afore obtained, and ſuch *Canons*, and *Conſtitutions* then and there concluded on, were in that *Age* (without any further *Ratification*) obligatory to all ſubjected to their *juriſdiction*. Such were all the Synods from *Lanckfranck* to *Thomas Arundel*, in whoſe time the Satute of Præmunire was enacted.

Of the third ſort of Convocations.

5. A Third ſort of *Convocation* ſucceeds: For after the *Statute* of *Præmunire* was made, (which did much reſtraine the *Papal* power, and ſubject it to the *Laws* of the *Land*) when *Arch-Biſhops* called no more *Convocations* by their ſole and abſolute *command*, but at the pleaſure of the *King*, as oft as his neceſſities and occaſions with the diſtreſſes of the *Church* did require it. Yea, now their meetings were by vertue of a *Writ* or *Precept* from the *King*, and it will not be amiſs here to exemplifie the form thereof.

The form of ancient *Writs* of Convocations.

6. *REX, &c. Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, A. Canturienſi Archiepiſcopo totius Angliæ primati, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis legato ſalutem. Quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, defenſionem & ſecuritatem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defenſionem Regni noſtri, & ſubditorum reſtrorum ejuſdem concernentibus, vobis in fide & dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus præmiſſis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis univerſos & ſingulos Epiſcopos noſtræ Provinciæ, ac Decanes, & Præcores Eccleſiarum Cathedralium Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos Exemptos, & non Exemptos. Nec non Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, & Collegia, totumq; Clerum, cujuſlibet Diœceſeos ejuſdem Provinciæ, ad conveniendum eorum vobis in Eccleſia Sancti Pauli London, vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda modo debito convocari faciatis; Ad tractandum, conſentiendum, & concludendum, ſuper præmiſſis & aliis, quæ ſibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte noſtrâ. Et hoc ſicut nos & ſtatum Regni noſtri, & honorem & utilitatem Eccleſiæ prædictæ diligitis nullatenus omittatis. Teſte me ipſo, &c.*

7. In

Anno Regis Hen. 8 25. Anno Dom. 1533

7. In this *Writ* we may obſerve, firſt, that from the word **Convocari** *faciatis*, the word **Convocation** took its denomination, being formerly called *Synods*, as lately (ſince our *Scotizing*) termed *Aſſemblies*. Secondly, that clauſe, *in Eccleſia Sancti Pauli London, vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis*, pointeth at a power placed, or rather a Liberty left to the Arch-Biſhops, to call their Synods elſewhere, in caſe they adjudged it more convenient. But becauſe the Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, might the better attend their buſineſs in Parliaments (henceforward commonly kept at the ſame time with Convocations) S^t *Pauls* in *London* was generally preferred for the place of their convention. Thirdly, this *Writ* was uſed even after the *Reformation, mutatis mutandis*, namely, the title of *Apoſtolical Legate* to the *Arch-Biſhop* being left out, as alſo the names of *Priors*, and *Abbots* are extinguiſhed. Laſtly, of this third Sort of Convocations, was all thoſe kept by *Thomas Arundel* and the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* his ſucceſſors, unto *Thomas Cranmer*; or if you will, from the *ſixteenth* of *Richard* the *ſecond*, unto the *twenty fifth* of King *Henry* the *eighth*. Theſe Convocations did alſo make *Canons* (as in *Lynwood* his Conſtitutions do appear) which were *binding*, although none other, then *Synodical authority* did confirm them.

Obſervations thereon.

8. The laſt ſort of *Convocations* remains, called ſince the Statute, the twenty fifth of *King Henry* the *eighth*, *that none of the Clergie ſhould preſume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in ure, any Conſtitutions or Ordinances Provincial, or Synodals, or any other Canons, Conſtitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, (by whatſoever name or names they may be called) in their Convocation in time coming*; (*which alwayes ſhall be aſſembled by the Kings Writ*) *unleſs the ſame Clergie may have the Kings moſt Royal Aſſent and Licence to make, promiſe and execute ſuch Canons, Conſtitutions and Ordinances Provincial, or Synodical, upon pain of every one of the ſaid Clergie doing the contrary to this Act, and thereof convicted, to ſuffer impriſonment, and making Fine at the Kings will.* Since this year, from Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer* to Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, all Convocations (ſo long as they laſted) are born tongue-tied, till the King did *cut* the *ſtring* thereof with his *Letters Patent*, allowing them leave to debate on matters of Religion. Otherwiſe, what they conclude, are *arrows* without *piles*; *daggers* without *points*; too *blunt* to *pierce* into the practiſe of others, but *ſharp* enough to wound themſelves, and bring them within the compaſs of a *Præmunire*. Yea, even ſuch *Convocations* with the *Royal aſſent*, ſubject not any (for recuſancy to obey their Canons) to a civil penalty in *perſon* or *property*, until confirmed by *Act* of *Parliament*.

The laſt ſort of Convocations.

9. This I humbly conceive to be the difference betwixt the three *kindes* of *Convocations*, ſubmitting what I have written to the *cenſure* and *correction* of the *Learned* in the *Law*, conſcious of my own ignorance therein, as indeed ſuch skill neither is to be expected or required in one of my profeſſion, who am ready with *willingneſs*, yea, with *cheerfulneſs*, yea, with *thankfulneſs* to God and man, publickly to recall, and retract what any ſuch convince me to have miſtaken herein; hoping that my *ſtumbling* in ſo dark a ſubject, may prevent the *failing* of others.

The Authors ſubmiſſion.

10. There goeth a tradition (taken up by many without examination) *that anciently the Clergie ſat as one body with the Parliament, and were not divided till in the Reign of King Henry the eighth*, as a * *modern Author* hath written in a Tract. But when I asked of *Him*, where he had read the ſame, he cited a *French Letter* of *Cardinal Sadolets*. Strange that a *Foraigner* ſhould be more ſeeing herein, then any of our *Native Authors* and *Records* that I ever could behold. But it may be, the *Error* had its *Original* hence, becauſe anciently *Biſhops* ſitting in the *Parliament*, did not alwayes appear *perſonally*, or by the *proxie* of men of their *own order*, but ſometimes ſent *one* or *more* of the *inferiour Clergie* to repreſent them, if it be true what I have read in a ſmall Engliſh book, bearing the name of M^r *Selden* (but I queſtion whether avowed by him) of the proceedings in *Parliament*.

A vulgar Errour.

* *Calebut Downing.*

11. *John*

The Martyrdom of *John Fryth.*

11. *John Fryth* ſealed the *Truth* with his bloud, one who juſtly may be ſaid aged *ſixty* at *ſix* and *twenty* (ſo young was he Martyred) ſuch his learning, gravity, and conſtancy. It was chiefly charged on him, that he denyed the believing of the *real preſence* in the *Sacrament* (underſtand him *de modo* thereof) to be an *Article* of the *Faith*, though confeſſing *Chriſt really preſent*, in the *bread*, ſo he might not be compelled to the worſhipping thereof. But theſe things are ſet down largely in Mr *Fox*. Onely I will add, that perſons out of groundleſſe ſuggeſt two ſcandals on this good man, and his wives memory. One that he was guilty of ſome practiſe againſt the *State*, meerly becauſe he was committed to the *Tower*. The other that his *wife* being beyond the Seas with Mr *Tyndal*, expreſſing himſelf, *content with the will of God, that for her ſake ſhe would not have the glory of God hindered*, deſired to be rid of her husbands life, that Mr *Tyndal* might the more freely enjoy her company. Thus this *Jeſuite*, being himſelf a *Baſtard*, meaſureth *others* by the *chaſtity* of his *own Parents*. Indeed the aforeſaid *Tyndal* much exhorted *Fryth* to patient ſuffering, but not as thoſe *Cowardly Captains*, which encourage *others* to fight, and *themſelves* forſake the field, becauſe afterwards he valiantly brought up the *rear*, and ſuffered for the ſame cauſe two years after.

Anno Dom. 1533 — Anno Regis Hen. 8 25.

Biſhop *Fiſhers* Letter for new cloaths and a Confeſſour.

12. *John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter*, was now priſoner in the *Tower*, where he was but courſely uſed, as appears by a Letter to Mr *Secretary Cromwel*. 1534 — 26.

a *Ex literis in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.*

a FUrthermore I beſeche yow to be gode Maſter unto me in my neceſſitie, for I have neither Shirt, nor Sute, nor yet other Clothes, that ar neceſſary to me to weare; but that be ragged and torn to ſhameſully. And now in mine Age, my ſtomake may not away but with a few kind of meats, which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into coffs, and diſeaſes of my body, and cannot keep my ſelfe in health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me for to provide any better, but as my b brother of his own purſe laieth out for me, to his great hinderance.

b *Robert Fiſher.*

Wherefore gode Maſter Secretary, eſtſones I beſeche yow to have ſom pittie pon me, and let me have ſuch things as bar neceſſary for me in mine Age, and eſpecially for my health; and alſo that it may pleaſe yow by yowr high wyſdome, to move the Kings Highneſſe to take me unto his gracious favour againe, and to reſtore me unto my liberty, out of this cold and painful Impriſonment; whereby ye ſhall bind me to be yowr pore beadſman for ever unto Almighty God, who ever have yow in his protection and cuſtody.

Other twain things I muſt alſo deſyer upon yow; firſt, oon is, that itt may pleaſe yow, that I may take ſome Preeſt within the Tower, by th'aſſignment of Maſter Livetenant, to have my confeſſion againſt my *hooly tym*.

That other is, that I may borrow ſome bookes to ſtir my devotion mor effectually theis hooly dayes, for the comfortte of my ſowl. This I beſeche yow to grant me of yowr charitie. And thus our Lord ſend yow a mery Chriſtenmas, and a comfortable to yowr heart deſyer. Att the Tower this xxij. day of *December*.

Tour poor Beadſman

JOHN ROFFE.

His firſt petition for cloaths was granted him, (having exchange thereof at his execution) and it is probable the other two petitions being ſo reaſonable were not denied him.

19. During

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19. During his durance in the *Tower*, he was often and ſtrictly examined, before Sir *Edmund Walſingham* Lieutenant thereof, by *Thomas Bedyll*, and *Richard Layton* Clerks of the Councell, and was ſworn in *verbo Sacerdotii*, to anſwer to many Interrogatories, but chiefly concerning four ſubjects. His often examinations.

Firſt, about the *King*'s *Divorce*; wherein he was alwaies conſtant to what he had printed of the unlawfulneſſe thereof. Of four principal particulars

Secondly, about His *Supremacy*, which (at laſt) he peremptorily denyed.

Thirdly, about his *concealing* the *Impoſture* of *Elizabeth Barton*, the *Maide* of *Kent*; wherein, he confeſſed his weakneſſe, and over-eaſie beliefe; but utterly denied any ill Intentions to the *King*'s Perſon.

Fourthly, about the *Statute* of *Succeſſion*, wherein (as appears by his *Letter* to * Secretary *Cromwell*) he was content to *ſubſcribe*, and *ſwear* to the *body*, but not to the *Preamble* thereof. * Extant in Sir *Thomas Cotton*'s Library.

20. Which words therein, ſo offenſive to *Fiſher* (except there be any other *unprinted Preface* to this *Statute*) were theſe: *The Biſhop* [a] of Rome *and See Apoſtolick, contrary to the great and invielable grants of Juriſdiction by God immediately to Emperours, Kings, and Princes, in Succeſſion to their Heires, hath preſumed in times paſt to inveſt, who ſhould pleaſe them to inherit in other mens Kingdomes and Dominions: which thing we Your moſt humble Subjects, both Spiritual and Temporal, doe moſt abhorre and deteſt.* Taketh offence at the Preface of the Statute. a See the printed Statutes, 25 of *Hen.* 8. cap. 21 p. 558.

21. Here I know not whether more to commend the *policy* or *charity* of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, deſiring in a *Letter* to [b] Secretary *Cromwell*, that this *partial ſubſcription* which Biſhop *Fiſher* proffered, to the *Statute* of *Succeſſion*, might be accepted: adding, that good uſe might be made thereof, to the *King*'s *advantage*, ſuch generall reputation the World had of this *Biſhop*'s *Learning*, and of Sir *Thomas Moore*'s: both which, it ſeems, went the ſame *path* and *pace*, and in this point, *ſtarted*, *ran*, and *ſtopp'd* together. Indeed, it was not good to *ſtrain* ſuch *fine ſtrings* too high, which poſſibly *moiſtened* with *milde uſage*, might in proceſſe of time, have been *ſtretched* to a further *compliance*. But, it ſeems, nothing at preſent would ſatisfie, except both of them came up to the *full meaſure* of the *King*'s *demands*. Archbiſhop *Cranmer* his politick charity. b ex Litt. MS. in Bib. Cotton.

22. As for Biſhop *Fiſher* his concealing the pretended *Propheſies* of *Elizabeth Barton*, it was ſo farre waved, that he was never indicted for the ſame. And indeed he made an ingenuous *Plea* for himſelf; namely, that the ſaid *Elizabeth* had told him, ſhe had acquainted the *King* therewith; yea, he had aſſurance thereof from the [c] *Archbiſhop*. And therefore, knowing the *King* knew of it; before, he he was loath to hazard His diſpleaſure in that, which was not *revealing* what was *unknown*, but *repeating* what would be *unwelcome* to His *Grace*. *Fiſher* concealing *Barton*'s forgeries, waved. c in his Letter to the King, in bib. Cotton.

23. But not long after, he was arreigned of high Treaſon, and it will not be amiſſe to inſert the *ſting* of the Indictment out of the Originall. Yet how indicted, why condemned.

* May 7. *DIverſis Domini Regis veris, ſubditis falsè malitioſè & proditoriè loquebatur & propalabat videlicet.* The King owre Soveraigne Lord is not Supreme Hed yn erthe of the Cherche of England. *In dicti Domini Regis immund. deſpect. & vilipendium manifeſt.* * His words were ſpoken May 7. in the Tower of *London*, but he arraigned afterwards.

Of this he was found guilty, had Judgment, and was remanded to the Tower, where, for a time, we leave him, and proceed.

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Papists unjustly charge us for Schismaticks.

24. Thus was the power of the *Pope* totally abolished out of *England*, whereof the *Romanists* at this day doe bitterly complain, but can revenge themselves no other way, save by aspersing us as guilty of *Schisme* and *Separation* for rending our selves from the *Mother-Church*. Blame us not, if loath that the *Church* of *England* (in whole *Doctrine* and *Discipline* we were *born*, and *bred*, and desire to *die*) should lie under so foule and false an *Imputation*, which by the following *Narrative* may fully be confuted.

Three Essentials in Reformation.

25. Three things are Essential to justifie the *English Reformation*, from the *scandal* of *Schisme*, to shew, that they had

1. Just *cause* for which
2. True *authority* by which } they deceded from *Rome*.
3. Due *moderation* in what

The grosse errors in Popery.

26. The first will plainly appear, if we consider the *abominable Errors*, which contrary to *Scripture* and *Primitive practise* were then crept into the *Church* of *Rome*. As the *denying* the *Cup* to the *Laity*; *Worshipping* of *Images*; *locking up* the *Scriptures* in *Latine*, and *performing prayers* in an *unknown Tongue*, with the *monstrosity* of *Transubstantiation*, unexcusable practises. Besides, the *Behemoth* of the *Pope's Infallibility*, and the *Leviathan* of his *Universall Jurisdiction*, so exclaimed against by *Gregory the great*, as a *Note* of *Anti-Christ*.

The impossibility of a free generall Councell.

27. Just cause of *Reformation* being thus proved, proceed we to the *Authority* by which it is to be made. Here we confesse the most *regular way*, was by order from a *Free* and *Generall Councell*, but here alas no hope thereof. *General* it could not be, the *Greeks* not being in a *capacity* of *repairing* thither; not *Free*, such the *Papal Usurpation*; For before men could trie the *Truth*, *hand to hand*, by *dint* of *Scripture* (the *Sword* and *Buckler* thereof, by *God's appointment*) the *Pope* took off all his *Adversaries*, *at distance*, with (those *Guns* of *Hellish Invention*) his *Infallibility* and *Universall Jurisdiction*, so that no approaching his presence to oppose him, but with certainty of being pre-condemned.

The power of a Nationall Church well improved.

28. Now seeing the *Complaints* of the conscientious in all *Ages*, against the *Errors* in the *Romish Church*, met with no other *entertainment* than *frowns* and *frets*, and afterwards *fire* and *faggot*, it came seasonably into the mindes of those who *steered* the *English Nation*, to make use of that power which *God* had bestowed upon them. And seeing they were a *National Church* under the civil command of one *King*, He by the *advice* and consent of his *Clergie* in *Convocation*, and *great Council* in *Parliament*, resolved to reform the *Church* under His inspection from grosse abuses crept into it, leaving it free to other *Churches* either to follow His example, or continue in their former condition: and on these terms was the *English Reformation* first advanced.

Objection to the contrary.

29. But the *Romanists* object, that *England* being first converted to *Christianity*, by the zeale and care of the *Church* of *Rome*, (when Pope *Gregory the great* sent *Augustine* over to preach here) cannot, not onely without *great Ingratitude*, but *flat Undutifulnesse* depart from the *Church* which first taught it true Religion.

Answer 1.

It is answered, First, this *Argument* reacheth not *west* of *Severne* into *Wales*, where the *antient Britains* by generall confession, were converted before the time of *Augustine*.

Answer 2.

Secondly, this *first favour* received from *Rome*, puts not on *England* so *strict* and *servile* an *obligation* of *perpetual continuance*, that she may and must not serve *God* without asking her leave. It ties *England* onely to a faire and gratefull respect, which she alwaies tender'd, till the Insolency of the *Church* of *Rome*, made *Us* unwilling to *pay*, and *Her* unworthy to *receive* it.

Answer 3.

Thirdly, some strength may be allowed to this *Objection*, if *Rome* could be proved the same in *Doctrine* and *Discipline*, when under the Reign of King *Henry the eighth*, *England* divided it self from it, with *Rome*, when in the time of *Grego-*

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ry the great, it was converted by *God's bleſsings* on his *endeavours*. But ſince that time the *Church* of *Rome* hath been much corrupted in *Opinions* and *practiſe*, eaſie to prove, but that it is not the ſet work of our Hiſtory.

2. Objection of the Romaniſts.

30. But again the *Papiſts* object, that the moſt *judicious Proteſtants* doe *ingeniouſly* confeſſe, that the *Church* of *Rome* maintaineth all the *Fundamentals* of *Religion*. *England* therefore cannot be excuſed from *Schiſme*, for dividing from that *Church*, which, by their own confeſſion, ſtill retaineth the *true Foundation* of *Chriſtianity*.

The Anſwer.

31. It is anſwered: if ſome *Proteſtants* be ſo civil in their cenſures on *Papiſts*, it appears thereby, though they have *left Rome*, they have not *loſt* their *courteſie*, nor their *Charity*. But grant (which is diſputable) the *Errours* of the *Church* of *Rome* not *Fundamental*, they are *Circa-Fundamental*, *grating* on the very *Foundation*. Beſides, we are bound to avoid, not onely what is *deadly*, but what is *hurtful*; not onely what may *deſtroy* the *life*, but what may *prejudice* the *health* of our *Souls*.

3. Objection.

But our *Adverſaries* perſiſt to object, that our *Reformation* took its riſe, from King *Henry's pride*, to pluck down a *Power* which croſſed His *deſignes*, from His *covetouſneſſe* to compaſſe the *Revenues* of *Abbeys*, and from His *wantonneſſe*, to exchange His *old Embracings*, for *new ones*. Well therefore may the *Engliſh* bluſh at the *Babe*, when they behold its *Parents*, and be aſhamed of their *Reformation*, conſidering the *vitious Extraction* thereof.

The Anſwer.

Anſw. Malice may load the *Memory* of K. *Henry* about His *demerit*; yet grant the charge true, that bad *inclinations* firſt moved Him to the *Reformation*, yet He acted therein nothing, but conformable to the *Law Divine* and *Humane*. It is uſuall with *God's wiſdome* and *goodneſſe*, to ſuffer *Vice* to ſound the *firſt Alarum* to that *fight*, wherein *Virtue* is to have the *Victory*. Beſides, King *Henry's Reformation* hath ſince been *Reformed*, by *ſucceſsive Princes* of *England*, who cannot juſtly be *taxed* with any *vitious* reflexion therein.

The moderation of Reformers.

32. It remaineth that we take notice of the *moderation* of the *Reformers*, who being acted not with an *Oppoſition* to *all* which the *Papiſts practiſed*, but with an *Affection* to *Truth*, diſclaimed onely the *Ulcers* and *Sores*, not what was *ſound* of the *Romiſh Church*, retaining ſtill what was *conſonant* to *Antiquity*, in *the Four firſt Generall Councels*.

The Concluſion of the Contreſt.

33. *Matters* thus ordered, had the *Romaniſts* been pleaſed to joyn with us, there had been no *complaining* of *Schiſme* either in *their Streets*, or *ours*. But ſuch their *pride* and *peeviſhneſſe*, to perſiſt obſtinate, to this day incenſe many people (who *liſten* more to the *loudneſſe*, than *weigh* the *juſtneſſe* of *Complaints*) accuſing us of wilfull *Separation*; But the *Premiſſes* well conſidered, *England* may ſay to *Rome*, * *Pharez*, *the breach be upon thee*, who (with * *Athaliah*, crying *Treaſon*, *treaſon*, being her ſelf the prime *Traytour*) taxeth us with *Schiſme*, when ſhe the onely *Schiſmatick*.

* Gen. 38. 29.
* 2 Kings 11. 14.

The Popes revenues out of *England*.

34. We enter now on a *ſubject*, which we muſt not omit, ſuch is the concernment thereof, in our *Hiſtory*; yet which we cannot compleat, ſo intricate the *nature* thereof, and ſo ſhort and doubtfull our *intelligence* therein; namely, to give a generall eſtimate (particulars being impoſſible) of the *Papall Revennes* of *England*.

Greateſt under King Hen. 3.

35. Here be it premiſed that I humbly conceive, the *Pope's Income* ran the higheſt in *England* under King *Henry the third*, and King *Edward the firſt*, before the *Statute* of *Mortmaine* (and after it that of *Premunire*) was made, for theſe much abated his *Intrado*. And although, I deny not, but under King *Henry the eighth*, he might receive more *Money*, (as then more plentifull in *England*) yet his *profit* formerly, was greater, if the *ſtandard* of *Gold* and *Silver* be but ſtated proportionably.

Popes profit by ſale of Trinkets.

36. However, the vaſt *ſummes Rome* received hence at the time of *Reformation*, will appear by the inſuing *commodities*. For, firſt *Agnus Dei's*, this is here ſet by *Synecdoche*, to ſignifie all *Popiſh Trinkets*, *Medals*, *conſecrated Beads*, &c. which

which I as little know what they be, as *Papists*, why they use them: Of these were yearly brought over from *Rome*, into *England*, as many, as would fill the *shop* of a *Habberdasher* of *Holy Wares*. Now, though their *prices* were not immediately *paid* into the *Pope's purse*, but to such his subordinate *Officers* who traded therein; Yet they may be accounted part of the *Papall Revennes* (the *King hath* what the *Courtiers have* by His *consent*) and if such trading was not permitted unto them, the *Pope* must either abate of his *Traine*, or finde his *Officers* other waies of *subsistance*.

By his Annates.

37. Secondly, for *Annates*, so called, because they were the intire *Revennes* of *one Yeare* (in the nature of *first Fruits*) which the *Bishops* and inferiour *Clergie* paid to the *Pope*; We have no light concerning the latter, but can present the Reader with an exact account, what every *Bishop* in *England*, (new elected or translated to a *See*) paid at his *entrance* to his *Holinesse*.

Bishoprick	paid
[a] *Canterbury*	10000. F.
Besides for his *Pall*	5000. F.
London	3000. F.
Winchester	12000. D.
Elie	7000. D.
Lincolne	------
Coventrey and *Lichfield*	1733. D.
Salisbury	4500. [b] Cr.
Bath and *Wells*	430. D.
Exeter	6000. D.
Norwich	5000. D.
Worcester	2000. F.
Hereford	18000. F.
Chichester	333. F.
Rochester	------
St. *Davids*	1500. F.
Landaffe.	700. F.
Bangor.	126. F.
St. *Asaph*	126. F.
Yorke,	10000. D.
Besides for his *Pall*	5000. D.
Durham	9000. F.
Carlisle	1000. F.

a This Catalogue was extracted out of Bishop *Godwin*.

b This standeth for Crowns.

In this account [F] stands for *Florenes*, being worth 4s--6d. in our *English money*. [D] for *single Duckets* sufficiently known for 8 shillings, *Lincolnes*, not being *valued*, I behold as a meer *casual omission* in this *Catalogue*, but can render a *reason*, why *Rochester* not *rated*, who being accounted as *Chaplain*, to the *Archbishop*

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bishop of *Canterbury*, (and anciently in his *Donation*) may be supposed *valued* in the high *valuation* of his *Patron*. That *Bath* and *Wells* then so *high* in *Wealth*, should be so *low* in *first Fruits* (whereat my [b] *Authour* wonders) plainly shows that *Favour* was *fashionable*, (as in all other *Courts*, so) in the *Court* of *Rome*. The rest of the *English Bishopricks* were not in *being*, before the *Reformation*.

39. Thirdly, by *Appeals*; The *Pope* having learn'd this policy from the *Counсill* of *Jethro* to *Moses*, * every *Great* thing they shall bring unto thee; but every *Small* matter they (*viz.* the 70 *Elders*) shall *Judge*; reserved to himself the *definitive sentence* in all high *Controversies*, which brought no small profit unto him.

40. Fourthly, by K. *Athelph's Pension* given by him to the *Pope*, *Anno* 852. whereof largely before; A distinct payment from *Peter pence*, (with which some confound it) as *stinted* to *three hundred* [c] *Marks*; whereas the other were casual, and increased according to the *number* of *Houses*.

41. Fifthly, for *Dispensations*. Oh the *charity* of the *Pope*, to lay *heavy Burdens* on mens *consciences*, (without *command* from *God's Word*) too heavy for them to bear! but then so *merciful* he was, for *Money* to take them off again; thus *Licences* to *marry* within *degrees forbidden*; for *Priests* [base] *Sonnes*, to succeed their *Fathers* in a *Benefice*, and a hundred other particulars brought *yearly* a *Nemo scit*, into the *Papal Treasury*.

42. Sixtly, *Indulgencies* are next, though I know not how *essentially distinguished* from *Dispensations*, not dare warrant the distinction, that the former was *against*, the other *above Canon Law*. As when *Abbeys*, and other places were freed from *Episcopal Jurisdiction*, and many other *Priviledges* and *Exemptions* both *personal* and *conventual*.

43. Seventhly, by *Legatine Levies*, these though not *Annuall*, yet came [almost] as often, as the *Pope's needs*, or *covetousnesse* would require them.

44. Eighthly, *Mortuaries*, due, at the *death* of *great Prelates*, though, I finde not in what *manner* and *proportion* they were paid.

45. Ninthly, *Pardons*; He saveth his *credit* the best, who makes no *conjecture* at the certainty of this *Revenue*. And though the *Pope*, (as *then* too *politick* openly to confesse his *profit* by granting; so *since*) be too *proud* publickly to bemone his losse, by stopping of these *Pardons*, yet is he *secretly* and *sadly* sensible of a great *emptinesse* in his *Treasure* thereby.

46. Tenthly, *Peter-pence* succeed, granted by *Ina*, King of the *West Saxons* to Pope *Gregory* the second, *Anno* 626. It was a *peny* paid for every *Chimney* that smoaked in *England*, which in that *Hospitall Age* had few *smokelesse ones*; the device of *Cypher Tunnels* or *mock-Chimneys* meerly for *uniformity* of *building*, being unknown in those dayes. Indeed, before the *Conquest*, such onely paid *Peter-pence*, who were worth * *thirty pence* in *yearly revenue*, or *half a marke* in goods, but afterwards it was collected generally of all *solvable Housekeepers*, and that on most heavy penalties.

47. Now though none can tell what these amounted to, yet conjecture may be made, by descending to such proportions, which no *rational man* will deny. Allowing *nine thousand Parishes* (abating the *odde hundreds*) in *England* and *Wales*, a hundred houses in every *Parish*, two chimneys in every house, one with another, it ariseth unto a yearly summe of *seven thousand five hundred pounds*. Here I say nothing of the *intrinsecal value* of their *Peny*, worth *two pence* in our Age.

48. Eleventhly, *Pilgrimages* follow, many *persons* of *quality* going yearly to *Rome*, *sometimes* perchance with *bare feet*, but *never* with *empty hands*. But the *Pope's* principal *harvest* was in the *Jubile* (which of late recurred *every five and twenty years*) when no fewer than *two hundred thousand strangers* have been counted at *Rome* at once. Of these, more than the *tenth part* may be justly allowed *English*, it being alwaies observed, that *distance* encreaseth *devotion*; and the *farthest off*, the *forwardest*, in *Will-worship* of this nature.

b *Quod miror Godw.* in his Catalogue of Bishops, p. 417

By appeals.

* Exod. 18. 22.

By King *Athelwulph's* Pension.

c See Sir *Henry Spelman's* Councils, p. 153.

By his Dispensations.

By Indulgencies.

By Legatine Levies.

By Mortuaries.

By Pardons.

By Peter-pence.

*See *Spelman's* Council, p. 625.

To what they amounted.

By Pilgrimages.

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By Tenths.

49. Twelfthly, we conclude with *Tenths*, and on what *Title* they were paid to the *Pope*, largely hereafter.

All cannot be truly counted.

50. Here we speak not of the *accidentals*, as *Legacies* bequeathed by the *deaths* of *Princes* and *great Persons*, and other *Casualties*, and *Obventions*; *Sixtus the fourth* being wont to say, that *a Pope could never want Money, while he could hold a Pen in his hand*; (understand him to grant *general Indulgencies*) though *Luther's holding a pen in his hand*, hath since much *marred his Mart* herein. Now certainly *Demetrius* could tell better, what was gotten by making * *silver Shrines* for *Diana*, than S. *Paul* himself: and while some *Protestants* compute the *Papal profit*, to be a *hundred and fifty thousand* pounds *per annum*, some *more*, some *lesse*, (but *all* making it above the *King's Revenues*) they doe but *state* his *Income* at *random*.

*Acts 19. 27.

Polidore Virgil Collector of the English Peter-pence.

51. Onely *Polidore Virgil*, if *alive*, and *willing*, were *able* to give a *certain account* of the *Peter pence*, (a good *guesse at* the rest of *Papall Revennues*) knowing them, as well, *as the Begger knows his dish*, as holding the *Bason* into which they were put, being *Collector general* of *Peter pence* all over *England*. But this *Italian* was too proud to *accept* them as *gratuities*, (in which *nature* they were first given) but *exacted* them in the *notion* of a *Rent* and *Tribute due* to the *Pope* his *Master*.

Be-lawrelleth the Quire of *Wells*.

52. This is that *Polidore Virgil*, who was *Dignitary* of the *Cathedral* of *Wells*, (and, as I take it, *Archdeacon* of *Taunton*) on the *Quire* whereof he bestowed *Hangings* flourished with the *Lawrel Tree*, and as I remember, wrote upon them,

~~SUNT~~ HAEC POLIDORI MUNERA VIRGILII.

But would he had spared his *benefaction* to the *Church* of *Wells*, on condition he had been no *Malefactor* to the *Church* of *England*, yea, to *Religion* and *Learning* in generall, if it be true what commonly is reported.

A Malefactour to Posterity for burning MS.

53. For he wrote a *Latine History* of *Britain*, from the *Original* of the *Nation*, untill *Anno Dom.* 1538. the 30 yeare of King *Henry the eighth*, out of many rare *Manuscripts*, which he had collected together. Now, partly to raise the *reputation* of his own *Writings*, (that he might seem no *lazie Transcriber*) partly, to render himself out of the *reach of Confutation* (being suspected not *over-faithfull* in his *Relation*) he is said to have burnt *all* those rare Authours, which he could compasse into his possession. Thus *Tyrant-like* he *cut down* those *stairs* whereby he *ascended* the *Throne* of his own *knowledge*. If this be true, the *World* may thank *Polidore Virgil*, for his work, *de Inventione Rerum*, but have cause to *chide*, (not to say, *curse*) his *Memory*, for his Act *de Perditione Librorum*.

Two-edged Verses.

54. I have met with a paper of Verses, which like a two-edged Sword cut on both sides, plainly at *Polidore Virgil*, but obscurely at a later Plagiary, and in my opinion, not unworthy to be inserted.

Leyland's supposed Ghost.

Am I deceiv'd? or doth not Leyland's *Ghost*
Complain of wrong sustained after death;
As Virgil's Polidore *accus'd his host,*
The Tracian King *for cruell breach of Faith,*
And Treasures gain'd by stopping of his breath?
Ah greedy Gardian! *t' enjoy his goods,*
Didst plunge his Princely Ward *into the floods.*
Am I deceiv'd? or doth not Leyland's *spirit*
Complain with th' Ghosts *of English Notaries*
Whom Polidorus Virgil *robb'd of merit,*
Bereft of Name, and sacks of Histories,
While (wretch) he ravisht English Libraries.
Ah! wicked Book-thief whosoever did it,
Should One *burn* all, *to get one single Credit?*

Am I deceiv'd? or doth not Leyland's *Spirit*
Make heu& cry, *for som Book-treasure stealth,*
Rifling his works, and razing Name & Merit,
Whereby are smother'd a Prince-given wealth,
A Learned Writer's Travel, Wits, and Health.
All these he spent to doe his Countrey pleasure,
O save his name, *the World may know his trea-*
I am deceived, for Leylands *ghost doth rest. (sure.*
From plaints & crys, with souls of blessed men;
But Heaven and Humane Laws cannot digest,
That such rare fruits of a laborious Pen,
Came *to be drown'd in such a thankless Den.*
Thus Heaven and all Humanity doth sue,
That Leyland *dead, may have his Titles due.*

Who this *second Plagiarie* was, complained of for plundering *Leyland*, if the *Reader* cannot *conjecture*, I will not *tell*, such the honour I bear to his admirable performances, though herein not to be excused.

54. *Papal*

Ann. Dom. 1535. Ann. Regis Hen. 8. 27.

55. *Papal power* thus extinguished in *England*; it is worth our enquiry, where the same for the future was fixed, which we finde, not intirely setled in any *One*, but according to *justice*, and *equity*, divided amongst many Sharers therein.

How Papal power in *England* was cantoned.

56. And first, *Give unto God the things which are Gods*. What the *Pharisees* said, was *true* in the *Doctrine*, though *false* in the *Use* thereof, (as applied to *our Saviour* whom they mistook for a *meer man* *Who can forgive sins but God alone?) This *paramount power* no lesse blasphemously than arrogantly usurped by the *Pope*, claiming an *absolute* and *authoritative pardoning of Sins*, was *humbly* and *justly restored* to the *high God* of *Heaven*.

God first had his share.

* Mark 7.

57. Restitution was made to the *second Person* in the *Trinity*, of that *Universal jurisdiction* over the *whole Church* as belonging to *Christ* alone, who is the *Sheepherd* and *Bishop* of our *souls*, and a *badge* of *Antichrist* for the *Pope* proudly to assume the same.

Christ his due.

1 Pet. 2.25.

58. To the *Holy Ghost* was restored that *Infallibility*, which to him doth properly pertain, as being the *Spirit of Truth*, which neither *will deceive*, nor *can* be *deceived*, and which hath promised to lead his *Church* in generall *into all Truth*; but never fixed any *inerrability*, on any particular *person*, or succession of *single persons* whatsoever.

The holy Spirit his portion.

John 15.26. & 16.13.

59. And now *give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*. The *King* comes to claim His own right, what the *Kings* of *Judah* (his *Predecessours* in *Soveraignty*) had by the *Word* of *God*, and *Christian Emperours* by the *practise* of the *Primitive times*, did possesse. In order whereunto the *Parliament* did notifie and declare, that *Ecclesiastical power* to be in the *King*, which the *Pope* had formerly unjustly invaded. Yet so, that they reserved to themselves (besides other *priviledges* which we leave to the *Learned* in the *Law*) the confirming power of all *Canons Ecclesiastical*; so that the person or property of *Refusers*, should not be subjected to temporal penalty without consent of *Parliament*.

The King assumes his share.

60. Of this power thus declar'd in the *King*, part thereof He kept in Himselfe, as to *call*, and *dissolve Convocations* at His pleasure; to *grant* or *deny* them Commission to debate of Religion; to command *Archbishops* and *Bishops* to be chosen in *vacant Sees*; to take order for the due *Administration* of the *Word* and *Sacraments*.

61. The other part of *power Ecclesiastical*, the *King* passed over to the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, as His *Substitute*; first, to grant Faculties in cases not repugnant to the Law of God, necessary for Honour and Security of the *King*, formerly wont to be remedied in the *See* of *Rome*. Secondly, to determine Causes Ecclesiastical in his *Court*, whence lay an Appeal to the Court of *Delegates*, &c.

62. The representative Clergie had power by the King's leave, to make Canons and Constitutions, whilst each Bishop in his respective Diocesse, Priest in his Parish, were freer than formerly in execution of their Office, acquitted from Papal dependance.

63. Lastly, every English Lay-Man, was restored to his Christian Birth-right, namely, to his *judgment* of *practical discretion* (in perusing the Scriptures in his own Language) formerly swallowed up in the Ocean of the Pope's Infallibility. Thus on the depluming of the *Pope* every bird had his own feather: in the partage whereof, what he had gotten by *sacriledge*, was restored to *God*; what by *Usurpation*, was given back to the *King*, *Church*, and *State*; what by *Oppression*, was remitted to *particular Christians*.

SECT.

Ann. Reg. Ann. Dom.

SECTION III.

TO

Master HENRY BARNARD,

LATE OF

LONDON, Merchant.

THough lately you have removed your habitation *into* Shropshire, *My* pen *is resolved to follow after and finde you out: Seeing the* hand *of your* bounty *hath had so* long *a* reach, *let the* legs *of my* gratitude *take as large a* stride: *When you shall be disposed to be* Solitary, *and desirous to have* Society, *at the same time peruse this Book, whereby you shall attain your desired Condition.*

H.8. 27. June 22. 1535.

FOR twelve Moneths had Bishop *Fisher* (formerly condemned) now lived in durance, and so was likely to continue, untill (in all probability) his soul at the same time, should be freed from *two Prisons*, I mean, that of his *body*, and that of the *Tower*. For, his life could doe the King no hurt, whose death might procure Him hatred, as of one generally pitied for his age, honoured for his learning, admired for his holy conversation. Besides, it was not *worth the while*, to take away his life, who was not onely *mortalis*, as all men; and *mortificatus*, as all good men; but also *morituras*, as all old men, being past seventy six years of age. But now an unseasonable act of the Pope accelerated his execution, in making him Cardinal of S. *Vitalis*; a title which *Fisher* so little affected, that he professed, *If the Hat lay at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up.*

Fisher made Cardinal.

2. His Holinesse could not have studied a more destructive way against *Fisher*'s life, than to fasten this injurious favour upon him. This heightned the King's anger into fury against him. He expounded the Pope's act, or rather the act expounded it self (as capable of no other comment) as done in his defiance, and there-

The King enraged thereat.

therefore a Warrant is sent to the Lieutenant for his execution. Let not the Reader grudge his pains, if we describe this Bishop, from his cradle, to (I cannot say his coffin, or winding-sheet, being made to believe he had neither, but) his grave: The rather, because I collected the same out of his Manuscript-life, compiled by *Richard Hall*, of *Christ-Colledge* in [a] *Cambridge*, and communicated unto me by a worthy [b] friend. Onely be it premised, that the same *Hall* was a stiffe Roman Catholick, and therefore accordingly must abatement be made in his relations.

Ann. Dom. 1535. Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 27.

[a] *Pitseus de Script. Anglia*, pag. 803.
[b] Mr. *Huk*, Esq. Beadle of *Cambridge*.

Bishop *Fisher* his birth, and breeding.

3. This *John Fisher*, born at *Beverly* in *Yorke-shire*, of *Robert*, his Father (a wealthy-man, and a kinde of Merchant) *Anno* 1459, was by his Parents sent to *Cambridge* to have his education in *Michael-House*, under Mr. *William Melton*, his Tutor.

Admitted ---------- 1484.
Commenced { Bachelour of Arts 1488. } made { Proctour ---------- 1495. / Doctour ---------- 1502. }
Master 1491. Master of the House, thereabouts.

{ Bishop of *Rochester* ---------- 1504. }
{ Chancellour of *Cambridge* { chosen --- 1505. / confirmed, 1514. } }

He was Chaplain, and Confessour to the Lady *Margaret*, Countesse of *Richmond*, at whose instance, and by whose advise, She founded, and endowed *Christs*, and S. *John*'s-*Colledge* in *Cambridge*. Employed in building of the latter (her posthume Colledge of S. *John*'s) and effectually advancing that work, he wanted the accommodation of a convenient Lodging, when Dr. *Thomas Wilkinson*, President of *Queens Colledge*, opportunely departed this life: and that Society requested Bishop *Fisher* to succeed in his place, which he gratefully accepted, faithfully discharged, and thereby had the advantage to finish his new Colledge in the lesse time, to his greater contentment.

Different characters of *Fisher*.

4. Here I meet with two descriptions of *Fisher*, as contrary each to other, as the Religions of the two Describers, whereof the one was a rigid Papist, the other a zealous Protestant:

Hall, In his aforesaid *Manuscript*.

Fisher is made by him a very wealthy man, having much plate, and furniture, of a great value; and, as for his Library, no Bishop in *Europe* had the like unto him, insomuch as he intended (as appeareth somewhere in his Letter to *Erasmus*) to found a Colledge of his own: but afterwards, reversing his resolution, in his life-time he bestowed all his rich plate, furniture, and Books, on S. *John*'s in *Cambridge*, and borrowed the same of it again by Indenture under his hand and seal, for his use during life. But it hapned, that at his attainture the King's Officers seised on all he had.

Ascham. Commendatitiarum, *Ep.* 1.

Joannes [c] Fisherus, *Episcopus* Rosensis, *dum falsam doctrinam nimis perverse defendit, optimas literas in hoc Collegio, suis ornamentis, & suis divitiis denudavit. Hic vir nutu suo rexit hoc Collegium; & propterea in manu ejus posita sunt clarissima ornamenta, quæ Domina* Margareta *huic Collegio elargita est.* ——— *Ejus perversa doctrina, & illum vitâ, & nos summis divitiis nostris privavit.*

[c] In favour of *Fisher* I have left the words untranslated.

For mine own part, I conceive no Covetousnesse (much lesse such Sacrilege) can be charged on *Fisher*'s account, it being notoriously known, that King *Henry the eighth* (Who formerly favoured him) profered to remove him from *Rochester*, to *Lincolne*, or *Elie*, (treble the other in Revenue) which *Fisher* refused, both in word,

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word, and print; *Habeant alii* (saith he) *proventus pinguiores* &c. being used to say, *He would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been so long wedded, for a wealthier.*

d In his *Dedic. Epist.* to the Bishop of *Wint.* in his place against *Oecolampadius.* . . . .

5. It is no wonder if a Papist, and a Protestant, cannot agree about *Fisher's character*, when we finde two stiffe Papists at a vast distance about his Estate. *Hall*, as is aforesaid, makes him very *wealthie*, which is not improbable, considering, he had a paternal bottome, whereon; competency of revenue, wherewith; long continuance of time, wherein; and commendable frugality, whereby to build an estate. Not to speak that he served a good Mistresse, the Lady *Margaret*, known to have rich coffers, and her Confessour could command the *keyes* thereof. But on the contrary, *Sanders*[e] makes him as poor as *Job*; insomuch, that Souldiers coming to seise on his supposed wealth, found (what was quickly told) nothing at all belonging to him, save a great barred chest. These, from the *facing* of Iron, concluded the *lineing* thereof Silver at least: and, having broken it open, found nothing therein but Sackcloth, and a Whip; which put them all to penance, and soundly lashed their covetous expectation. But, leaving his life, come we now to the manner of his death.

Variance betwixt Papists about *Fisher's* wealth.

e *De Schism. Ang. lib.* 1. *pag.* 123.

6. After the Lieutenant of the Tower had received the Writ for his execution, because it was then very late, and the Prisoner asleep, he was loth to disease him from his rest. But in the morning, before five of the clock, he came to him in his chamber, in the *Bell-Tower*, finding him yet asleep in his bed, and waking him, told him, *He was come to him on a message from the King, to signifie unto him, that His pleasure was he should suffer death that forenoon. Well!* (quoth the Bishop) *if this be your errand, you bring me no great newes, for I have looked a long time for this message, and I must humbly thank His Majesty, that it pleaseth Him to rid me from all this worldly businesse. Yet, let me by your patience sleep an hour or two; for I have slept very ill this night, not for any fear of death, I thank God, but by reason of my great infirmity, and weaknesse.*

He welcomes the newes of his death.

7. *The King's pleasure is farther* (said the Lieutenant) *that you shall use as little speech as may be, especially of any thing touching His Majesty, whereby the people should have any cause to think of Him, or His proceedings otherwise than well. For that* (said he) *you shall see me order my self, as, by God's grace, neither the King, nor any man else, shall have occasion to mislike of my words.* With which answer the Lieutenant departed from him, and so the Prisoner, falling again to rest, slept soundly two hours, and more; And, after he was awaked, called to his man to help him up. But first commanded him, to take away his shirt-of-haire (which customably he wore) and to convey it privily out of the house; and, instead thereof, to lay him forth a clean white shirt, and all the best apparel he had, as cleanly brushed as might be. And, as he was arraying himself, his man, seeing in him more curiosity, and care, for the fine, and cleanly wearing of his apparel that day, than was wont, demanded of him, *What this sudden change meant?* saying, *That his Lordship knew well enough, that he must put off all again, within two hours, and lose it. What of that?* (said he) *Doest not thou mark, that this is our marriage-day? and, that it behoveth us therefore to use more cleanlinesse for solemnity thereof.*

Yet labours to preserve his life.

8. About nine of the clock the Lieutenant came again, and, finding him almost ready, said, *He was now come for him.* Then said he to his man, *Reach me my furred-Tippet to put about my neck. Oh my Lord!* (said the Lieutenant) *what need ye be so careful for your health for this little time, being, as your self knows, not much above an hour? I think no otherwise* (said he) *but yet in the mean time, I will keep my self as well as I can. For, I tell you truth, though I have, I thank our Lord, a very good desire and willing minde to die at this present, and so trust of his infinite mercy and goodnesse he will continue it, yet will I not willingly hinder my health in the mean time one minute of an hour, but still prolong the same, as long as I can, by such reasonable waies and means as Almighty God hath provided for me.* And with that, taking a little book in his hand, which was a New Testament lying by him, he made

Prepareth himself for his death.

made a crosse on his forehead, and went out of his prison-dore with the Lieutenant, being so weak, as that he was scant able to go down the stairs, wherefore at the stairs-foot he was taken up in a chair between two of the Lieutenant's men, and carried to the Tower-gate, with a great number of weapons about him, to be delivered to the Sheriffe of *London* for execution. Ann. Dom. 1535. Ann. Reg. Hen. 27.

He advanceth to the place of his execution.

9. And, as they were come to the uttermost precinct of the liberties of the Tower, they rested there with him a space, till such time as one was sent before to know in what readinesse the Sheriffs were to receive him. During which space he rose out of his chair, and standing on his feet, leaned his shoulder to the wall, and lifting his eyes towards Heaven, he opened a little Book in his hand, and said, *O Lord! this is the last time that ever I shall open this book, let some comfortable place now chance unto me, whereby I thy poor servant may glorifie thee in this my last houre.* And with that, looking into the Book, the first thing that came to his sight were these words, *Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, & quem misisti Jesum Christum. Ego te glorificavi super terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi &c.* and with that he shut the Book together, and said, *Here is even learning enough for me to my lives end.* And so the Sheriffe being ready for him, he was taken up again among certain of the Sheriffs men, with a new and much greater company of weapons than was before, and carried to the Scaffold on the *Tower-hill*, otherwise called *East-Smithfield*, himself praying all the way, and recording upon the words which he before had read.

ſ Ioh. 17. 3, &c.

The manner of his mounting the scaffold.

10. When he was come to the foot of the Scaffold, they that carried him offered to help him up the stairs, but, said he, *Nay Masters, seeing I am come so farre, let me alone and ye shall see me shift for my self well enough:* And so went up the stairs without any help, so lively, that it was a marvell to them that before knew his debility and weaknesse. But as he was mounting the stairs, the South-east Sun shined very bright in his face, whereupon he said to himself these words, lifting up his hands, *Accedite ad eum, & illuminamini, & facies vestræ non confundentur.* By that time he was upon the Scaffold, it was about ten a clock; where the Executioner, being ready to doe his office, kneeled down to him (as the fashion is) and asked him forgiveneſſe. *I forgive thee* (said he) *with all my heart, and I trust thou shalt see me overcome this storm lustily.* Then was his gown and tippet taken from him, and he stood in his doublet and hose in sight of all the people, whereof there was no small number assembled to see the execution.

His Speech to the people.

11. Being upon the Scaffold, he spake to the people in effect as followeth:

Christian people,

I am come hither to die for the faith of Christ's holy Catholick Church, and I thank God hitherto my stomack hath served me very well thereunto, so that yet I have not feared death; wherefore I desire you all to help and assist with your prayers, that at the very point and instant of deaths stroke, I may in that very moment stand stedfast without fainting in any one point of the Catholick Faith, free from any fear. And I beseech Almighty God of his infinite goodnesse to save the King and this Realm, and that it may please him to hold his holy hand over it, and send the King a good Councell.

These words he spake with such a cheerfull countenance, such a stout and constant courage, and such a reverend gravity, that he appeared to all men, not only void of fear, but also glad of death.

His execution.

12. After these few words by him uttered, he kneeled down on both his knees, and said certain prayers. Among which (as some reported) one was the hymn of *Te Deum laudamus*, to the end; and the Psalm, *In te Domine speravi.* Then came the Executioner and bound an handkerchief about his eyes; and so the Bishop lifting up his hands and heart to heaven, said a few prayers, which were not long, but fervent and devout. Which being ended, he laid his head down over the midst of a little block, where the Executioner, being ready with a sharp and heavy Ax, cut asunder his slender Neck at one blow, which bled so abundantly, that many

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many (saith my Authour) wondred to see so much blood issue out of so lean and slender a body: Though in my judgement, that might rather have translated the *wonder* from his *leanesse* to his *age*, it being otherwise a received tradition, That *lean folk have the most blood in them.*

13. Thus died *John Fisher* in the seventy seventh year of his age, on the two and twentieth of *June*, being S. *Alban*'s-day, the Protomartyr of *England*, and therefore with my Authour most remarkable. But surely no day in the *Romish Kalendar* is such a *Skeleton*, or so bare of sanctity, but (had his death hapned thereon) a Priest would pick a mysterie out of it. He had a lank, long body, full six foot high, toward the end of his life very infirm, insomuch that he used to sit in a chair when he taught the people in his Diocesse. His age, and stature.

14. His corpse (if our Authour speaketh truth) was barbarously abused; no winding-sheet being allowed it, which will hardly enter into my belief. For, suppose his *friends* durst, his *foes* would not afford him a shroud, yet some *neuters* betwixt both (no doubt) would have done it out of common civility. Besides, seeing the King vouchsafed him the Tower, a noble prison; and beheading, an honourable death; it is improbable He would deny him a necessary equipage for a plain and private burial. Wherefore when *Hall* tells us, That *the Souldiers attending his execution, could not get spades to make his grave therewith, but were fain with halbards, (in the North side of the Church-yard of* All-Hallows Barking) *to dig a hole wherein they cast his naked corpse*: I listen to the *relation* as inflamed by the Reporters *passion*. Be it here remembred, that *Fisher* in his life-time made himself a Tomb on the North-side of the Chappel in S. *John*'s-*Colledge*, intending there to be buried, but therein disappointed. This *Fisher* was he who had a *Cardinals Hat* sent him, which (stopp'd at *Calis*) never came on his head; and a *Monument* made for him, wherein his body was never deposited. His mean, not to say (if true) barbarous burial.

15. Our Authour reporteth also, how Queen *Anna Bolen* gave order his *head* should be brought unto Her (before it was set up on *London bridge*) that She might please Her self at the sight thereof, and like another *Herodias* insult over the *head* of this *John* Her professed enemy. Nor was she content alone to revile his ghost with taunting terms, but out of spight, or sport, or both, struck Her hand against the mouth of this dead head brought unto her; and it hapned, that one of *Fisher*'s teeth, more prominent than the rest, struck into her hand, and not onely pained Her for the present, but made so deep an impression therein, that She carried the mark thereof to Her grave. It seems this was contrary to the proverb, *Mortui non mordent*. But enough, yea, too much of such damnable falshoods. Passe we from *Fisher* to *More*, his fellow-prisoner, whom *Fisher*'s execution had not mollified into conformity to the King his pleasure, as was expected. An impudent improbable Lie.

16. Son he was to Sir *John More*, one of the Judges of the *Kings Bench*, who lived to see his Son preferred above himself. Bred a *Common-Lawyer*, but withall, a *general Schollar*, as well in polite, as solid learning: a terse Poet, neat Orator, pure Latinist, able Grecian: He was chosen *Speaker* in the *House of Commons*, made *Chancellour* first of *Lancaster-Dutchie*, then of all *England*, performing the place with great integrity and discretion. Some ground we have in *England*, neither so light, and loose as *sand*; nor so stiffe and binding as *clay*, but a mixture of both, conceived the surest soil for profit, and pleasure to grow together on: such the soil of this Sir *Thomas More*, in which facetiousnesse and judiciousneſſe were excellently tempered together. Sir *Tho. More*'s extraction and education.

17. Yet some have taxed him, that he *wore a feather in his cap, and wagg'd it too often*: meaning, he was over-free in his fancies and conceits. Insomuch, that on the Scaffold (a place not to break jests, but to break off all jesting) he could not hold, but bestowed his scoffs on the Executioner and standers-by. Now, though innocency may smile at death, surely it is unfit to flout thereat. Charged for his over-much jesting.

18. But the greatest fault we finde justly charged on his memory, is his cruelty in persecuting poor Protestants, to whom he bare an implacable hatred. Inso- A great Anti-Protestant.

much that in his life-time he caused to be inscribed, as parcell of his *Epitaph* on his Monument at *Chelsey*, that he ever was *Furibus, Homicidis, Hæreticisq; molestus*: a passing good praise, save *after the way* which he there *calleth Heresie*, pious people *worship the God of their fathers*. He suffered the next moneth after *Fisher*'s execution, in the same place, for the same cause *July 6.* and was buried at *Chelsey*, under his Tomb aforesaid, which being become ruinous, and the *Epitaph* scarce legible, hath few years since been decently repaired at the cost (as I am informed) of one of his near Kinsmen. Ann. Dom. 1535. Ann. Regni Hen. 8. 27. July 6.

The death and character of Qu. Katharine Dowager.

19. At this time *Katharine* Dowager, whom we will be bold still in courtesie to call a Queen (notwithstanding King *Henry*'s Proclamation to the contrary) ended her wofull life at *Kimbolton*. A pious woman toward God (according to Her devotion) frequent in prayer, which She alwaies performed on Her bare knees, nothing else between Her and the earth interposed; little curious in Her clothes, being wont to say, *She accounted no time lost, but what was laid out in dressing of Her*; though Art might be more excusable in Her, to whom Nature had not been over-bountifull: She was rather staid, than stately; reserv'd, than proud; grave from Her cradle, insomuch that She was a matrone, before She was a mother. This Her naturall gravity encreased with Her apprehended injuries, setled in Her reduced age into an habit of melancholie, and that terminated into a consumption of the spirits. She was buried in the Abby-Church of *Peterborough*, under an Herse of *black Say*; probably by Her own appointment, that She might be plain when dead, who neglected bravery of clothes when living. A noble[b] pen tells us, that in intuition to Her corpse here interred, King *Henry*, at the destruction of Abbies, not onely spared the Church in *Peterborough*, but also advanced it into a Cathedral. If so, it was civilly done of Him not to disturb Her in Her grave whom He had so disquieted in Her bed. The news of Her departure was not unwelcome to Queen *Anna Bollen*, who, though too good a Christian to desire Her death, was too wise a woman to be over-sorrowfull for the same: seeing formerly She was the King's Wife but by *sequestration*, the true possessour of His bed being yet alive; whereas now[c] *Rehoboth*, She conceived God had made *room* for her. Jan. 8.

a *Sanders de Schismate Anglicano.*

b Lord *Herbert* in his *Henry* the eighth.

c Gen. 26. 22.

The character of Queen *Anna Bollen.*

20. This *Anna Bollen* was great-grand childe to a Citizen, Sir *Jefferie Bollen*, Lord Major of *London*; grand-childe to Sir *William Bollen* Knight, who lived respectedly in his Countrey; daughter to *Thomas Bollen* Earle of *Wiltshire*, a great Courtier: and, she had Her birth in *England*; blood, by her[d] Grand-mother, from *Ireland*; and breeding in *France*, under *Mary* the French Queen: so that so many relations meeting in Her, accomplished Her with an acceptable behaviour to all qualities and conditions of people. Of an handsome person, and beautifull face; and therefore that[e] pen that reports Her lean-visaged, long-sided, gobber-toothed, yellow-complexioned, with a wen in her neck, both manifests his malice, and disparageth the judgement of King *Henry*, whom all knew well read in books, and better in beauties; who would never have been drawn to so passionate a love, without stronger load-stones to attract it. This Queen, remembring how Her Predecessour lost the King's love with her over-austerity, tuned Her self to a more open and debonaire behaviour, even generally to all with whom She conversed. Which being observed by Her adversaries, was improved by them to Her overthrow; so that She, but for a very short time had the sole and peaceable possession of Her Husband. In a word, She was a great Patroness of the Protestants, Protectour of the persecuted, Preferrer of men of merit (among whom *Hugh Latimer*) a bountifull Reliever of the poor, and the happy Mother of Queen *Elizabeth*.

d Daughter to *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond.*

e *Sanders de Schismate Anglicano.*

The first reformed Convocation.

21. On the eighth of *June* began a short, but sharp Parliament (dissolved the eighteenth of *July* following) effecting much in little time, matters it seems being well prepared afore-hand, and the House assembled not to debate, but doe the King's desires. The parallel Convocation began the day after, being one new-modelled, and of a fashion different from all former Convocations. Therein the Lord June 8. 9.

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Lord *Cromwell*, prime Secretary, ſate in ſtate above all the Biſhops, *as the King's Vicar, or Vicegerent-Generall in all ſpirituall matters. Deformi ſatis ſpectaculo* (ſaith my *f* Authour) *indocto Laico cuncti præſidente ſacratorum Antiſtitum, omniam, quos ante hæc tempora Anglia unquam habuiſſet, doctiſſimorum.* In one reſpect, that place had better become the perſon of King *Henry*, than this Lord His Proxie, all allowing the King a very able Scholar. But *Cromwell* had in power and policie what he lacked in learning, if he may be ſaid to lack it, who, at pleaſure, might command the borrowing thereof, from the beſt brains and pens of thoſe of his own partie in the Convocation.

f Goſwin's Annals, *Anno Dom.* 1536.

22. This Convocation conſiſted of two Houſes: the Lower, of the Clerks, and Proctours, of their reſpective Cathedrals, and Dioceſſes, with the Deans, and Arch-Deacons therein: the Upper, of the Biſhops, with the Lord-Abbots, and Priors (I mean ſo many of them as voted as Barons in Parliament) as may appear by their ſeverall ſubſcriptions. However, I finde not the Abbots active in any degree, in canvaſſing matters of Religion. Whether this proceeded from any deſire of eaſe, their lazineſs being above their learning; or, out of humility, counting it more proper to permit ſuch *diſputes* to the ſole diſpoſall of the Biſhops, as moſt concern'd therin; or, out of fear, loth to ſtickle on *religion*, knowing on what tickliſh terms they ſtood. For, in this very Parliament, all Abbies, which could not diſpend 200 *li.* a year, were diſſolved, and beſtowed on the King; and thoſe rich Abbots (which had more than ſo many thouſands yearly) knew that Maxime in Logick to be true, *Magis & minus non variant ſpeciem, More and leſſe doe not alter the kinde*; and, might ſay with him on the Croſſe, They *were in the ſame condemnation*, though as yet the ſentence was not paſſed upon them.

The ſilence in the Abbots of the Convocation.

g Concordatum erat per Honorandum virum [Cromwell] *& Reverendos Epiſcopos Abbates & Priores Domus ſuperioris. Alia Convocationis celebrat. An.* 1536. *fol. antepenul.*

23. We will obſerve the daily motions in this Convocation, as with mine own hand I have faithfully tranſcribed them out of the Records: *Hugh Latimer*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, made the Latine-Sermon, taking for his Text *b*, *The children of this world are in their generation wiſer than the children of light.* On the Friday following, *Richard Gwent*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, was preſented, and confirmed Prolocutour, in this Convocation. On the ſame day Maſter *William Peter*, Doctor of the Laws, came into the Houſe, as deputed from his Maſter the Lord *Cromwell*, who could not be preſent, becauſe of his greater employment in Parliament. This Dr. *Peter* claimed the higheſt place in the Houſe, as due to his Maſter the Lord *Cromwell*, *i & petiit dictum locum ſibi, tanquam Procuratori dicti Magiſtri*; and he (ſhall I ſay requeſted? or) required the ſame precedencie, as due to him, being his Proctour, and obtained it accordingly, without any diſpute. Though ſome, perchance, might queſtion, whether a *Deputie*'s *Deputy* (as one degree farther removed) might properly claim His place, who was primitively repreſented. Next Wedneſday came in the Lord *Cromwell* in perſon, and having judiciouſly ſeated himſelf above all, tendred unto them an Inſtrument to be publickly ſigned by all the Convocation, concerning *the nullitie of the King's marriage with the Lady* Anna Bollen.

The Diurnal of this Convocation:

b Luke 16. 8.

i Records of *Cant. An. Dom.* 1536. *fol.* 9.

24. Some ten daies before, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* at *Lambeth* had held an open Court, in the preſence of *Thomas Audley*, Lord Chancellour; *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, and moſt of the Privie Councel. Wherein the King and Queen were cited to appear, as they did by their Proxies, Doctor *Richard Sampſon* being the Kings, and Doctor *Nicholas Wooten* the Queens. Then proceeded the Archbiſhop to diſcuſſe the validity of their marriage, and at the laſt, by his definitive Sentence, pronounced the ſame *invalid, fruſtrate, and of none effect.* No particular cauſe is ſpecified in that Sentence, (ſtill extant in the Record) and though the Judge and Court ſeemed abundantly ſatisfied in the Reaſons of this Nullitie, yet concealing the ſame unto themſelves, they thought not fit to communicate this treaſure to poſterity; except they ſhut their coffers on purpoſe, becauſe there was nothing in them. Sure I am, there is no daſhing on the credit of the Lady, nor any the leaſt inſinuations of inchaſtity in that Inſtrument; *Præclara Domina, & Sereniſſima Regina*, being the worſt titles that are given her therein.

Cranmer ſolemnly divorceth *Anna Bollen* from the King.

25. Men

What might be the King's designs in this divorce.

25. Men may justly marvell what King *Henry* meant by this solemn and ceremonious Divorce, which the edge of the Ax, or Sword was more effectually to perform the day after, Her death being then designed. Was it because He stood on this *punctilio* or criticisme of credit, that He might not hereafter be charged with cruelty for executing His Wife, that first He would be divorced from Her, and so cannot be said to put His Queen, but *Anna Bollen* to death? Or, did He first but barely intend Her divorce, and afterwards suspecting this would not make sufficient avoidance in His bed, to clear all claims, took up new resolutions to take away Her life? Or, was it because He conceived the execution would only reach the *root*, the Queen Her self, and not blast the *branch*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, whom by this divorce He desired to render illegitimate? Whatever His aimes were, He got Her divorce confirmed both by Convocation and Parliament, interesting all equally therein, that hereafter none should accuse Him of this act, but first they must condemn themselves. However, after-ages take the boldnesse to conceive, that the greatest guilt of *Anna Bollen* was King *Henry*'s better fancying of another, which made Him, the next day after Her death, to mourn so passionately for Her in the embraces of a new and beautifull Bride, the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

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The Convocation bucksome to please the King in all things.

26. But, to return to the Convocation. That Instrument of Divorce was no sooner tendred therein, but all subscribed it. The Papists willingly, the Protestants faintly, but all publickly. Yea, in this Convocation nothing was propounded in the King's name, but it passed presently. Oh the operation of the *purge* of a *Præmunire*, so lately taken by the Clergie (and an hundred thousand pounds paid thereupon!) How did the remembrance thereof still work on their spirits, and made them meek and mortified? They knew the temper of the King, and had read the Text, † *The lyon hath roared, who will not fear? Gardiner* the fox, durst not so much as bark to oppose the King, nor the proudest in the place. As for *Edmond Bonner*, Arch-deacon of *Leicester*, present, and active in this Convocation, I may say, *Bonner was no Bonner yet*, but a perfect *Cromwellist*, and as forward as any to promote his designes.

† Amos 3. 8.

A Catalogue of erroneous opinions complained of in the Convocation.

27. On the Friday following, Mr. *Gwent* the Prolocutour, brought to the Upper House of Convocation, a Book containing the *Mala dogmata*, those erroneous doctrines, then (as he complained) publickly preached, printed, and professed, requesting reformation thereof, that order might be taken against the future propagation of such dangerous positions. Behold them here transcribed out of the Record, partly for novelty sake (because to my knowledge never printed before) and partly, because (though many wilde and distempered expressions be found therein, yet) they contain the Protestant Religion in *ovo*, which since, by God's blessing, is happily *refined*.

July 23.

Erroneous opinions (as then accounted) complained of in the Convocation.

28. The *Protestation* of the Clergie of the Lower House, within the Province of *Canterbury*, with declaration of the faults and abuses which heretofore have, and now be within the same, worthy special reformation:

IN very humble and reverent manner, with protestation, That we the Clergie of the Lower House within the Province of Canterbury, *nother in word, deed, or otherwise, directly, or indirectly, intend any thing, to speak, attempt, or doe, which, in any manner of wise may be displeasant unto the King's Highnesse, our most dread Sovereign Lord, and supreme Head of the Church of* England; *but in all things, according to the command of God to be most obedient to His Grace, to Whom accordingly we submit our selves, minding in no wise by any colourable fashion, to recognize, privily, or apertly the Bishop of* Rome, *or his usurped authority, or in any wise to bring in, defend, or maintain the same, into this noble Realm, or Dominions of the same: but that the same Bishop of* Rome, *with his usurped authority, utterly for ever with his inventions, rites, abuses, ordinances, and fashions, to be renounced, forsaken, extinguished and abolished; And that we sincerely addict our selves to Almighty God, his laws,*

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laws, and unto our ſaid Soverein Lord the King, our ſupreme Head in earth, and His Laws, Statutes, Proviſions and Ordinances made here within His Graces Realm. We think in our conſciences and opinions theſe errors and abuſes following, to have been and now to be, within this Realm, cauſes of diſſention, worthy ſpeciall reformation. It is to wete,

1. *That* it is commonly preached, taught and ſpoken, to the ſlander of this noble Realm, diſquietneſs of the people, dammage of Chriſtian ſouls, not without fear of many other inconveniences and perils, That *the Sacrament of the Altar is not to be eſteemed:* For divers light and lewd perſons be not aſhamed or aferde to ſay, *Why ſhould I ſee the facring of the high Maſſe? Is it any thing elſe but a piece of bread, or a little predie round Robin?*

2. *Item*, That they deny *Extreme Unction* to be any Sacrament.

3. *Item*, That *Prieſts* have no more *authority* to *miniſter Sacraments* than the *Lay-men* have.

4. *Item*, That *Children* ought not in any wiſe to be *confirmed* of the *Biſhops* afore they come to the *age of diſcretion.*

5. *Item*, That all *Ceremonies* accuſtomed in the *Church*, which are not clearly expreſſed in *Scripture*, muſt be taken away, becauſe they are *mens inventions.*

6. *Item*, That all thoſe are *Antichriſts*, that doe deny the *Lay men* the *Sacrament of the Altar, ſub utráque ſpecie.*

7. *Item*, That all that be preſent at *Maſſe*, and doe not receive the *Sacrament* with the *Prieſt*, are not partakers of the ſaid *Maſſe.*

8. *Item*, That it is preached and taught, That *the Church, that is commonly taken for the Church, is the old Synagogue*; and, *that the Church is the congregation of good men onely.*

9. *Item*, It is preached againſt the *Letany*, and alſo ſaid, That *it was never merry in* England, *ſithence the Letany was ordained*, and *Sancta Maria, Sancta Catharina* &c. *ſungen and ſaid.*

10. *Item*, That a man hath no *Free-will.*

11. *Item*, That God never *gave grace* nor *knowledge of holy Scripture* to any great eſtate or rich man, and that they in no wiſe follow the ſame.

12. *Item*, That all Religions and Profeſſions, whatſoever they be, are clean contrary to Chriſts religion.

13. *Item*, That it be preached and taught, That *all things ought to be commune, and that Prieſts ſhould have Wives.*

14. *Item*, That Preachers will in no wiſe conform themſelves *ad Eccleſiam Catholicam*, nor admit or receive *Canonicos, & probatos Authores*, but will have their own fancies and inventions preached and ſet forward.

15. *Item*, That *Images of Saints* are not in any wiſe to be *reverenced.* And, that it is plain *idolatry* and abomination to ſet up any *lights* before any *Images*, or in any place of the Church the time of Divine Service, as long as the Sun giveth light.

16. *Item*, That it is *idolatry* to make any *Oblations.*

17. *Item*, That it is as lawfull to *Chriſten a Childe* in a Tub of water at home, or in a Ditch by the way, as in a Font-ſtone in the Church.

18. *Item*, That the Water in the Font-ſtone is alonely a thing conjured.

19. *Item*, That the Hallowed oyl is no better than the Biſhop of *Rome* his greaſe or butter.

20. *Item*, That Prieſts crowns be the Whores marks of *Babylon.*

21. *Item*, That the Stole about the Prieſt's neck is nothing elſe but the Biſhop of *Rome's* rope.

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22. *Item*, That *Images*, as well of the *Crucifix*, as of other *Saints*, are to be put out of the Church, and the *Reliques of Saints* in no wise to be *reverenced*. And, that it is against God's commandment, that *Christian men should make courteſie or reverence to the Image of our Saviour*.

23. *Item*, That it is no ſin or offence to *eat white meats*, *eggs*, *butter*, *cheeſe*, or *fleſh* in the *Lent*, or other Faſting-daies commanded by the Church, and received by conſent of Chriſtian people.

24. *Item*, That it is lawfull to eat *fleſh* on *Good-Friday*, as upon *Eaſter-day*, or other times in the year.

25. *Item*, That the ſinner offending in the *Lent*, or other high *Feaſts* of the year, is worthy no more puniſhment than he that tranſgreſſeth in any other time.

26. *Item*, That *Confeſſion auricular*, *Abſolution*, and *Penance*, are nother neceſſary nor profitable in the Church of God.

27. *Item*, That *auricular Confeſſion* is onely invented and ordained to have the ſecret knowledge of mens hearts, and to pull money out of their purſes.

28. *Item*, That the *ghoſtly Father* cannot give or enjoyn any penance at all.

29. *Item*, That it is ſufficient for a man or woman to make their *confeſſion to God alone*.

30. *Item*, That it is as lawfull at all times to *confeſſe* to a *Lay-man* as to a *Prieſt*.

31. *Item*, That *confeſſion* is but a *whiſpering* in a *Prieſts* eare, and is as well to be made, a multitude being preſent, as ſecretly.

32. *Item*, That it is ſufficient that the ſinner doe ſay, *I know my ſelf a ſinner*.

33. *Item*, That Biſhops Ordinaries and Eccleſiaſtical Judges have no authority to give any ſentence of *excommunication* or *cenſure*; ne yet to abſolve or loſe any man from the ſame.

34. *Item*, That it is not neceſſary or profitable to have any Church or Chappel to *pray in*, or to doe any *divine ſervice* in.

35. *Item*, That the *Church* was made for no other purpoſe, but other to keep the people from winde and rain, other elſe that the people upon Sondaies and Holy-daies ſhould reſort thither to have the Word of God declared unto them.

36. *Item*, That *buryings* in Churches and Church-yards be unprofitable and vain.

37. *Item*, That the *rich* and *coſtly ornaments* in the Church are rather high diſpleaſure than pleaſure or honour to God.

38. *Item*, That it is pity that ever the Maſs, Mattens, Evenſong, or any other Divine Service was made, or ſuffered to be read, ſaid, or ſung within any Church, becauſe it is onely to the deluding of the people.

39. *Item*, That *Saints* are not to be *invocated* or *honoured*: and that they underſtand not, nor know nothing of our Petitions, nor can be Mediatours or Interceſſours betwixt us and God.

40. *Item*, That our *Lady* was no better than another woman; and like a bag of pepper or ſaffron when the ſpice is out: and that ſhe can doe no more with *Chriſt* than another ſinfull woman.

41. *Item*, That it is as much available to pray unto Saints, as to hurl a ſtone againſt the winde: and that the Saints have no more power to help a man, than a man's wife hath to help her husband.

42. *Item*, That Dirige, Commendations, Maſſe, Suffrages, Prayers, Alms-deeds, or Oblations, done for the ſouls of them that be departed out of this world, be but vain and of no profit.

43. *Item*,

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43. *Item*, That the Souls departed goe ſtraight to Heaven, other to Hell.

44. *Item*, That there is no mean place between heaven and hell, wherein ſouls departed may be afflicted.

45. *Item*, That if there be a place where they be puniſhed, God is not yet born, nor he that ſhall redeem the world.

46. *Item*, That Prayers, Suffrages, Faſting, or Alms-deeds, doe not help to take away any ſin.

47. *Item*, That there is no diſtinction of ſins after this ſort, ſin to be *venial*, and ſin to be *mortal*.

48. *Item*, That all ſins, after that the ſinner be once converted, are made by the merits of Chriſt's paſſion *venial ſins*, that is to ſay, *ſins clean forgiven*.

49. *Item*, That Almighty God doth not look for, nor yet require of a ſinner after his converſion from ſin any faſting, alms-deed, or any other penance, but only that the ſinner be ſorry for his ſins, amending his life, and ſinning no more.

50. *Item*, That hallowed-water, hallowed-bread, hallowed-candles, hallowed-aſhes, hallowed-palm, and ſuch like ceremonies of the Church are of none effect, and to be taken as trifles and vanities to ſeduce the people,

51. *Item*, That Holy-daies ordained and inſtituted by the Church are not to be obſerved and kept in reverence, inaſmuch as all daies and times be like: and that ſervile works, as plowing and carting may be done in the ſame, without any offence at all, as in other ferial daies.

52. *Item*, That the ſinging or ſaying of Maſſe, Mattens or Even-ſong, is but a roreing, howling, whiſtleing, mumming, tomring and jugling: and the playing at the Organs a fooliſh vanity.

53. *Item*, That pilgrimage, faſting, alms-deeds, and ſuch like are not to be uſed: and that a man is not bound to the Church, but onely to the preaching.

54. *Item*, That it is ſufficient and enough to believe, though a man doe no good works at all.

55. *Item*, That men be not content to preach of certain abuſes found in pilgrimages, in faſting, in prayer, in invocation of Saints, in reverencing of Images, in alms-deeds, but they will have needs the thing ſelf taken away, and not enough the abuſes to be reformed.

56. *Item*, That by preaching, the people have been brought in opinion and belief, that *nothing is to be believed, except it can be proved expreſly by Scripture.*

57. *Item*, That it is preached and taught, that *foraſmuch as Chriſt hath ſhed his blood for us and redeemed us, we need not to doe any thing at all but to believe and repent, if we have offended.*

58. *Item*, That there is of late a new *Confiteor* made after this form, *Confiteor Deo cœli & terræ, peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, & opere, mea culpa. Ideo deprecor majeſtatem tuam, ut tu Deus deleas iniquitatem meam, & vos orare pro me.*

59. *Item*, That it is preached, that becauſe *auricular Confeſſion* hath brought forth innumerable *vices*, it is clearly to be taken away.

60. *Item*, That the canon of the Maſſe is the comment of ſome fooliſh, unlearned Prieſt: and that the names of the Saints there expreſſed are not to be rehearſed.

61. *Item*, That water running in the chanel or common river, is of as great vertue as the holy-water.

62. *Item*, That holy-water is but jugg'led water.

63. *Item*, That the holy-water is more ſavoury to make ſauce with

than the other, because it is mixt with salt; which is also a very good medicine for an horse with a gall'd back: yea, if there be put an onyon thereunto, it is a good sauce for a gibbet of mutton.

64. *Item*, That no humane constitutions or laws doe binde any Christian man, but such as be in the *Gospels*, *Paul's Epistles*, or the *New Testament*: and that a man may break them without any offence at all.

65. *Item*, That besides seditious preaching, letting unity to be had, there are many slanderous and erroneous books that have been made and suffered to goe abroad indifferently, which books were the more gladly bought, because of these words, *Cum privilegio*: which the ignorant people took to have been an expresse approbation of the KING, where it was not so indeed.

66. *Item*, That where heretofore divers books have been examined by persons appointed in the Convocation, and the said books found full of heresie and erroneous opinions, and so declared, the said books are not yet by the Bishops expresly condemned, but suffered to remain in the hands of unlearned people, which ministreth to them matter of argument, and much unquietnesse within the Realm.

67. *Item*, That Apostates, abjured persons, and of notable ill conversation, and infamed, have without licence of the King's Grace, or the Ordinary, taken upon them to preach slanderously.

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Distempered expressions partly excused. * Jer. 24. 3.

29. The Reader hath no sooner perused these opinions, but well he may conceive himself to have put his hand into *Jeremie's* basket of figs, * *Those that are good, exceeding good; and those that are bad, exceeding bad*: Most of these *tenents* being true in themselves, grounded on God's Word, and at this day professed by the Protestants; But blended with these are some, rather *expressions* than *opinions* (and those probably *worse spoken* than *meant*, *worse taken* than *spoken*) which we will not go about in any degree to defend, onely may the unpartial Reader take this into consideration. It happeneth in all *heights* and *heats* of oppositions, as in *horse-races*; wherein the Rider, if he doth not go beyond the *post*, cannot come to the *post*, so as to *win* the *prize*; for being upon the *speed*, he must goe beyond it that he come to it, though afterwards he may rain and turn his horse back again to the very place of the *mark*. Thus men being in the heat of contest upon the very career of their souls, because of their passions, cannot stop short at the very mark they ayme at, but some extravagancies must be indulged to humane infirmity, which in their reduced thoughts they will correct and amend. As some Protestants, no doubt, now lashing out so farre in their language, retrenched them afterwards to a just proportion of truth.

Two contrary parties in the Convocation.

30. Two contrary interests visibly discovered themselves in the Upper-house of this Convocation betwixt the Bishops therein; and certainly in the Lower-house, their Clerks and Chaplains adhered to the parties of their Lords and Masters. An honourable * pen hath stated the principal parties, whom we implicitly follow herein; onely, where he mentions their bare Sees, we willl adde their names and sirnames for the better clearing thereof:

* Lord *Herbert* in the Life of *Henry* the 8th.

Protestants *for the Reformation.*	Papists *against Reformation.*
1. *Thomas Cranmer*, Archb. of *Canterbury*.	1. *Edward Lee*, Archb. of *Yorke*.
2. *Thomas Goodrich*, Bishop of *Elie*.	2. *John Stokesley*, Bp. of *London*.
3. *Nich: Shaxton*, Bishop of *Sarum*.	3. *Cuthbert Tunstall*, Bp. *Durham*.
4. *Hugh Latimer*, Bishop of *Worcester*.	4. *Steven Gardiner*, B. *Winchester*.
5. *Edw: Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*.	5. *Rob: Sherborne*, Bp. *Chichester*.
6. *John Hilsley*, Bishop of *Rochester*.	6. *Richard Nix*, Bp. of *Norwich*.
7. *Will: Barlow*, Bishop of S. *Davids*.	7. *John Kite*, Bishop of *Carlile*.

Oh!

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Oh! what tugging was here betwixt these opposite sides? (For, I dare not take Bishop *Latimer*'s phrase, as he took it out of his text, *Betwixt the children of this generation, and the children of light*) whilst with all earnestnesse they thought to advance their severall designs. But, as when two stout and sturdy travellers meet together, and both desire *the way*, yet neither are willing to fight for it, in their passage they so shove & shoulder one another, that dividing *the way* betwixt them both, and yet neither get the same; so these two opposite parties in the Convocation were fain at last *in a drawn battell* to part the prize between them, neither of them being conquering, or conquered: but, a medlie-Religion, as an expedient, being made up betwixt them both, to salve (if not the consciences) the credits of both sides.

31. Some Zelots of our Age will condemn the *Laodicean temper* of the Protestant-Bishops, because if stickling to purpose, and improving their power to the utmost, they might have set forth a more pure and perfect Religion. Such men see the faults of Reformers, but not the difficulties of Reformation. These Protestant-Bishops were at this time to encounter with the Popish-Clergie, equal in number, not inferiour in learning; but, farre greater in power and dependencies. Besides, the generality of the people of the Land being nusled in ignorance and superstition, could not on a suddain endure the extremity of an absolute Reformation. Should our eyes be instantly posted out of mid-night into noon-day, certainly we should be blinded with the suddennesse and excellency of the lustre thereof. Nature therefore hath wisely provided the twi-light, as a bridge, by degrees to passe us from darknesse to light. Yea, our Saviour himself did at the first connive at the carnality of his Apostles, and would not *put new wine into old bottles for fear of breaking*. Yea, he had some commandements, which as yet [b] *they were not able to bear*; and therefore till they could *bear them*, his wisdome did *bear with them*. Thus the best of Artists doe not alwaies work to the height of their own skill, but according to the aptnesse of the instruments wherewith, and the capacity of the subjects whereon, they employ themselves.

The Protestant Bishops their moderation vindicated.

[a] Mat. 9. 17.

[b] Iohn 16. 12.

34. And here we present the Reader with the aforesaid medley-Religion passed in this Convocation, and confirmed with Royal assent; requesting him, though it be somewhat long, not to grudge his time and pains, seriously to peruse it. Partly for the authenticalnesse thereof, being by me transcribed out of the Acts of the Convocation: partly for its usefulnesse, shewing by what degrees the Gospel insinuated it self into the souls of men. What said *Zeresh*, *Haman*'s [c] wife to her husband? *If thou hast begun to fall before* Mordecai, *thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him.* Seeing Popery began even now to reel and stagger, within few years we shall have it tumble down and lay prostrate with the face thereof at the foot-stool of *truth*.

The draught of the twi-light Religion, confirmed in this Convocation.

[c] Esther 6. 13.

35. *HENRY the Eighth*, by the grace of God, KING of *England*, and of *France*, Defensour of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in earth Supreme Head of the Church of *England*; to all, and singular, our most loving, faithfull, and obedient Subjects, greeting,

AMongst other cures appertaining unto this Our Princely Office, whereunto it hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite mercy and goodnesse to call Us, We have alwaies esteemed and thought, like as We also yet esteem and think, that it

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most chiefly belongeth unto Our said charge, diligently to foresee and cause, That not onely the most holy Word and Commandements of God should most sincerely be believed, and most reverently be observed and kept of Our Subjects; but also that unity and concord in opinions, namely, in such things as doe concern Our Religion, may encrease & goe forthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord, touching the same, be repressed and utterly extinguished.

For the which cause, We being of late to Our great regrete, credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this Our Realm, as well concerning certain Articles necessary to Our salvation, as also touching certain other honest and commendable ceremonies, rites, and usages, now a long time used and accustomed in Our Churches, for conservation of an honest politie, and decent and seemly order to be had therein: minding to have that unity and agreement established through Our said Church concerning the premisses. And, being very desirous to eschew, not onely the dangers of souls, but also the outward unquietness, which, by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy were not provided) might perchance have ensued; have not onely in Our own Person, at many times taken great pain, study, labours, and travails; but also have caused Our Bishops, and other the most discreet and best learned men of Our Clergie of this Our whole Realm, to be assembled in Our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same. Where, after long and mature deliberation had, of, and upon the premisses, finally they have concluded, and agreed upon the most special points, and Articles; as well such as be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, as also divers other matters, touching the honest ceremonies, and good and politick orders, as is aforesaid. Which their determination, debatement, and agreement, for so much as We think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws, and ordinances of God, and much profitable for the stablishment of that charitable concord, and unity in Our Church of England, *which*

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which We moſt deſire, We have cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed, willing, requiring, and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly. And farther, We moſt heartily deſire, & pray Almighty God, that it may pleaſe him, ſo to illuminate your hearts, that you, and every of you, may have no leſſe deſire, zeal, and love to the ſaid unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the ſame, than We have had, and have, in cauſing them to be thus deviſed, ſet forth, and publiſhed.

And, for becauſe We would, the ſaid Articles, and every of them, ſhould be taken, and underſtanden of you, after ſuch ſort, order & degree, as appertaineth accordingly; We have cauſed by the like aſſent & agreement of our ſaid Biſhops, & other learned men, the ſaid Articles to be divided into two ſorts; whereof the one part containeth ſuch as be commanded expreſly by God, and be neceſſary to our ſalvation; and the other containeth ſuch things as have been of a long continuance, for a decent order & honeſt polity, prudently inſtituted & uſed in the Church of Our Realm, & be for that ſame purpoſe & end to be obſerved & kept accordingly, although they be not expreſly cõmanded of God, nor neceſſary to our ſalvation. Wherefore, We will & require you to accept the ſame, after ſuch ſort as We have here preſcribed them unto you, & to conform your ſelves obediently unto the ſame: whereby you ſhall not only attain that moſt charitable unity & loving concord, whereof ſhall enſue your incomparable cõmodity, profit & lucre, as well ſpiritual as other; but alſo you ſhall not a little encourage Us to take farther travails, pains, & labours, for your commodities in all ſuch other matters, as in time to come, may happen to occur, and as it ſhall be moſt to the honour of God, the profit, tranquility & quietneſs of all you Our moſt loving Subjects.

The principal Articles concerning our Faith.

First, As touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, it is thus agreed, as hereafter followeth, by the whole Clergie of this Our Realm. We will, that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach Our people by Us cõmitted to their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt moſt conſtantly believe and defend all thoſe things to be true which be comprehended in the whole body and Canon of the *Bible*; and alſo in the *three Creeds* or *Symbols*, whereof one was made by the *Apoſtles*, and is

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is the *common Creed* which every man useth: The second was made by the *Councel of Nice*, and is said daily in the *Masse:* And the third was made by *Athanasius*, and is comprehended in the *Psalm*, *Quicunq; vult*. And, that they ought, and must take and interpret all the same things, according to the self-same sentence and interpretation, which the words of the self-same Creeds or Symbols doe purport, and the holy approved doctrines of the Church doe intreat and defend the same.

Item, That they ought, and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain and infallible *words* of God, and such as neither ought, ne can be altered, or convelled by any contrary opinion or authority.

Item, That they ought, and must believe, repute, and take all the Articles of our Faith contained in the said Creeds, to be so necessary to be believed for mans salvation. That, whosoever being taught, will not believe them, as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them; he, or they, cannot be the very members of Christ, and his Spouse the Church, but be very Infidels or Hereticks, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

Item, That they ought, and must, most reverently and religiously observe and keep the self-same words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceived and expressed in the said Creeds, without altering in any wise, or varying from the same.

Item, That they ought, and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said Articles, which were of long time passed, condemned in the *four holy Councels*, that is to say, in the *Council of Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Calcedon*, and all other since that time in any point consonant to the same.

The Sacrament of Baptism.

Secondly, As touching the holy *Sacrament of Baptism*, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought, and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which have been alwaies by the whole consent of the Church, approved, received, and used in the *Sacrament of Baptism*; that is to say, that the *Sacrament of Baptism* was instituted and ordained in the *New Testament* by our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, as a thing necessary for the attaining of *everlasting life*, according to the saying of Christ, [d] *No man can enter into the kingdome of heaven, except he be born again of water, and the Holy Ghost.*

d Iohn 3. 5.

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well Infants, as such as have the use of reason, that by *Baptism* they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of Christ, [e] *Whosoever believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.*

e Mark 16.16.

Item, That the promise of *grace* & *everlasting life*, (which promise is adjoyned unto this *Sacrament of Baptism*) pertaineth not onely unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children: and, that they ought therefore, and must needs be baptized; and, that by the *Sacrament of Baptism* they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not.

Item, That infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted, which cannot be done but by the *Sacrament of Baptism*, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth

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exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret vertue and operation.

Item, That children, or men, once baptized, can, ne ought ever to be baptized again.

Item, That they ought to repute, and take all the *Anabaptists*, and the *Pelagians* their opinions, contrary to the premisses, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said *Anabaptists*, or *Pelagians* opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, That men, or children, having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall by the vertue of that Holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant, and contrite of all their sins before committed: and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our Faith, according as it was mentioned in the first Article.

And finally, If they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God, adjoyned to the said Sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said Sacrament which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for his son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God, according to the saying of S. *John*, and the Apostle S. *Peter*, [f] *Doe penance for your sins, and be each of you baptized in the name of Jesu Christ, and you shall obtain remission of your sins, and shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.* And according also to the saying of S. *Paul*, [g] *God hath not saved us for the works of justice which we have done, but of his mercy by baptism, and renovation of the Holy Ghost. Whom he hath powred out upon us most plentifully, for the love of Jesu Christ our Saviour, to the intent that we being justified by his grace, should be made the inheritours of everlasting life, according to our hope.*

f Acts 2. 38.

g Tit. 3. 5.

The Sacrament of Penance.

Thirdly, concerning the *Sacrament of Penance*, We will, that all Bishops, and Preachers, shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought, and must constantly believe, that that Sacrament was institute of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man, which after his baptisme is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved, or attain everlasting life.

Item, That like as such men, which after Baptism doe fall again into sin, if they doe not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned: even so, whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from their naughty life, and doe such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins, and shall be saved.

Item, That the *Sacrament of perfect Penance*, which Christ requireth of such manner persons, consisteth of three parties; that is to say, *Contrition*, *Confession*, and the *Amendment of the former life*, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws, and will of God; that is to say, exteriour acts in works of charity, according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, [h] *The worthy fruits of penance.*

h Luke 3. 8.

Furthermore, As touching Contrition, which is the first part, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that the said Contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must alwaies be conjoyned together, and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, The penitent and contrite man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin, unto which knowledge he is brought by hearing and considering of the will of God, declared

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declared in his laws; and feeling and perceiving in his own conſcience, that God is angry and diſpleaſed with him for the ſame. He muſt alſo conceive not onely great ſorrow and inward ſhame, that he hath ſo grievouſly offended God, but alſo great fear of Gods diſpleaſure towards him, conſidering he hath no works or merits of his own, which he may worthily lay before God, as ſufficient ſatisfaction for his ſins. Which done, then afterward with this fear, ſhame and ſorrow, muſt needs ſucceed and be conjoyned, the ſecond part, that is to wit, a certain faith, truſt and confidence of the mercy and goodneſſe of God, whereby the penitent muſt conceive certain hope and faith, that God will forgive him his ſins, and repute him juſtified, and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthineſſe of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the onely merits of the blood and paſſion of our Saviour JESU CHRIST.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten, and alſo confirmed and made more ſtrong by the applying of Chriſts words and promiſes of his grace and favour contained in his Goſpel & the Sacraments inſtituted by him in the New Teſtament. And therefore to attain this certain faith, the ſecond part of Penance is neceſſary, that is to ſay, *Confeſſion to a Prieſt*, if it may be had; for, the abſolution given by the Prieſt was inſtitute of Chriſt to apply the promiſes of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

Wherefore, as touching Confeſſion, We will, that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach Our people committed by Us to their ſpiritual charge, that they ought, and muſt certainly believe, that the words of abſolution, pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſpoken by the authority given to him by Chriſt in the Goſpel.

Item, That they ought and muſt give no leſſe faith and credence to the ſame words of abſolution, ſo pronounced by the Miniſters of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himſelf, if he ſhould ſpeak unto us out of heaven, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, [i] *Whoſe ſins ſoever ye doe forgive, ſhall be forgiven; whoſe ſins ſoever ye doe retain, ſhall be retained.* And again in another place, Chriſt ſaith, [k] *Whoſoever heareth you, heareth me.*

Item, That in no wiſe they doe contemn this *Auricular Confeſſion*, which is made unto the Miniſters of the Church, but that they ought to repute the ſame as a very expedient and neceſſary mean, whereby they may require and ask this abſolution at the Prieſt's hands, at ſuch time as they ſhall finde their conſcience grieved with mortal ſin, and have occaſion ſo to doe; to the intent, they may thereby attain certain comfort and conſolation of their conſciences.

As touching to the third part of Penance, We will, that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach Our people committed by Us to their ſpiritual charge, that although *Chriſt* & *his death* be the ſufficient oblation, ſacrifice, ſatisfaction, and recompenſe, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all ſinners, not only their ſin, but alſo eternal pain due for the ſame; yet all men truly penitent, contrite and confeſſed, muſt needs alſo bring forth the fruits of penance, that is to ſay, Prayer, Faſting, Alms-deeds: and muſt make reſtitution or ſatisfaction in will and deed to their neighbours in ſuch things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and alſo muſt doe all other good works of mercy and charity; and expreſſe their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of Gods commandements outwardly, when time, power, and occaſion ſhall be miniſtred unto them, or elſe they ſhall never be ſaved. For, this is the expreſſe precept and commandement of God, [l] *Doe you the worthy fruits of penance.* And S. *Paul* ſaith, [m] *Like as in times paſt you have given and applied*

i John 20.23.

k Luke 10.16.

l Luke 3.8.

m Rom. 6.19.

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applied your ſelves, and all the members of your body, to all filthy living and wickedneſſe, continually encreaſing the ſame; in like manner now, you muſt give and appply your ſelves wholly to juſtice, encreaſing continually in purity and cleanneſſe of life. And in another place he ſaith, [n] *I chaſtiſe and ſubdue my carnal body, and the affections of the ſame, and make them obedient unto the ſpirit.*

Item, That theſe precepts and works of charity, be neceſſary works to our ſalvation, and God neceſſarily requireth, that every penitent man ſhall perform the ſame whenſoever time, power and occaſion ſhall be miniſtred unto them ſo to doe.

Item, That by penance and ſuch good works of the ſame, we ſhall not onely obtain everlaſting life, but alſo we ſhall deſerve remiſſion or mitigation of theſe preſent pains and afflictions in this world, according to the ſaying of Saint *Paul,* [o] *If we would correct and take puniſhment of our ſelves, we ſhould not be ſo grievouſly corrected of God.* And *Zacharias* the Prophet ſaith, [p] *Turn your ſelves unto me, and I will turn again unto you.* And the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, [q] *Break, and deal thy bread unto the hungry, bring into thy houſe the poor man, and ſuch as want harbour. When thou ſeeſt a naked man, give him clothes to cover him with, and refuſe not to ſuccour and help the poor and needy, for he is thine own fleſh. And, if thou wilt thus doe, then ſhall thy light gliſter out as bright as the ſun in the morning, and thy health ſhall ſooner ariſe unto thee, and thy juſtice ſhall goe before thy face, and the glory of God ſhall gather thee up, that thou ſhalt not fall. And, whenſoever thou ſhalt call upon God, God ſhall hear thee: and, whenſoever thou ſhalt crie unto God, God ſhall ſay, Loe! here I am ready to help thee; then ſhall thy light overcome all darkneſſe, and thy darkneſſe ſhall be as bright as the ſun at noon-daies: and then God ſhall give unto thee continuall reſt, and ſhall fulfill thy ſoul with brightneſſe; and ſhall deliver thy body from adverſity: and then thou ſhalt be like a garden, that moſt plentifully bringeth forth all kinde of fruits, and like the well-ſpring that never ſhall want water.*

Theſe things, and ſuch other, ſhould be continually taught and inculked into the ears of Our people, to the intent to ſtirre and provoke them unto good works, and by the ſelf-ſame good works to exerciſe and confirm their faith and hope, and look for to receive at God's hand mitigation and remiſſion of the miſeries, calamities and grievous puniſhments, which God ſendeth to men in this world for their ſins.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Fourthly, As touching the *Sacrament of the Altar,* We will, that all Biſhops & Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their ſpiritual charge, that they ought, and muſt conſtantly believe, that under the form & figure of *bread* & *wine,* which We there preſently do ſee & perceive by outward ſenſes, is verily, ſubſtantially & really contained and comprehended the very ſelf-ſame body and blood of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt,* which was born of the Virgin *Mary,* and ſuffered upon the Croſſe for our redemption. And, that under the ſame form and figure of Bread and Wine, the very ſelf-ſame body and blood of *Chriſt* is corporally, really and in the very ſubſtance exhibited, diſtributed, and received unto, and of all them which receive the ſaid Sacrament. And, that therefore the ſaid Sacrament is to be uſed with all due reverence and honour; and, that every man ought firſt to prove and examine himſelf, and religiouſly to trie and ſearch his own conſcience before he ſhall receive the ſame, according to the ſaying of S. *Paul, Whoſoever eateth* [r] *this body of Chriſt unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Chriſt unworthily, ſhall be guilty*

n 1 Cor. 9. 27.

o 1 Cor. 11. 31.

p Zech. 1. 3.

q Iſa. 58. 7, 8, 9, &c.

r 1 Cor. 11. 27.

Vers. 28, &c.

guilty of the very body and blood of Christ. Wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this drink; for, whosoever eateth it, or drinketh it unworthily, he eateth and drinketh to his own damnation, because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ, and other kindes of meat.

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Justification.

Fifthly, As touching the order and cause of our *Justification*, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by Us to their spiritual charge, that this word *Justification* signifieth *remission of our sins*, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, That sinners attain this *justification*, by *contrition* and *faith* joyned with *charity*, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared. Nor, as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification: for the onely mercy and grace of the Father promised freely unto us for his Sons sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the onely sufficient and worthy causes thereof. And yet, that, notwithstanding, to the attaining of the same justification, God requireth to be in us, not onely inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence with all other spiritual graces and motions; which, as we said before, must necessarily concurre in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification: but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified, we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandements. For, although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoyned with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life. And, we being justified be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to doe good works, according to the saying of S. *Paul*, [f] *We be bound not to live according to the flesh, and to fleshly appetites; for, if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned. And contrary, if we will mortifie the deeds of our flesh, and live according to the spirit, we shall be saved. For, whosoever be led by the spirit of God, they be the children of God:* And Christ saith, [t] *If you will come to heaven, keep the commandements.* And Saint *Paul*, speaking of evil works, saith, [u] *Whosoever commit sinfull deeds, shall never come to heaven.* Wherefore, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct & teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to doe good works commanded by him, and that not onely outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost: that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invocate and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues. For Christ saith, [w] *Except your righteousnesse shall exceed the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdome of heaven*: that is to say, We must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the law of God.

f Rom. 8. 12, &c.

t Mat. 19. 17.

u Gal. 5. 21.

w Mat. 5. 20.

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Articles concerning the laudable Ceremonies used in the Church of Christ; and first of Images.

As touching Images, truth it is, that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the great abuses of them, sometime destroyed and put down. And in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good Authors doe declare. Wherefore We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that there be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and good example. And, that they also be by occasion, the kindlers and stirrers of mens mindes, and make men oft to remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and our Lady. And, that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the Churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed. And, to the intent that rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition as in time past, it is thought, that the same hath used to doe. We will, that Our Bishops and Preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses; for, else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for sensing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and faine to custome, yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no wise doe it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but onely to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the Crosse, of our Lady, or of any other Saint beside.

Of honouring of Saints.

As touching the honouring of Saints, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charges, that Saints, now being with Christ in heaven, be to be honoured of Christian people in earth, but not with that confidence and honour which are onely due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had onely of God. But, that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world: because they already doe reigne in glory with Christ: and, most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues, which he planted in them, for example of, and by them, to such as yet are in this world, to live in virtue and goodnesse: and also not to fear to die for Christ and his cause, as some of them did. And finally, to take them in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these waies, and such like, be Saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

Of Praying to Saints.

As touching Praying to Saints, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our people committed by Us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit, grace, remission of sin and salvation cannot be obtained, but of God onely, by the mediation of our Saviour CHRIST, which is onely sufficient Mediatour for our sins; yet, it is very laudable

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to pray to Saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent to be Intercessors, and to pray for us, and with us, unto Almighty God, after this manner:

All holy Angels and Saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us, unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesu Christ his sake, we may have grace of him, and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, (not wanting ghostly strength) to observe and keep his holy commandements, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives end. And in this manner we may pray to our *blessed Lady*, to Saint *John Baptist*, to all, and every of the *Apostles*, or any other *Saint* particularly, as our devotion doth serve us: so that it be done without any *vain superstition*, as to think that any *Saint* is *more mercifull*, or will *hear us sooner* than *CHRIST*; or that any *Saint* doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patrone of the same. And likewise we must keep *Holy-daies* unto God, in memory of him and his *Saints*, upon such daies as the *Church hath ordained* their *memories* to be *celebrate*, except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent and commandment of Us the Supreme Head, to the Ordinaries, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites, and Ceremonies.

As concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of Christ's Church, as, to have such *vestments* in doing Gods service, as be, and have been most part used: as *sprinkling of Holy-water* to put us in remembrance of our *Baptism*, and the *blood* of *Christ* sprinkled for our *redemption* upon the *Cross*: Giving of *Holy-bread* to put us in remembrance of the *Sacrament of the Altar*, that all Christian men be one body mystical of *Christ*, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf; and to put us in remembrance of the receiving of the *holy Sacrament* and *body of Christ*, the which we ought to receive in right charity, which in the beginning of *Christ's Church*, men did more often receive, than they use now adaies to do: Bearing of *Candles* on *Candle-mas-day*, in memory of *Christ* the *spiritual Light*, of whom *Simeon* did prophecie, as is read in the Church that day: Giving of *Ashes* on *Ash-wednesday*, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of *Lent*, and *penance*, that he is but *ashes* and *earth*, and *thereto shall return*, which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our Mother-tongue alwaies on the *Sunday*: Bearing of *Palms* on *Palm-Sunday*, in memory of the receiving of *Christ* into *Hierusalem* a little before his death; that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts: Creeping to the *Cross*, and humbling our selves to *Christ* on *Good Friday* before the *Cross*, and there offering unto *Christ* before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our *redemption* by *Christ* made upon the *Cross*: Setting up the *Sepulture of Christ*, whose *body* after his death was *buried*: The *hallowing of the Font*, and other like exorcismes and benedictions by the Ministers of Christs Church, and all other like laudable Customes, Rites and Ceremonies, be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued, as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those *spiritual things* that they doe signifie, not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time, but none of these *Ceremonies* have power to *remit sinne*, but onely to *stirre* and *lift up* our *mindes unto God*, by *whom onely our sinnes be forgiven*.

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Of Purgatorie.

Foraſmuch as due order of *charity* requireth, and the Book of *Maccabees*, and divers antient Doctours plainly ſhewen, That it is a very good and charitable deed to *pray for Souls departed*; and, foraſmuch alſo as ſuch uſage hath continued in the Church ſo many years, even from the beginning: We will, that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach Our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the ſame; and, that it ſtandeth with the very due order of charity, a Chriſtian man to *pray for Souls departed*, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and alſo to cauſe other to pray for them in *Maſſes* and *Exequies*, and to *give alms* to other to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of ſome part of their pain. But, foraſmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kinde of pains there alſo, be to us uncertain by *Scripture*, therefore this, with all other things, we remit to Almighty God, unto whoſe mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them; truſting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their eſtate and condition. Wherefore it is much neceſſary that ſuch abuſes be clearly put away, which under the name of *Purgatorie* hath been advanced, as to make men believe, that through the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardons, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatorie, and all the pains of it. Or, that *Maſſes* ſaid at *Scala cœli*, or otherwhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver them from all their pain, and ſend them ſtraight to heaven. And other like abuſes.

July 20.

36. Nothing elſe of moment paſſed in this Convocation, ſave that on the 20 of *July*, *Edward* Biſhop of *Hereford*, brought in a Book containing the King's Reaſons, conceiving it unfit, in Perſon, or by Proxie, to appear at the General Councel, lately called by the Pope at *Mantua*, (afterward removed to *Trent*) and then the Convocation having firſt confirm'd the King's Reaſons, was diſſolved. It was tranſacted in relation to Church, or Church-men, in the contemporary [x] Parliament:

The Convocation diſſolved, and what acted in Parliament.

1. *That Felons for abjuring Petty Treaſon, ſhould not have* [y] *Clergie.*
2. *That every Eccleſiaſtical and Lay-Officer ſhall be ſworn to renounce the Biſhop of* Rome, *and his authority, and to reſiſt it to his power, and to repute any Oath taken in the maintenance of the ſaid Biſhop, or his authority, to be void. And the refuſing the ſaid Oath being tendered* [z], *ſhall be adjudged High Treaſon.*
3. *That Fruits, during the vacation of a Benefice, ſhall be reſtored to the next Incumbent,* [a] *whoſe charge for firſt-fruits ſhall begin from the firſt vacation.*
4. *Which Spiritual perſons ſhall be reſident upon their Benefices, and which not; and for what cauſes.*
5. *Releaſe of ſuch who have obtained Licences from* [b] *the* See of Rome.

x See them in the Statutes at large.
y Cap. 1.
z Cap. 10.
a Cap. 11.
b Cap. 16.

But all theſe are ſet down at large in the printed *Statutes*, and thither we referre the Reader for ſatisfaction: as to our *Hiſtory of Abbies* to be informed about the *Rebellion in the North*, occaſioned in this year by theſe *alterations in Religion*.

37. Towards

The birth, breeding, first persecution, & far travelling of *William Tyndal*.

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37. Towards the end of this year, the faithfull servant of God, *William Tyndall*, *alias* [c] *Hichins*, was martyred at *Fylford* in *Flanders*, born about *Wales*, bred first in *Oxford*, then in *Cambridge*, after School master to the children of Mr. *Welch*, a bountifull house-keeper in *Gloucester-shire*. To his house repaired many Abbots of that County (as indeed no one Shire in *England* had half so many mitred ones, which voted in Parliament) and Clergy-men, whom *Tyndal* so welcomed with his discourse against their superstitions, that afterwards they preferred to forbear Master *Welch* his good cheer rather than to have the sower sauce therewith, Master *Tyndal*'s company. But this set their stomachs so sharp against him, that he was forced to quit *Gloucester-shire*, and tender his service to *Cuthbert Tunstall*, Bishop of *London*, a great Scholar himself, and therefore probable to prove a Patron to a learned man. Him *Tyndal* presented in vain, with an Oration out of *Isocrates*, which he had translated into English. But, though he sued for himself in two tongues, Greek, and English, both proved ineffectual; the Bishop returning, That *he had moe already than he could well maintain*. On this denial, over hasts *Tyndal* beyond the seas; and, after much travelling, fixeth at last at *Antwerp*, where he became Clerk to the Company of English Merchant-Adventurers.

[c] *Bal. ut prius.*

He translateth the New, and most part of the Old Testament.

38. Here he began with the *New Testament*, (as of most concernment to mans salvation) and, with the help of *John Frith*, the *Baruch* to this *Jeremie*) translating it out of the Greek Original, finished, printed, and published it. Then he proceeded to *the Old*, and accomplished it from *Genesis* to *Nehemiah* inclusively, but translated none of the *Prophets*, (save [c] *Jonah*) being prevented by death. I presume he rendred the *Old Testament* out of the *Latine*, his best friends not intituling him to any skill at all in the *Hebrew*. And remarkable it was, that sailing to *Hamborough* to print the *Pentateuch*, he lost all his Books and Copies by [f] shipwrack, which doubled his pains in re-translating it. But here he lighted on the help of *Miles Coverdale*, afterward Bishop of *Exeter*, to assist him; and safely they went thorough their work, even when the Sweating-sickness swept away thousands in the City, with a generall mortality: As if the usefull sweating of their brains, were a preservative against the hurtfull sweating of their bodies. And indeed painfulness in a lawfull calling, is the best antidote against a publick infection.

[f] *Fox Martyrol. vol. 2. pag. 364.*

Faults in his Translation confessed and excused.

39. Yet none will deny, but that many faults needing amendment, are found in his Translation; which is no wonder to those who consider; First, such an undertaking was not the task for *a man*, but *men*. Secondly, no great design is invented, and perfected at once. Thirdly, *Tyndal*, being an exile, wanted many necessary accommodations. Fourthly, his skill in *Hebrew* was not considerable; yea, generally Learning in Languages was then but in the infancie thereof. Fiftly, our *English tongue* was not improved to that expressiveness, whereat at this day it is arrived. However, what he undertook was to be admired as glorious; what he performed, to be commended as profitable; wherein he failed, is to be excused as pardonable, and to be scored on the account rather of that Age, than of the Authour himself. Yea, *Tyndal*'s pains were usefull, had his Translation done no other good than to help towards the making of a better; Our last Translators having in expresse charge from King JAMES, to consult the Translation of *Tyndall*.

Tyndal and his Translation both martyred with fire.

40. But, when the Testament of *Tyndal*'s Translation came over into *England*, oh! how were the Popish Clergie cut to the heart? How did their blear-eyes smart at the shining of the Gospel in a vulgar Tongue? Downe must their *Dagon*, if this *Arke* be set up: down their *Diana*, if *Paul* be permitted to preach to the people. Some said, that *the Bible ought not to be translated*; some, *that it could not be*, that *it was impossible*: Others, that *the translating thereof would make men rebell against the King*; and why I pray? seeing they shall read therein, [h] *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, &c.* and many other places pressing obedience. Some were not so much angry with the Text, as with *Tyndal*'s

[g] *Fox, ut prius.*

[h] Rom. 13. 1.

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dal's Comment, his Preface before, and Notes upon the same: In fine, they did not onely procure his Book to be publickly burnt in *Paul's* Church-yard, but also their malice (which hath long arms to reach at such distance) contrived, and effected the strangling and burning of *Tyndal* in *Flanders*.

41. *Bale* calleth him the *Apostle of the English*. And indeed, some generall parallel (farre be it from me to enforce it to an absolute conformity) may be observed betwixt Saint *Paul*, and our *Tyndal*: S. *Paul* withstood, and defeated the power of [i] *Elymas* the Sorcerer: *Tyndal*, with the grace and gravity of his company put a [k] Magician out of countenance, being brought thither to shew a cast of his skill by inchanting. S. *Paul*, in *Thyatira*, converted his [l] Jaylour, and all his household: *Tyndal*, during his year and half durance, converted his *keeper*, his *daughter*, [m] and other of his *family*. Saint *Paul* was *in perils by waters, in perils by robbers, in perils amongst false brethren*: so was *Tyndal*, whom one *Philips*, pretending much friendship, by cunning insinuation betrayed to his destruction. We take our leaves of *Tyndal*, with that testimony which the Emperour's Procurator or Attorney-General (though his adversary) gave of him, *Homo fuit doctus, pius, & bonus: He was a learned, a godly, and a good-natur'd man.*

A parallel betwixt S. *Paul*, and *Tyndal*.

i Acts 13. 8.
k Fox, p. 367.
l Acts 16. 33.
m Fox, ut prius.
n 2 Cor. 11. 26.

[Fff] SECTION

Ann. Dom. Ann. Reg.

SECTION IV.

TO

CLIFFORD CLIFTON, Esquire.

I Know not of what place properly to name and inscribe you, whether of Middlesex, *where you have your present Dwelling; or of* Nottingham-shire, *whence first you fetched your Name; or from* Derby-shire, *and other neighbouring Counties, wherein you are Heire apparent to a fair Inheritance. I envie not your deserved Happinesse, but onely observe it is almost as difficult to fix a* rich man, *as a* begger; *the one for his* variety, *the other for his* want *of* habitation. *But be you styled from what Place you please, be pleased also to accept this expression of my service unto you. All that I will adde is, that seeing two Antient and Honourable Families (the one of* Norman, *the other of* Saxon *extraction) have met in your* name, *may their joynt Virtues be united in your* nature.

The beginning of the First-fruits Office.

GReat the Kings profit at this time from the Office for the Receipt of *Tenths* and *First fruits*, which was now first set up in *London*, and something must be observed of the *original* thereof: Such moneys formerly were paid to the Pope, who, as *Pastor Pastorum*, claimed *Decimas Decimarum*. Entituling himself thereunto, partly from *Abraham*, (a Priest) paying [o] *Tithes* to *Melchizedeck* the high Priest; partly from the *Levites* in the *Mosaical Law*, paying the *Second Tithes*, that is, the *Tithes of their Tithes* to the Priest: *Thus shall you offer an heave offering unto the Lord, of all your* [p] *Tithes, which ye receive of the children of* Israel, *and ye shall give thereof the Lords heave-offering to* Aaron *the Priest.* Hereupon, the Pope had his *Collectors* in every *Diocesse*, who sometimes by *Bills of Exchange*, but generally *in specie*, (to the great impoverishing of the Land) yearly returned the *Tenths* and *First-fruits* of the *English Clergie* to *Rome*. 1537. Hil. 28.

[o] Gen. 14. 20. & Heb. 7. 4.

[p] Num. 18. 28.

Commissioners imployed to rate all Ecclesiastical preferments.

2. But the *Pope* being now *dead* in *England*, the *King* was found *his Heir* at *Common-Law*, as to most of the *power*, and *profit*, the other had usurped. But now as the Clergie changed their *Land lord*, so their *Rents* were *new-rated* (and, I believe somewhat raised) Commissioners being imployed in all Counties, (the

Bishop

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Biſhop of the *Dioceſſe* being alwaies one of them) to valew their yearly revenue, that ſo their *Tenths* and *Firſt-fruits* may be proportioned accordingly. Theſe *Raters* were the chiefeſt perſons in all Counties under the degree of Barons, and I had a project to preſent their names, as of men of unqueſtionable extraction, none as yet ſtanding on the ruins of *Abbies* to heighten their mean birth into the repute of Gentility.

Surrey.

Nicholas Carew, *Matthew Broun* } Knights.
Thomas Stidolfe, Eſquire.
John Baniſter, Gentleman.

Huntingdon-ſhire.

Richard Sapcot, *Lawrence Taylard* } Knights.
John Goſtwick, *John Goodrick* } Eſquires.

Devon-ſhire.

William Courtney, *Thomas Dennis* } Knights.
John Birnall, Major of *Exeter*.
John Hull, *William Simonds* } Auditors.
John Ford, *John Southcote* } Auditors.

Somerſet-ſhire.

William Stourton, *John Horſey* } Knts.
Andrew Lutterell, *Thomas Speke*, *Hugh Powlet* } Eſqs.
Henry q *Capel*, Knight.
William Portman, Gent.
Roger Kinſey, Auditor.

Stafford-ſhire.

John Talbot, *John Gifford* } Knights.
Walter Wrotley, Eſquire.
John Wrotley, Gentleman.

Cheſhire.

John Holford, Knight.
Peter Dutton, Knight.
George Booth, *Thomas Aſton*, *Richard Ligh*, *William Brereton*, } Eſqs.

q In this method they are named.

But my deſigne failed, when I found the return of the Commiſſioners names into the Office ſo defective, that in moſt Counties they are wholly omitted.

3. Theſe Commiſſioners were impowered by the King, to ſend for the Scribes and Notaries of all Biſhops and Arch-deacons, to ſwear the Receivers and Auditors of Incumbents, to view their *Regiſter-books*, *Eaſter-books*, and all other *writings*, and to uſe all other waies to know the full value of *Eccleſiaſtical preferments*, with the *number* and *names* of *Perſons* enjoying the ſame. They were to divide themſelves by *Three* and *Three*, allotting to every number ſo many *Deaneries*, and to enquire the number and names of all Abbies, Monaſteries, Priories, Brotherſhips, Siſterſhips, Fellowſhips, &c. Houſes religious and conventual, as well

Inſtructions given to the Commiſſioners.

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well [r] CHARTER-HOUSE, as others, (these Carthusians being specified by name, because proudly pretending privileges of Papal exemption) and meeting together to certifie into the *Exchequer*, (at the time limited in their Commission) the true value of such Places or Preferments. Herein, *Reparations*, *Fees* of [s] *Office* were not to be deducted, but perpetual *Rents*, *Pensions*, *Alms*, *Synods*, *Fees* paid out yearly to Persons, were to be allowed.

[r] Transcribed with my owne hand out of the original in the Office.

[s] No Clerk in the Office could read this word.

4. This being a work of time exactly to perform, took up some years in the effecting thereof. *Devon-shire* and *Somerset* were done in the twenty-seventh, *Staffordshire*, and many other Counties, in the thirty-fourth of King *Henry the eighth*, and most of *Wales* not till the reign of King *Edward the sixt*. Yea, I am credibly informed, that in *Ireland*, (to which Kingdome such Commissions were afterwards extended) the Commissioners partly tired with their troublesome work, partly afraid to pass the dangerous *hill of Rushes* (in *Irish*, *Slewe-Logher*) never came into the County of *Kerry*, the South-west extremity of that Island. So that the Clergie thereof, (though the poorest of the poorest in *Ireland*) enjoy this privilege, that they are presently put into their *Livings*, (or *Benefices* rather) without any payments.

Some yeares spent in the work.

Vicaridges why so highgrowne.

5. But no such favour was allowed to any place in *England*, where all were unpartially rated, and *Vicaridges* valued very high according to their present revenue by *personal Perquisites*. In that Age, he genererally was the *richest Shepherd*, who had the *greatest flock*; where *Oblations* from the *living*, and *Obits* for the *dead*, (as certainly paid, as *Predial Tithes*) much advanced their *Income*. In consideration whereof, Vicaridges (mostly lying in Market-Towns, and populous Parishes) were set very high, though soon after those *Obventions* sunk with superstition: And the Vicars, in vain, desired a proportionable abatement in the *King's books*, which once drawn up, were no more to be altered.

Q. *Mary* remits Tenths and First-fruits.

6. Now Queen *Mary*, a Princesse, whose conscience was never *purse-ridden*, as one who would go to the cost of Her own principles, did by Act of Parliament *exonerate*, *acquit* and *discharge* the Clergie from all *First-fruits*. As for *Tenths*, the same [t] Statute ordereth them to be paid to Cardinal *Poole*, who from the same was to pay the Pensions allowed by Her Father to Monks and Nuns at the dissolution of Abbies: yet so, that when such persons, who were but few and aged (all named in a Deed indented) should decease, all such paiments of the Clergie, reserved *nomine decimæ*, should cease, and be clearly extinct and determined for ever.

[t] 2 & 3 *Phil. & Mary*, cap. 4.

Q. *Elizabeth* resumeth them.

7. But Her Sister Q. *Elizabeth* succeeding Her, and finding so fair a flower, as *First fruits* & *Tenths* fallen out of Her Crown, was careful quickly to gather it up again, and get it re-sett therein. A Princesse most facil to forgive *injuries*, but inexorable to remit *debts*, who knowing that necessitous *Kings* are *subject* to great inconveniences, was a thrifty improver of Her treasure. And, no wonder if She were *exact* (though not *exacting*) to have Her dues from the Clergie, who herein would not favour her grand favourite Sir *Christopher Hatton*, (who by the way was *Master* of this *first-fruits Office*, and was) much indebted unto Her for moneys received. All which arrears Her Majesty required so severely and suddainly from him, that the grief thereof cost him his life. I say, this Queen in the first of Her Reign resumed *first-fruits* and *tenths* onely with this ease to *Parsonages* not exceeding *ten Marks*, and *Vicaridges ten Pounds*, that they should be freed from *first-fruits*. A clause in this Statute, impowering the Queen to take all that was due unto Her from the first day of this Parliament, was so improved by her Officers in the Exchequer, (who sometimes have none of the softest palms to those that fall into their hands) that many Ministers were much vexed thereby: Yea, one [u] observeth that the courtesie intended to the Clergie by Q. *Mary* in remitting their *tenths*, proved in event an injury to many, so vexed about their *arrears*.

[s] See the Stat. 1 *Eliz.* cap. 4.

[u] *M. Parker Ant. Brit. in vitâ Reginaldi Poli.*

The state, profit, and policy of this Office.

8. In vain have some of late *heaved* at this *Office*, which is *fastned* to the State, with so considerable a revenue, as it advanced thereunto by *tenths* and *first-fruits*.

The

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The former certain, the latter casuall as depending on the uncertain deaths of Incumbents, and such as succeed them. Many indeed accuse such payments, as Popish in their original. But could that be superstitious, which was pluckt down by Queen *Mary*, and set up again by Queen *Elizabeth*? Besides, suppose them so, in their first *foul fountain*, since being *shifted*, yea *strained* through the hands of *Protestant Kings*, *Tenths* have their old property altered, and acquire no doubt a new purity to themselves. And the *Advocates* for this *Office*, doe pertinently plead, that there ought to be a *badge* of *subjection** of the *Clergie* to the *Secular power*, by publick acknowledgment of their dependence thereon, which by such *payments* is best performed.

* Some say, such a vestigal from the Clergie is mentioned in *Bede*.

Hen. 8. 30. Nov. 10. 1538.

9. *John Lambert*, *alias Nicolson*, bred in *Cambridge*, had lately been much persecuted by Archbishop *Warham*, about some opinions he held against the *corporal presence* in the *Sacrament*. And now being fallen into fresh troubles on the same account, to make the quicker work (following the precedent of S. *Paul*, appealing to *Cæsar*) he appeals to the King. Who having lately taken upon him the title of the *Supreme head of the Church of* England, would shew that *head* had a *tongue* could speak in matters of Divinity. In *White-hall*, the place and day is appointed, where an *ACT-ROYAL* was kept; the King himselfe being the *Opponent*, and *Lambert* the *Answerer*; and where His Highnesse was worsted or wearied, Arch-bishop *Cranmer*[w] supplied His place, arguing, though civilly, shrodely, against the truth, and his own private judgment.

John Lambert condemned, and why.

[w] *Fox*. Acts & Mon.

10. Was not this worse than *keeping the clothes* of those who killed S. *Stephen*, seeing this Archbishop did actually *cast stones* at this Martyr, in the Arguments he urged against him. Nor will it excuse *Cranmer*'s *cowardise* and *dissimulation* to accuse *Gardiner*'s craft and cruelty, who privily put the Archbishop on this odious act, such Christian courage being justly expected from a person of his parts and place as not to be acted by another, contrary to his own conscience. I see not therefore what can be said in *Cranmer*'s behalf, save onely that I verily hope, and stedfastly believe, that he craved God's pardon for this particular offence, and obtained the same on his unfained repentance. And because the face of mens faults is commonly seen in the glasse of their punishment, it is observable, that as *Lambert* now was burnt for denying the *corporal presence*, so *Cranmer* (now his *Opponent*) was afterwards condemned and died at *Oxford* for maintaining the same opinion; which valour, if sooner shewn, his conscience had probably been more cleared within him, and his credit without him to all posterity.

Cranmer's unexcusable cowardly dissimulation.

11. A match being now made up by the Lord *Cromwel's* contrivance, betwixt King *Henry* and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; Dutch-men flockt faster than formerly into *England*: Many of these had active souls, so that whilest their hands were busied about their *manufactures*, their heads were also beating about points of Divinity. Hereof they had many rude notions, too ignorant to manage them themselves, and too proud to crave the direction of others. Their mindes had a *by-stream* of activity more than what sufficed to *drive* on their *vocation*, and this *waste of their souls*, they imployed in needlesse speculations, and soon after began to broach their strange opinions, being branded with the general name of *Anabaptists*. These *Anabaptists* for the main, are but *Donatists new dipt*, and this year their *name* first appears in our English Chronicles; for, I* read that four *Anabaptists*, three men and one woman, all Dutch, bare faggots at *Paul's Crosse*, and three daies after a man and woman of their sect was burnt in *Smithfield*.

Dutch-men broach strange opinions.

* *Stow* in his Chron. p. 576.

Hen. 8. 31. 1539.

12. It quickly came to the turn of Queen *Anne* of *Cleve* to fall, if not into the displeasure, out of the dear affection of King *Henry the eighth*. She had much of *Katharine* Dowager's austerity, little of *Anna Bollen*'s pleasant wit, lesse of the beauty of *Jane Seamour*. Some feminine impotency, that She answered not Her creation, was objected against Her, though onely Her precontract with the Son of the Duke of *Lorraine* was publickly insisted on, for which by Act of Parliament now sitting, She was solemnly divorced.

Queen *Anne* of *Cleve* why divorced.

Ann. Dom. 1539. Ann. Reg. Hen. 31.

The reparations the King made her.

13. King *Henry* durst not but deal better with *Anne* of *Cleve* than with such His Wives, which were His native Subjects: not so much for love of Her, as for fear of Her Brother the Duke of *Cleve*, considerable (if not much in Himself) in His union with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*. Wherefore He restored Her all Her Jewels, assigned Her precedencie above all *English*, (save His own that should be Queen, and Children) graced Her with a new-devised stile of, *His adopted Sister*, (by which from henceforward He saluted Her in His Letters, and She in Answer subscribed Her self) allotted Her *Richmond-House* for Her retirement, with an augmentation of means for Her maintenance. And now let Her be glad that She escaped so well, seeing all, which had reference to King *Henry*'s bed, came off *gainers*, if *savers* of their own lives, and reputations. She returned no more into Her own Countrey, but living, and dying, *Anno*[a] 1557. in *England*, was buried in *Westminster* Church at the head of King *Sebert*, in a Tomb not yet finished; none other of King *Henry*'s Wives having *any*, and this *Anne* but half a Monument.

[a] *Stow*'s Funerall Monuments, p. 513.

Reformation goes backwards.

14. In the last Parliament, *Reformation running a race* with *Superstition*, hardly carried it by the *heads-length*, but it was hoped, that in this new Parliament (now sitting) *true Religion* would run her *Rivall* quite *out of distance*: Whereas alas! it not onely *stood still*, but *went backwards*, the *SIX ARTICLES* being therein enacted, that *whip* with *six knots*, each one (as heavily laid on) fetching *blood* from the *backs* of poor Protestants.

King *Henry* justly blamed.

15. K. *Henry* was much blamed for passing this Act. Indeed, *Power* and *Profit* being the things politick Princes chiefly desire; King *Henry* had already attained both by his partial-Reformation. *Power*, by abolishing the Pope's usurpation, in His Dominions; *Profit*, by seizing on the *lands* and *goods* of suppressed Monasteries. And thus having served His own turn, His zeal wilfully tired to goe any farther, and (onely abolishing such Popery as was in order to his aforesaid designes) He severely urged the rest on the practice of His Subjects.

Compared with King Jehu.

16. Herein he appeared like to *Jehu* King of *Israel*, who utterly rooted out the *forraign Idolatry* of *BAAL*, (fetcht from the *Zidonians*, and almost appropriated to the *family of Ahab*) but still worshipped the *CALVES in DAN*, and *BETHEL*, the *state-Idolatry* of the Kingdome; So our *Henry*, though banishing all *out-landish superstition* of *Papall dependance*, still reserved and maintained *home bred Popery*, persecuting the *Refusers* to submit thereunto.

The six bloody Articles.

17. For, by the perswasion of Bishop *Gardiner* (in defiance of Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the L. *Cromwell*, with might and main opposing it) it was enacted:

1. *That in the* Sacrament of the Altar, *after consecration, no substance of bread or wine remaineth, but the naturall body and blood of Christ.*

2. *That the* Communion *in both kindes is not necessary* ad salutem, *by the law of God to all persons.*

3. *That Priests, after Orders received, may not Marry by the Law of God.*

4. *That Vows of* Chastity *ought to be observed.*

5. *That it is meet and necessary, that private* Masses *be admitted and continued in Churches.*

6. *That* auricular Confession *must be frequented by people, as of necessity to salvation.*

Sir Aubrey Cotton I. 239

Laws, *bad*, as *penned*; *worse*, as *prosecuted*, which by some Bishops *extensive interpretations*, were made *commensurate* to the whole *body of Popery*.

The L. *Cromwel*'s designe miscarrieth.

18. Indeed, the Lord *Cromwell* (unable to *right his own*) had a designe to *revenge* himself on the *opposite* party, by procuring an Act, That *Popish Priests convict of Adultery, should be subject to the same punishment with Protestant Ministers that were married*. But *Gardiner*, by his greatnesse, got that law so qualified,

Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 32. Ann. Dom. 1540

lified, that it soon became *lex edentula*, whilst the other remained *mordax*, death being the penalty of such who were made guilty by the *six Articles*, though *Nicholas Shaxton* of *Salisbury*, and *Hugh Latimer* of *Worcester*, found the especial favour to *save* themselves by *losing* of their *Bishopricks*.

19. And now began *Edmond Bonner*, *alias Savage*, (most commonly called by *the former*, but too truly known by the later name) newly made Bishop of *London*, to display the *colours* of his *cruelty* therein, which here I forbear to repeat, because cited at large by Mr. *Fox*. For, I desire my *Church-History* should behave it self to his *Book of Martyrs*, as a *Lieutenant* to its *Captain*, onely to *supply his place in his absence*, to be *supplemental* thereunto, in such matters of moment which have escaped his observation.

Bonner first beginneth to *Bonner it.*

20. Match-makers betwixt private persons seldome finde great love for their pains, betwixt Princes often fall into danger, as here it proved in the L. *Cromwell*, the grand contriver of the King's marriage with *Anne* of *Cleve*. On him the King had conferred Honours so many, and so suddainly, that one may say, The crudities thereof lay unconcocted in his soul, so that he could not have time to digest one Dignity before another was poured upon him. Not to speak of his *Mastership of the Jewel-house*, he was made *Baron*, *Master of the Rolls*, *the Kings Vicar general in spiritual matters*, *Lord Privie Seale*, *Knight of the Garter*, *Earle of* Essex, *Lord Great Chamberlaine of* England. And my [b] Authour observeth, that all these Honours were conferred upon him in the compasse of five years, most of them possessed by him not five moneths; I may adde, and all taken from him in lesse than five minutes, with his life on the scaffold.

Cromwell falls into the Kings displeasure, and peoples hatred.

b *Camdens Brit.* in *Essex*, p. 454.

21. This was the cause why he was envied of the Nobility and Gentry, being by birth so much beneath all; by preferment so high above most of them. Besides, many of his advancements were interpreted not so much Honours to him, as Injuries to others, as being either in use *improper*, or in equity *unfit*, or in right *unjust*, or in conscience *unlawfull* for him to accept. His *Mastership of the Rolls*, such who were bred Lawyers, conceived it fitter for men of their profession. As for the *Earldome of Essex* conferred upon him, though the title lately became void by the death of *Bourchier* the last Earl without Issue-male (and so in the strictnesse of right in the King's free disposal) yet because he left *Anne*, a sole Daughter behinde him, *Cromwel's* invading of that Honour, bred no good blood towards him amongst the kinred of that Orphan, who were honourable, and numerous. His *Lord great Chamberlainship of* England, being an Office for many years Hereditary in the Antient and Honourable House of *Oxford*, incensed all of all that Family, when beholding him possessed thereof. His *Knighthood of the Garter*, which custome had appropriated to such, who by three degrees at least could prove their Gentile descent, being bestowed on him, did but enrage his Competitours thereof, more honourably extracted. As for his being the *King's Vicar-General in Spiritual matters*, all the Clergie did rage thereat, grutching much, that K. *Henry* the *substance*, and more, that *Cromwell*, His *shadow*, should assume so high a Title to himself. Besides, *Cromwel's* name was odious unto them, on the account of Abbies dissolved, and no wonder, if this *Sampson* plucking down the pillars of the Popish Church, had the rest of the structure falling upon him. These rejoiced when the Duke of *Norfolke* arrested him for Treason at the Councel-Table, whence he was sent Prisoner to the Tower.

Why *Cromwel* was deservedly envied.

July 9.

22. And now to speak impartially of him, though in prison. If we reflect on his parts and endowments, it is wonderfull to see how one quality in him befriended another. Great *Scholar* he was none (the *Latine Testament* gotten *by heart* being the *master-piece* of his *learning*) nor any studied *Lawyer*, (never long-living, if admitted in the *Inns of Court*) nor experienced *Souldier*, (though necessity cast him on that calling, when the Duke of *Burbone* besieged *Rome*) nor *Courtier* in his youth, (till bred in the Court, as I may call it, of Cardinal *Wolsey's* house:) and yet, that of the *Lawyer* in him, so helped the *Scholar*; that of the *Souldier*, the *Lawyer*; that of the *Courtier*, the *Souldier*; and that of the *Traveller*,

Cromwell's admirable parts.

Ann. Dom. 1540. Ann. Reg. Hen. 31.

Traveller ſo perfected all the reſt (being no ſtranger to *Germany*, well acquainted with *France*, moſt familiar with *Italy*) that the reſult of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to ſay, admirable.

Articles charged upon the Lord *Cromwell*.

23. It was laid to his charge; Firſt, that he had exceeded his Commiſſion, in acting many things of high conſequence, without acquainting the *King* therwith; dealing therein, though perchance wiſely for the State, not warily for himſelf. Indeed, it is impoſſible for ſuch Officers, managing not onely *multitudes*, but *multiplicity* of matters, but that in ſome things they muſt miſtake. As *in* [c] *many words there wanteth not iniquity*: ſo in the Actours of many affairs, faults are ſoon found out. He was alſo accuſed to ſet at liberty certain perſons not capable of it; for granting Licenſes and Commiſſions deſtructive to the King's authority; for being guilty of Hereſie himſelf, and favouring it in others. Trayterous ſpeeches were alſo charged upon him, ſpoken two years before in the Church of S. *Peter's in the Poor*, in *Broad ſtreet*; the avouchers thereof pretending, that, as hitherto they had concealed them for love of themſelves (fearing *Cromwel*'s greatneſſe:) ſo now, for the love of the King, they revealed the ſame. Indeed, on the firſt manifeſting of the King's diſpleaſure againſt him, the foes of *Cromwel* had all their mouthes open, and his friends their mouthes ſhut up.

[c] Prov. 10. 19.

An injurious Act to many poor people charged on the Lord *Cromwell*.

24. The mention of S. *Peter's* in *Broad-ſtreet*, mindeth me of a paſſage, not unworthy to be recited, of an injury offered by this Lord *Cromwell*, to many poor men in the ſame Pariſh. And, becauſe every one is beſt able to tell his own tale, take it in the words of *John* [d] *Stow*, being himſelf deeply concerned therein:

[d] Survey of London, p. 187.

The Lord Cromwell *having finiſhed his houſe in* Throgmorton-ſtreet *in* London, *and having ſome reaſonable plot of ground left for a garden, cauſed the pales of the gardens, adjoyning to the North part thereof, on a ſudden to be taken down, two and twenty foot to be meaſured forth-right into the North of every man's ground, a line there to be drawn, a trench to be caſt, a foundation laid, and an high brick-wall to be builded. My father had a garden there, and there was an houſe ſtanding cloſe to his South-pale: this houſe they looſed from the ground, and bare upon rowlers into my father's garden two and twenty foot, ere my father heard thereof: no warning was given him, nor other anſwer, (when he ſpake to the Surveyors of that work) but that their Maſter, Sir* Thomas, *commanded them ſo to doe: no man durſt goe to argue the matter, but each man loſt his land; and my father paid his whole rent, which was ſix ſhillings eight pence the year, for that half which was left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the ſudden riſing of ſome men, cauſeth them to forget themſelves.*

I am moved the rather to believe our Authour herein, becauſe elſewhere he alloweth this Lord his deſerved praiſe for his virtues, and eſpecially his Hoſpitality, affirming, [e] he had often ſeen at the Lord *Cromwell*'s gate, above two hundred perſons ſerved twice every day, with meat, and drink ſufficient. Nor can I ſee what may be ſaid in excuſe of this oppreſſion, except any will plead, that *Abimelech's ſervants violently* [f] *took away the wells from Abraham*, and yet *Abimelech* himſelf never knew more or leſſe thereof.

[e] Survey of London, p. 74.

[f] Gen. 21. 26.

The worſt paſſionate Speech objected againſt him.

[g] Sir J. Strode of Parnham in Dorcaſhire.

25. As for the paſſionate expreſſions of *Cromwell*; a [g] Knight, aged well-nigh eighty, whoſe Mother was Daughter to the Lord *Cromwell*'s Son, hath informed me, That the principall paſſage, whereon the Lord's enemies moſt inſiſted, was this, It being told the L. *Cromwell*, that one accuſed him for want of *fidelity* to the King; *Cromwell* returned in paſſion, *Were he here now, I would ſtrike my dagger into his heart*; meaning, into the heart of the falſe Accuſer; and therein guilty of *want of charity* to his fellow-ſubject, not of *loyaltie* to his Sovereign. But, ſeeing the words were a *meaſuring caſt* as uttered (though not as intended) to whom they ſhould relate, the pick-thank Repeater avowed them uttered *againſt* the King Himſelf. So dangerous are dubious words, and ambiguous expreſſions, when prevalent power is to conſtrue, and interpret the meaning thereof.

26. Ten

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26. Ten daies after his Arreſt, he was attainted of high Treaſon in Parliament, and brought on the Scaffold the next week to execution. Here he ſpake the following words unto the people, which the Reader is requeſted the more ſeriouſly to peruſe, that thereby he may be enabled to paſſe (if concerned therein) his verdict in what Religion this Lord died.

His Speech on the ſcaffold.

19.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my ſelfe, as ſome think peradventure that I will. For, if I ſhould ſo doe, I were a very wretch, and miſer. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For, ſince the time that I have had years of diſcretion, I have lived a ſinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him heartily forgiveneſſe. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world, and, being but of baſe degree, I was called to high eſtate, and ſince the time I came thereunto, I have offended my Prince, for the which I aske Him heartily forgiveneſſe, and beſeech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many have ſlandered me, and reported, that I have been a bearer of ſuch as have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue. But I confeſſe, that like as God by his Holy Spirit doth inſtruct us in the truth: ſo the Devil is ready to ſeduce us; and I have been ſeduced, but bear me witneſſe that I die in the Catholick Faith of the Holy Church. And I heartily deſire you to pray for the King's Grace, that He may long live with you in health, and proſperity: and that after Him, His ſon Prince Edward, *that goodly impe, may long reign over you. And, once again, I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſh, I waver nothing in my faith.* And ſo making his Prayer, &c.

The generall terms wherein this his Speech is couched, hath given occaſion for wiſe men to give contrary cenſures thereof.

Fox in his Marginall Note on this Speech, *pag.* 515.
A true Chriſtian Confeſſion of the Lord Cromwell *at his death.*

Lord *Herbert* in the *Index* of his Hiſtory, under C.
Cromwell *died a Roman-Catholick, notwithſtanding he had been ſuch a deſtroyer of the Church.*

True it is, ſo warie were *Cromwell*'s expreſſions, that *Luther* and *Bellarmine* might in their own perſons have ſaid the ſame, without any prejudice to their own principles, and many conceive that the moſt, which theſe his words amount to, will but make him an *ſix-Articles Proteſtant.*

His Prayer, whereby his Speech may be interpreted.

27. But let *Cromwell*'s politick Speech be in part expounded by his plain Prayer which he immediately after made, (too long here to inſert, but ſet down at large in Mr. *Fox*) and which ſpeaketh him a *true Proteſtant.* And if negative Arguments avail ought in this matter, no ſuperſtitious *croſsing* of himſelf, no *praying to Saints*, no *deſiring of prayers* for him *after his death*, &c. may evidence him no *Papiſt* in the cloſe of his life. Indeed, *Anti-Cromwelliſts* count this controverſie (of the Religion he died in) not worth the deciding, no *Papiſts* conceiving the gain great to get him on their ſide, and ſome *Proteſtants* accounting the loſſe as little to part with him. However, this right ought to be done to his Memory, in fixing it on its own principles, and not miſ-repreſenting the ſame to poſterity.

Heaven is just in Earths injustice.

28. Remarkable is that passage in his Speech, wherein he confesseth himself, *by Law condemned to die*, because a *story* dependeth thereupon. Not long agoe an Act had passed in Parliament, That *one might be attainted of Treason by Bill in Parliament, and* consequently *lose his life, without any other legal triall, or being ever brought to answer in his own defence.* The Lord *Cromwell* was very active in procuring this *Law* to passe, insomuch that it is generally believed, that the *Arme* and *Hammer* of all King *Henry*'s Power, could never have *driven* on this Act thorough both Houses, had not *Cromwell* first *wimbled* an *hole* for the entrance thereof, and politickly prepared a *major part* of Lords and Commons to accept the same. For, indeed otherwise it was accounted a Law injurious to the liberty, which reason alloweth to all persons accused, and which might *cut out the tongue* of *Innocency* it self, depriving her of pleading in her own behalf. Now, behold the hand of Heaven! It hapned that this Lord first felt the smart of this rod which he made for others, and was accordingly condemned before ever he was heard to speak for himself.

Ann. Dom. 1540. Ann. Regni Hen. 31.

Nec lex est justior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Most just it is, that they bad Laws who make,
Should themselves first of their own Laws partake.

Thus, those who break down the banks, and let in the stream of *Arbitrary power*, (be it into the hands of Prince or People) are commonly the first themselves which without pity are drowned in the deluge thereof.

Yet the Lord *Cromwell* by a great person acquitted herein.
* Sir *Edward Coke*, Part 4. of *Institut.* in Jurisdiction of Courts, p. 37.

29. Thus farre I have swome along with the winde and tide of all our *English* Historians, in charging of *Cromwell* herein. But I finde one * Authour of strong credit (such he needs to be, who swims against the stream) acquitting the said Lord, deriving his intelligence from Sir *Thomas Gawdie*, a grave Judge, then living, who acquainted him as followeth, *King* Henry *commanded the L.* Cromwell *to attend the Chief Justices, and to know, whether a man that was forth-coming might be attainted of high Treason by Parliament, and never called to his answer?* The Judges answered, That *it was a dangerous question, and, that the high Court of Parliament ought to give examples to inferiour Courts for proceeding according to justice, and no inferiour Court could doe the like, and they thought the high Court of Parliament would never doe it. But, being by the expresse commandement of the King, and pressed by the said Earl to give a direct answer,* they said, That *if he be attainted by Parliament, it could not come in question afterwards, whether he was called, or not called to answer: and the* Act of Attainder *being passed by Parliament did binde, as they resolved.* The party against whom this was intended, was never called in question, but the first man after the said resolution, that was so attainted, and never called to answer, was the said Earl of *Essex*: whereupon that erroneous and vulgar opinion amongst our Historians grew, That *he died by the same Law which he himself had made.*

His exemplary gratitude.

30. But, grant this Lord *Cromwell* faulty in this and some other actions, in the main he will appear a worthy person, and a great instrument of God's glory in the *reforming of Religion*, and remarkable for many personal eminencies. Commonly when men are (as in a moment) mounted from meanesse to much wealth and honour, first they forget themselves, and then all their old friends and acquaintance. Whereas on the contrary, here *gratitude* grew with his *greatnesse*, and the Lord *Cromwell* conferred many a *courtesie* on the Children from whose Fathers Master *Cromwell* had formerly received favours. As he was a good Servant to his Master, so was he a good Master to his Servants, and fore-seeing his own fall, (which he might have foretold without the *Spirit of Prophesie*, some half a year before) he furnished his Men, which had no other lively-hood to subsist by, with Leases, Pensions, and Annuities, whereby after his death they had a comfortable maintenance.

31. One

Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 32. Ann. Dom. 1540.

31. One so *faithfull* to his Servants, cannot be suspected for an *Infidel in not providing for his family*, of his *own children*. It was not therefore his *ambition*, but *providence*, that on the same day wherein he was created *Earle of Essex*, he procured *Gregory* his Son, (which otherwise had been then but a *Lord by courtesie*) to be actually made *Baron Cromwell of Oke-ham*. Which *honour*, because inherent in the Son, was not forfeited on his Father's attainture, but descends at this day on his Posterity.

His care for his children.

32. We will conclude his story with this remarkable instance of his *humility*: Formerly there flourished a notable *family* of the [b]*Cromwells* at *Tattershall* in *Lincoln-shire*, especially since Sir *Ralph Cromwell* married the younger Sister and Coheir of *William* the last Lord *Deincourt*. Now there wanted not some flattering Heraults (excellent *Chemists* in Pedegrees to extract any thing from any thing) who would have entituled this Lord *Cromwell* to the *Armes* of that *antient Family*, extinct (in the issue male thereof) about the end of King *Henry the sixt*. His answer unto them was, That *he would not weare another mans coat, for fear the right owner thereof should pluck it off over his ears*: and preferred rather to take a *new coate*, (viz. * *Azure*, *Or*, a *Fess* inter *three Lyons rampant*, *Or* a *Rose Gules*, *betwixt two Chaughes proper*) being somewhat of the fullest; the *Epidemical* disease of all *Armes* given in the Reign of *Henry the eighth*.

An eminent instance of his humility.
[b] *Camdens Brit.* in *Lincoln-shire*.

* See *Vincent* in the Barles of *Essex*.

33. After the *execution* of the Lord *Cromwell*, the *Parliament* still sitting, a motly *execution* happened in *Smithfield*, three *Papists* hanged by the Statute for denying the *King's supremacy*, and as many *Protestants* burnt at the same *time and place*, by vertue of the *six Articles*, dying with more *pain*, and no lesse *patience*.

Men of different judgment meeting at their death.

Papists.	Protestants.
Edward Powell.	*Robert Barns*, Doctor of Divinity.
Thomas Abley.	*Thomas Gerard*, } Bachelours of Divivinity.
Rich: Fetherston.	*William* [a] *Jerom*, }

This caused was by the difference of Religions in the *King's Privie Councel*, wherein the *Popish party* called for the *execution* of these *Protestants*, whilest the *Protestant Lords* in the *Councell*, (out of policy to represse the others eagernesse, or if that failed, out of desire to revenge it) cried as fast, that the Laws might take effect on the *Papists*. And whilest neither *side* was able to save those of their own *opinions*, both had power to destroy those of their opposite *party*. They were *dragged on hurdles*, *coupled two and two*, *a Papist and a Protestant*, (cattel of different kindes yoked to draw, or rather to be drawn together) insomuch as a [c] *Romanist* professeth, that to the three *Papists* this their unequal matching was to them, *ipsa morte gravius & intolerabilius*, *more heavy and intolerable than death it self*: But the *Protestants* expresst no such *distast* hereat, not angry out of *principles of pride*, for the joyning of their *bodies* together, but grieved out of the *grounds of charity*, that their *souls* soon after, should so farre be parted *asunder*. A *stranger*, standing by, did wonder, (as well he might) what *Religion* the *King* was of, his *sword* cutting on both *sides*, *Protestants* for *Hereticks*, and *Papists* for *Traytors*, of whom in the same *moneth*, *Laurence Cooke*, *Prior of Doncaster*, and six others, were sent the same way, for the same offence.

[a] *Godwin* in *Henry* the 8. pag. 131.
[b] *Fox* in his Book of Martyrs 2 volume, p. 529.
[c] *Sanders de schismate Angl.* lib. 1. pag. 192.

34. But to return to such *Acts* of the *Parliament* as concern the *Church*, therein a *Statute* was made, commanding every man [d] *fully*, *truly*, *and effectually to divide*, *set out*, *yeild or pay all and singular Tithes and Offerings*, *according to the lawfull customes and usages of the Parishes and Places where such Tithes or Duties shall grow*, *arise*, *come or be due*. And remedy is given for *Ecclesiastick persons* before the Ordinary; and for Lay-men, that claimed appropriated Tithes by grant from the *Crown*, in the Secular Courts by such actions as usually *Lay-possessions* had been subject to. The occasion of which Statute is intimated in the Preamble thereof, *because in few years past many presumed more contemptuously*, *and commonly*

A Statute made for recovery of Tithes.
[d] 32 Hen. 8. cap. 7.

Ann. Dom. 1540. Ann. Regis H. 8. 32.

commonly than in times past, had been seen or known to subtract and withdraw their lawfull and accustomed Tithes. Incouraged thereunto for that that divers Lay-persons having Tithes to them and their heires had no due remedy by order and course of the Ecclesiastical Laws to recover their right. And no wonder, seeing their *Soveraign* had set them so large, and so late a *president* in destroying of *Abbies*, if *subjects* thought that in their distance and proportion they might also be bold to detain the *Rites* of the *Church*, especially because it seemed unreasonable, that they should receive *wages* who did no work, and that the *hire* of the *labourers* in the *vineyard* should be given to *lazie lookers on*. This Statute, in favour of *Lay-impropriators*, was beneficiall to the *Clergie* to recover their *prediall Tithes* at *Common-Law*, being equally advantaged by that which was not principally intended for them, because of the concurrence of their interest, in case of Tithes. A *Statute* also made, That *it was lawfull for all persons to contract marriage, who are not prohibited by Gods law.* For although *Gregory the great* (who had not lesse learning, but more modesty, than his successours) did not flatly forbid the *marriage* of *Cousin Germans* as *unlawfull*, but prudentially dissuade it as *unfitting*; yet *after-Popes* prohibited that and other *degrees* further off, thereby to get money for *Dispensations*. What a *masse* these amounted unto, their own *Auditors* can onely compute, seeing *Solomon* himself sent *ships* but every third year to *Ophir* for *gold*; whereas his *Holinesse*, by granting such faculties from those *Indies*, made annuall returns of infinite profit. And this *Law* came very conveniently to comply with King *Henry*'s occasions, who had the first *fruits* thereof, and presently after married *Katharine Howard*, *Cousin Germane* to *Anna Bollen* his second Wife, which, by the *Canon-Law*, formerly was forbidden without a speciall *Dispensation* first obtained.

e 32 Hen. 8. cap. 38.

f 1 Kings 10. 22.

35. But now to step out of the *Parliament* into the *Convocation*, a place more proper for our employment, there we shall finde Archbishop *Cranmer* landing in his *Barge at Pauls-wharfe*, and thence proceeding on foot with the *Cross* carried before him into the *Quire* of *Pauls*; where, at the high *Altar* Bishop *Bonner* officiated (if I speak properly) a *Masse* of the *Holy Ghost*, Doctor *Richard Cox* Archdeacon of *Ely*, preached a *Latine Sermon* on this *text*, *Vos estis sal terræ*. *Richard Gwent* Doctor of Law and Archdeacon of *London*, was chosen Prolocutor. Then intimation was given, that the KING allowed them liberty to treat of matters in Religion, to peruse the *Canons de simonia vitanda*, with other Ecclesiasticall *constitutions*; to continue the good ones, and make new ones *pro temporis exigentia*. In the third *Session* on Friday, severall Bishops * were assigned to peruse severall *Books* of the *Translation* of the *New Testament*, in order as followeth:

Acts of this yeares Convocation.

* Transcribed with my owne hand, out of the Records of Canterbury.

1 Archbishop

Ann. Reg. Hen. 31. Ann. Dom. 1540.

1 Archbiſhop *Cranmer*	1 *Matthew*		
2 *John* [g] *Lincolne*	2 *Mark*		g *Longland.*
3 *Stephen* [h] *Wincheſter*	3 *Luke*		h *Gardiner.*
4 *Thomas* [i] *Elie*	4 *John*		i *Goodrick.*
5 *Nicholas* [k] *Rocheſter*	5 *Acts of the Apoſtles*		k *Heath.*
6 *Richard* [l] *Chicheſter*	6 *Romans*		l *Sampſon.*
7 *John* [m] *Sarum*	7 1. 2. *Corinthians*		m *Capon.*
	Galatians		
8 *William* [n] *S. Davids*	8 *Epheſians*		n *Barlow.*
	Philippians		
	Coloſſians		
9 *John* [o] *Worceſter*	9 1. 2. *Theſſalonians*		o *Bell.*
	Timothy		
10 *Robert* [p] *S. Aſaph*	10 *Titus*		p *Parſew.*
	Philemon		
11 *Robert* [q] *Landaffe*	11 1. 2. *Peter*		q *Holgate.*
12 *John* [r] *Hereford*	12 *Hebrews*		r *Skip.*
	James		
13 *Thomas* [ſ] *Weſtminſter.*	13 1. 2. 3. *John*		ſ *Thyrlby.*
	Jude		
14 *John* [t] *Gloceſter*	14 *Revelation*		t *Wakeman.*
15 *John* [u] *Peterborough*	15		u *Chambers.*

Why *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London* then and there preſent, had no part in this peruſall allotted him, as I finde no reaſon rendred thereof, ſo I will not interpoſe my own conjecture.

39. In the ſixth Seſſion, *Gardiner* publickly read a Catalogue of *Latine words* of his own collection out of the *Teſtament*, and deſired that for their genuine and native meaning, and for the majeſty of the matter in them contained, theſe *words* might be retained in their own nature as much as might bee; or be very fitly *Engliſhed*, with the leaſt *alteration*, being in number and order here inſerted:

Words in the Teſtament which *Gardiner* deſired might be preſerved intire in the Tranſlation.

Ecclesia
Pœnitentia
Pontifex
Ancilla
Contritus
Olacausta
Justitia
Justificare
Idiota
Elementa
Baptizare
Martyr
Adorare
Dignus
Sandalium
Simplex
Tetrarcha
Sacramentum
Simulachrum
Gloria
Conflictationes
Ceremonia
Mysterium
Religio
Spiritus sancti
Spiritus
Merces
Confiteor tibi
Pater
Panis præpositionis
Communio
Perseverare
Dilectus
Sapientia

Pietas
*Presbyter
Lites
Servus
Opera
Sacrificium
Benedictio
Humilis
Humilitas
Scientia
Gentilis
Synagoga
Ejicere
Misericordia
Complacui
Increpare
Distribueretur orbis
Inculpatus
Senior
Conflictationes
Apocalypsis
Satisfactio
Contentio
Conscientia
Peccatum
Peccator
Idolum
Prudentia
Prudenter
Parabola
Magnifico
Oriens
Subditus
Didragma

Hospitalitas
Episcopus
Gratia
Charitas
Tyrannus
Concupiscentia
Cisera
Apostolus
Apostolatus
Egenus
Stater
Societas
Zizania
Mysterium
Christus
Conversari
Profiteor
Impositio manuum
Idololatria
Dominus
Sanctus
Confessio
Imitator
Pascha
Innumerabilis
Inenarrabilis
Infidelis
Paganus
Commilito
Virtutes
Dominationes
Throni
Potestates
Hostia

* Acts Synod. Cant. an. 1541. pag. 48, 49.

Ann. Dom. 1540.

Ann. Reg. Hen. 32. Ann. Dom. 1540.

35. The judicious Reader hath no sooner perused these words, but presently he sorts them in two *ranks*: First, some few *untranslatable*, without losse of *life* or lustre: these are continued in our *English Testament* intire, it being conceived better that *Ministers* should *expound* these words in their *Sermons*, than *alter* them in their *Texts*. But besides these, most of the *second sort*, are not so *emphaticall* in themselves, but that they may be *rendred* in *English*, without *prejudice* of *truth*. Wherefore *Gardiner's* designe plainly appeared in stickling for the preserving of so many *Latine words* to obscure the *Scripture*; who, though wanting *power* to keep the *light* of the *Word* from *shining*, sought out of *policy* to put it into a *dark Lanthorn*; contrary to the *constant practice* of God in *Scripture*, levelling high *hard expressions* to the capacity of the meanest. For forraign terms are alwaies brought in, like *Joseph* with an [w] Interpreter. [x] *Emmanuel* doth not passe without an Exposition, *God with us*: nor [y] *Ephatha* escape, but Commented on, *be thou opened*: Besides, the *Popish* Bishop multiplied the mixture of *Latine names* in the *Testament*, to teach the Laity their *distance*, who though admitted into the *outward Court* of *common matter*, were yet debarred entrance into the *Holy of Holies* of these *mysterious expressions*, reserved only for the understanding of the *high Priest* to pierce into them. Moreover, this made *Gardiner* not onely tender, but fond to have these *words* continued in *kinde* without *Translation*; because the *profit* of the *Romish Church* was deeply in some of them concerned: Witnesse the word *Penance* (which according to the *vulgar sound*, contrary to the *original sense* thereof) was a *magazin* of *Will-worship*, and brought in much *gain* to the *Priests*, who were desirous to *keep* that *word*, because that *word kept* them. I finde not what entertainment *Gardiner's* motion met with, it seems so suspended in success, as neither generally *received* nor *rejected*.

The Papists plot therein.

w Gen. 42. 23.
x Mat. 1. 23.
y Mar. 7. 34.

Mar. 10.

36. In a following *Session*, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, informed the House, That *it was the King's will and pleasure, that the Translation both of the Old and New Testament should be examined by* BOTH UNIVERSITIES. This met with much opposition in the House, all the Bishops, (*Ely* and S. *David* excepted) making their *Protests* to the contrary. These affirmed, *the Universities were much decayed of late, wherein all things were carried by Young Men, whose judgments were not to be relied on, so that the Learning of the Land was chiefly in this Convocation.* But the Archbishop said, *he would stick close to the will and pleasure of the King his Master, and that the Universities should examine the Translation.* And here (for ought I can finde to the contrary) the matter ceased, and the Convocation soon after was dissolved.

Cranmer stickleth for the Universities approbation.

Hen. 36. 1544.

37. The cruell prosecution of the *Protestants* still continued on the *six Articles*. And yet the Parliament now somewhat abated the illegall fury thereof: for formerly any active Officer of the Bishops, at his pleasure molested all suspected persons, and prosecuted some to death. But afterwards it was required, That *such Offenders should first be found guilty, by a Jury of Twelve men*; a *rub* to the *wheels* of their cruelty, that it saved the *lives* of some, and prolonged the *deaths* of others.

The six Articles somewhat mitigated.

Hen. 37. Nov. 24. 1545.

38. Now began the last Parliament in the Kings Reign, wherein many things of consequence were enacted: First, an Act against *Usury*. [a] Secondly, for *Tithes* in *London*. Thirdly, for an *exchange of Lands* betwixt the *King's Majestie*, and *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert Holegate* Archbishop of *York*, and *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*; which the King annexed to the Dutchie of *Lancaster*. Fourthly, an Act for *union of Churches, not exceeding the value of six pounds*. Lastly, that *Doctors* of the *Civil Law*, being *married*, might exercise *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*.

The Acts of the last Parliament in this Kings Reign.
a See the printed Statutes of this year.

39. At this time also, by the *King's command*, were the *Stewes* suppressed. A line or two, I hope, will not defile our *Church-History*, in the description and detestation of such filthy persons, and practises. There stood a place on the *South bank* over against *London*, called *the Stewes*, where *live-Fishes* were formerly kept, there to be washed in Ponds from their slime and muddinesse, to make the more

The originall of Stewes.

more wholsome and pleasant food, which was the originall use of these *Stewes*, and the proper [b] meaning of the *word*. Afterwards the place was converted to a worse use, but still retaining its own name from the *scouring of Fish* to the *defileing of Men: Brothel-houses* being built there, and publickly permitted by the *State*. These were *sixteen* in number, known by the several *signes*, whereof one was the *Cardinals* [c] *Hat*, and it is to be feared, that too many of the *Clergie* (then forbidden *marriage*) were too constant *customers* to it. Such who lived in these *Colledges of lust* were called *single Women*, and pity it was so good a name should be put upon so leud persons.

b *Camdens Brit. in Middlesex.*

c *Stowes Survey of London, pag. 449.*

The regulation of the Stewes.

40. Divers Constitutions were made in the *eighth year of King* Henry *the second*, for the *regulating of these Houses*, whereof some may inoffensively, yea, profitably be inserted.

1. *No Stew-holder should keep open his doors on the Holy-daies, or keep any in his house on those daies.*

2. *No single woman to be kept against her will, if out of remorse of conscience she would leave that lewd life.*

3. *No Stew-holder to receive any mans wife, or any* woman of religion.

4. *No man to be drawn or inticed, into any of those houses, and the Constables and Bayliffes were every week to search the same. They were not to sell Bread, Ale, Flesh, Fish, Wood, Cole, or any Victuals.*

This was done partly, because they should not engrosse those Trades, being the livelihood of more honest people: and partly lest simple Chapmen in seeking for such necessaries should be inveigled into sin. Such *women* living and dying in their sinfull life were excluded Christian buriall, and had a plot of ground farre from the Parish-Church appointed for them, called, *The single-womans Church-yard.*

d *Stew us prius.*

The impossibility to Legitimate, what in it self is unlawfull.

41. These Cautions and Constitutions could not make them, who are bad in themselves, to be good, though happily keeping some who were bad, from being worse. Such a toleration of sin being utterly unlawful. For though Naturall poysons may by Art be so qualified and corrected to make them not onely not noxious, but in some cases (as wisely applied) cordiall. Yet Morall poysons, I mean, things sinfull of themselves can never be so ordered and regulated, but that still they will remain pernitious and unlawfull; The onely way to order and amend, being to *remove*, and extirpate them.

Argument pro and con about Stewes.

42. Yet there wanted not those (better idle, than so imployed) who endevoured with Arguments to maintain; some (so shameless) the necessity, but more the conveniency of such *Brothel-houses*. No wonder if *wanton wits*, pleaded for *wanton women*. *Whoredome* (like the *Whores*) was *painted* over with politick Reasons for the permission thereof, which may easily be washed away if the following Parallel be but seriously perused.

1. *Mans infirmity herein since his Naturall corruption is grown so generall, it is needfull to connive at such Houses, as a kinde of remedy to prevent worse incontinency with Married women, the whole land being the cleaner for the publick* Sincks *or* Sewer *of the Stewes.*

1. *It is absurd to say, and belibelleth Divine Providence, That* any thing is really Needfull that is not Lawfull. *Such pretended necessity* created *by* bad men *must be* annihilated *by* good Laws. *Let Marriage run in its proper Channell, being permitted to all persons; and then no need of such noysome sinks which may well be dammed up. The* malady *cannot be accounted a* remedy: *For whilest* Matrimony *is appointed and blessed by God to* cool the heat of *Lust*, Whoredome *doth double the* drought *thereof.*

e Mark 10. 5.

2. *As* Moses [e] *permitted* Divorce-

2. *Christians ought not so much to listen to* Moses

ment

Ann. Reg. 32. 37. Ann. Dom. 1545.

ment to the Jewes. *Stewes may be connived at on the ſame accompt for the* hardneſſe of mens hearts.

3. Strange women *were no* ſtrangers *in* Iſrael *it ſelf under their beſt Kings; two of that trade publickly known, pleaded before King* f Solomon. *Theſe were publickly repaired unto and known by the* attire g *of an* Harlot.

4. *Many great Families were preſerved thereby, whoſe younger Brethren abſtaining from Marriage, did nont cumber the ſame with numeroſity of Children.*

5. *Such* Stewes *are Faſhionable in* forreigne Nations; *yea, in* Rome *it ſelf.*

6. *The ſuppreſſing of* Stewes *would not make men more chaſte, but more cloſe: not more ſincerely honeſt, but ſecretly wanton. In all populous places,* male-incontinency *will meet with a* female *counterpart, and ſo reciprocally.*

Moſes *his* permiſſion, *as to* Chriſt *his* reprehenſion *thereof. Beſides ſome* faults *had a* cover *for them in the* twi-light *of the* Law, *which have none in the* ſun-ſhine *of the* Goſpel.

3. *Chriſtians muſt conform themſelves to the neceſſary members and commendable* ornaments *of the Jewiſh Common-wealth, but not to the* wennes *and* ulcers *thereof.*

f 1 Kings 3. 16.

g Prov. 7. 10.

4. *Where* Harlots *have preſerved* one houſe, *they have deſtroyed an* hundred. *Beſides,* we muſt not doe Evil, that Good may come thereof. *Nor can many Children be accompted* evils *to men, which are* bleſſings *from* God.

5. *Let the* Paramount Whore *tolerate* Whores, *which as a* branch *of* Popery *was now baniſhed* England; *more honour it is for us to go before forraign* Nations *in* Reformation, *than to follow them in their* Corruptions.

6. *This undeniable truth is ſadly granted. Perchance there may now be moe* Engliſh-folk Adulterers, *but* England *was then an* Adulteresſe, *ſo long as* Stewes *were openly licenſed. It was a* Nationall ſin, *when publickly* permitted; *which now is but* perſonall, *though too generally* committed.

Thus Chaſtity, by the countenance of Authority, got at laſt a finall conqueſt of Wantonneſs. Indeed formerly, in the *one and twentieth year* h *of* Henry *the ſeventh*, for a time the *Stewes* were cloſed up; but afterwards opened again, though reduced from *ſixteen* to *twelve*; but now, by the King's commandment, this regiment of ſinners was totally and finally routed, the Kings pleaſure herein proclaimed by ſound of Trumpet, and their Houſes peopled with other Inhabitants of honeſt converſation.

h Rob. Fabian in his Chronicle, Anno 1506.

Prelates their loſs by pomp.

43. We lately mentioned the exchange of land, betwixt the King, and the two Archbiſhops. On which account be it remembred (though I finde not the exact year) *Otford* in *Kent* was given the King, whereof thus our great i Antiquary, William Warrham *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *built* Otford *for himſelf and his ſucceſſours, ſo ſumptuouſly, that, for to avoid envy,* Cranmer, *who next ſucceeded him, was conſtrained to exchange it with King* Henry *the eighth.* Could the Clergie have found out the mean betwixt *baſeneſs*, & *bravery*; too *ſordid*, & too *ſumptuous*; they might have fixed themſelves therein with the more *ſecurity.* Whileſt their Palaces built ſo big as to receive, and ſo beautifull as to invite the King and His Court, made (eſpecially if lying neer *London*) covetouſneſſe to long after them. And, although ſome competent conſideration was given in exchange, yet politick Prelates diſliked ſuch commutations, as which gaged the root of Epiſcopal lands, from their firſt property, and antient foundation.

i Camden in his Brit. in Kent, pag. 328.

June 2. 1546.

44. The laſt perſon of quality, which ſuffered martyrdome in this Kings Reign, was *Anne Aſhcough alias Kyme.* She was worſhipfully extracted, the Daughter of Sir *William Aſhcough* of *Kelſay* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, of the age of twenty five years,

The character of *Anne Aſhcough.*

Ann. Dom. 1546. Ann. Regni Hen. 38.

Whose wit, beauty, learning, and religion, procured her much esteem on the *Queens side of the Court*, and as much hatred from the Popish persecuting Bishops. But the [k] Jesuite condemns her for leaving her Husband, at home, *and gadding to Gospel, and gossip it at Court*, alwaies subscribing her self, not by her married, but maiden surname: the rather, because, being often examined, what reason she could give of forsaking her Husband, she refused to answer to any, save to the King alone. Master *Fox* turneth off the whole matter to *John Bale*; and, I having his Manuscript in my hand, thought fit to insert this his following account thereof, though not knowing whether the same will give the Reader satisfaction.

k *Parsons* in his Exam. of *Fo. Fox* his Saints in the moneth of *June*.

45. A match was made, by the power of their Parents, betwixt Mr. *Kyme* his Son in *Lincoln-shire*, and Sir *William Ashcough* his eldest Daughter, who chanced to die before the completing thereof. Sir *William*, loth to lose so rich an Heir, and having payed part of her Portion, for lucres sake compelled this *Anne*, his second Daughter, to supply her Sisters place, and to marry him against her own will and consent, notwithstanding, the marriage once past, she demeaned her self like a Christian Wife, [l] and bare him two Children. In processe of time, by oft reading of the sacred Bible, she cleerly fell from all Papistrie, to a perfect belief in *Jesus Christ*. Whereupon, her Husband was so offended, that (by suggestion of the Priests) he violently drove her out of his house. And she, on this occasion, sought from the Law a Divorce; and, because of his cruell usage, would not return unto him again: thinking her self free from that uncomely kinde of coacted marriage, by the doctrine of Saint *Paul*, [m] *But, if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or sister is not under bondage in such cases: But God hath called us to peace.* This is the effect, of what our Authour speaketh in moe words. Now, whether this rule laid down by Saint *Paul*, betwixt *Christian*, and *Heathen*, be also commensurate betwixt *Protestant*, and *Papist*, is not my work to decide. Perchance, she would only answer to the King, for her behaviour towards her Husband, as hoping for some tenderesse from His Highnesse, because of some general conformity, in the first part of her Case with the Kings (as Who for by-respects was first married to, then divorced from His Brothers Wife.

Her plea for leaving her husband.

l *Bales* Manuscript, p. 91, 92.

m 1 Cor. 7. 15.

46. Her several examinations are largely penned by her self, extant in Mr. *Fox*, where the Reader may finde them. But be it remembred, that, whereas *heresie* onely was charged upon her, without the least suspition of Treason, yet was she rackt to detect some Court-Ladies of her opinion, by the Lord *Wriothisly*, the then, and Sir *Robert Rich*, the [n] next Lord Chancellour. But, whether it was noble in these Lords, or legall in these Lawyers, or conscientious in these Chancellours, to rack one already condemned to death, belongeth to others to determine. Their cruelty extorted no discovery from her, whose constancy now made recompense for her former infirmities. If it be true what is charged upon her, that before she had twice subscribed the *Real Presence* in the *Sacrament of the Altar*, but zealously died at last in the earnest deniall thereof, being amongst those, who according to the precept in the [o] Prophet, *glorified the Lord in the fires*. Her suffering in *Smithfield* was most solemnly performed, where three men, *Nicolas Belevian*, Priest of *Shropshire*; *John Lacells*, Gentleman, of the Household of King *Henry the eighth*; and *John Adams*, a poor Taylor of *London*, were all burnt together. Three couple of qualities, meeting together in four persons, Clergy, and Laity; Male, and Female; Gentle, and Simple, made the fewell of the same fire.

She is first racked, and then burnt.

n *Fox*, p. 1139.

o Isa. 24. 15.

47. *John Bale* registers this *Anne Ashcough*, amongst the number of his *English* learned Writers, for her Examinations, Letters, and Poems, wrote with her own hand; though the [p] Jesuite jeers him for his pains, as if no *works*, save those of the *needle*, became her sex. I have seen a Manuscript of her Verses (afterwards printed at *Marpurge* in *Germany*) and must confesse, I better approve her *Charity* in the four last, than her *Poetry* in all the rest:

Her Prose, and Poetry.

p *Parsons*, ut prius.

Yet

Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 38. Ann. Dom. 1546

Yet Lord I thee desire, } { *Let them not taste the hire*
For that they doe to me, } { *of their iniquity.*

However those that have drunk deeper than she of *Helicon*, would be loth to pledge her in the bitter cup of *Martyrdome*. So I take my leave of her memory.

48. Now began the troubles of Queen *Katharine Parr*, whom the King married some two years since. For He, either being, or believing Himself wronged by His last Wife, whom He married for a Maid, resolved now to take a Widow to Wife, who had given proof of her chastity and loyalty to her former Husband, and thereupon married this *Katharine*, the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parr* of *Kendall*, the Relict of *John Nevill* Lord *Latimer*, one of great piety, beauty & discretion. Next to the Bible, She studied the Kings disposition, observing Him to Her utmost. And need She had of a nimble soul, to attend at all times on His humour, whose Fury had now got the addition of Frowardness thereunto. She was rather Nurse, than Wife unto Him, who was more decayed by sickness & intemperance, than old age.

The King marrieth *Katharine Parr*.

49. Yet sometimes She would presume to discourse with the King about points of Religion, defending the Protestant-Tenents by Scripture, and reason: and somtimes would hold up the King *very close hard at it*. This displeased Him, who loved *looseness* and *liberty*, in His clothes, arguments, and actions, and was quickly observed by *Gardiner*, and others, who were the Queens enemies. Hereupon, taking advantage of an unhappy juncture of time, *Gardiner* drew up Articles against Her, and had got them subscribed with the Kings own hand, to remove Her to the Tower. Whither had She been sent, *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*, without doubt She had followed the way of His former Wives in that place.

The conspiracy of Her enemies against Her.

50. But Divine Providence ordereth all things to fall out for the good of Gods children. Chancellour *Wriothesly* put the paper of those Articles (*pretious jewels*) in no worse *cabinet* than his own bosome. Hence it casually fell out, was taken up by one of the Queens servants, and brought to Her Grace, who, on Her sickness, and submission to the King, obtained His pardon, signed and sealed unto Her with many kisses and embraces. As for such Her enemies, who came at the present to attach Her (intending, by vertue of the Kings Warrant, to send Her the shortest way to Her *long home*) they were sent back with what made worse rumbling than a *flea in the eare*, even the taunts and threats of the enraged King against them.

By Gods Providence defeated.

51. And yet *Parsons* tells[q] us, that, *notwithstanding the King purposed to have burned Her, if He had lived.* I know not whence he derived this his strange intelligence, and therefore justly suspect the truth hereof: The rather, because I finde Her in great grace with the King, as appeareth by the good language, and great Legacie He gave Her in His Will, which here we thought fit to transcribe, both for the rarity thereof, and because containing many passages, which may reflect much light upon our *Church-History*.

Parsons his wild intelligence.

[q] In his Exam. of *Fox* his Martyrs, in *Fame*, c. 10. p. 433.

Testamentum Regis HENRICI *octavi.*

IN the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed Virgin our Lady S. *Mary*, and of all the holy company of Heaven: We *HENRY* by the grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in earth immediately under God the supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and also *Ireland*, of that name the *eighth*; calling to Our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God given unto Us in this transitory life, give unto him Our most lowly and humble thanks, acknowledging Our selves insufficient in any part to deserve or recompense the same. But fear that we have not worthily received the same, and considering further also that We be (as all mankinde are) mortal and

born in ſinne; believing nevertheleſſe, and hoping, that every Chriſtian creature living here in this tranſitory and wretched world, under God dying in ſtedfaſt and perfect faith, endevouring and exerciſing himſelf to execute in his life-time, if he have leiſure, ſuch good deeds and charitable works as Scripture commandeth, and as may be to the honour and pleaſure of God, is ordained by Chriſts paſſion to be ſaved and attain Eternal life: Of which number We verily truſt by his grace to be one. Ann. Dom. 1546. Ann. Regn. Hen. 38.

And that every creature, the more high that he is in eſtate, honour and authority in this world, the more he is bound to love, ſerve and thank God, and the more diligently to endevour himſelf to doe good and charitable works to the laud, honour and praiſe of Almighty God, and the profit of his ſoule. We alſo calling to remembrance the dignity, eſtate, honour, rule and governance that Almighty God hath called Us unto in this world, and that neither We, nor any other creature-mortal knoweth the time, place, when nor where, it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to call him out of this tranſitory world, willing therefore and minding with Gods grace before our paſſage out of the ſame, to diſpoſe and order Our later minde, Will and Teſtament, in that ſort, as We truſt it ſhall be acceptable unto Almighty God, our onely Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and all the holy Company of Heaven: and the due ſatisfaction of all godly brethren in earth, have now, being of whole and perfect minde, adhering wholly to the right faith of Chriſt and his doctrine, repenting alſo Our old and deteſtable life, and being in perfect will and minde, by his grace, never to return to the ſame, nor ſuch like. And minding, by Gods grace, never to vary therefro as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowledge doth, or may remain within this mortall body; moſt humbly and heartily doe commend and bequeath Our ſoule to Almighty God, who in Perſon of the Son redeemed the ſame with his moſt pretious body and blood in time of his paſſion: And for Our better remembrance thereof hath left here with us Us, in his Church militant, the conſecration and adminiſtration of his pretious body and blood, to Our no little conſolation and comfort, if We as thankfully accept the ſame, as he lovingly and undeſervedly on mans behalf, hath ordained it for our onely benefit, and not his.

Alſo, we doe inſtantly require, and deſire the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* his mother, with all the holy Company of Heaven, continually to pray for Us whiles We live in this world, and in the time of paſſing out of the ſame, that We may the ſooner attain Everlaſting life after Our departure out of this tranſitory life, which We doe both hope and claime by Chriſts paſſion; And for my body, which when the ſoul is departed, ſhall then remain but as a *cadaver*, and ſo return to the vile matter it was made of, were it not for the crown and dignity which God hath called Us unto, and that We would not be counted an Infringer of honeſt worldly policies and cuſtomes when they be not contrary to Gods laws, We would be content to have it buried in any place accuſtomed for Chriſtian folks, were it never ſo vile, for it is but aſhes, and to aſhes it ſhall return. Nevertheleſſe, becauſe We would be loath, in the reputation of the people, to doe injury to the Dignity which We are unworthily called unto, We are content, and alſo by theſe preſents, Our laſt Will and Teſtament, to will and order, That Our body be buried and enterred in the *Quier* of Our Colledge of *Windſor*, middle-way between the Stalls and the high Altar, and there to be made and ſet, as ſoon as conveniently may be done after Our deceaſe by Our Executors at Our coſts and charges, if it be not done by Us in Our life-time, an honourable Tomb for Our bones to reſt in, which is well onward and almoſt made, therefore already with a faire grate about it, in which We will alſo, that the bones and body of Our true and

Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 38. Ann. Dom. 1546.

and loving Wife Queen *Jane* be put alſo; And, that there be provided, ordained and ſet, at the coſts and charges of Us, or of our Executors, if it be not done in Our life-time, a convenient Altar honourably prepared and apparelled with all manner of things requiſite and neceſſary for daily Maſſes there to be ſaid perpetually while the world ſhall endure; Alſo We will, that the Tombs and Altars of King *Henry the ſixth*, and alſo of King *Edward the fourth* Our great Unkle and Grandfather, be made more Princely, in the ſame place where they now be, at Our charge; And alſo will, and ſpecially deſire and require, that where and whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to call Us out of this tranſitory world to his infinite mercy & grace, be it beyond the ſea, or in any other place without Our Realm of *England*, or within the ſame, that Our Executors, as ſoon as they conveniently may, ſhall cauſe all Divine Service accuſtomed for dead folks to be celebrated for Us, in the next and moſt proper place where it ſhall fortune Us to depart out of this tranſitory life; And ever, that We will that whenſoever and whereſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to call Us out of this tranſitory life to his infinite mercy and grace, be it within the Realm or without, that Our Executors in as goodly, brief and convenient haſte as they reaſonably can or may order, prepare and cauſe Our body to be removed, conveyed and brought into the ſaid Colledge of *Windſor*, and the Service of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a Sermon and Maſſe on the morrow at Our coſts and charges devoutly to be done, obſerved and ſolemnly kept, there to be buried and interred in the place appointed for Our ſaid Tomb to be made for the ſame intent, and all this to be done in as devout-wiſe as can or may be; And We will and charge Our Executors that they diſpoſe and give almes to the moſt poor and needy people, that may be found, common beggars as much as may be avoided, in as ſhort ſpace as poſſible they may after Our departure out of this tranſitory life One thouſand marks of lawfull money of *England*, part in the ſame place and thereabout where it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to call us to his mercy, partly by the way, and part in the ſame place of Our buriall after their diſcretions; And to move the poor people that ſhall have Our alms to pray heartily unto God for the remiſſion of Our offences and the wealth of Our ſoule.

And We will, that with as convenient ſpeed as may be done after Our departure out of this world (if it be not done in Our life) that the Dean and Canons of Our Free Chappell of Saint *George* within Our Caſtle of *Windeſor* ſhall have Manours, Lands, Tenements, and Spiritual promotions to the yearly value of vj C. pounds over all charges made ſure to them and to their ſucceſſours for ever upon theſe conditions hereafter enſuing, and for the due accompliſhment and full performance of all other things contained with the ſame in the form of an Indenture, ſigned with Our own hand, which ſhall be paſſed by way of Covenant for that purpoſe between the ſaid Dean and Canons, and Our Executors, (if it paſſe not between Us and the ſaid Dean and Canons in Our life) That is to ſay, the ſaid Dean and Canons, and their ſucceſſors forever, ſhall finde two Prieſts to ſay Maſſes at the ſaid Altar, to be made where We have before appoinced our Tomb to be made and ſtand.

And alſo after Our deceaſe keep yearly Four ſolemn *Obits* for us within the ſaid Colledge of *Windeſor*, and at every of the ſame Obits to cauſe a ſolemn Sermon to be made, and alſo at every of the ſaid Obits to give to poor people in alms Ten pounds, and alſo to give for ever yearly to thirteen poor men, which ſhall be called *Poor Knights*, to every of them Twelve pence a day, and once in the year yearly for ever a long Gown of white cloth with the Garter upon the breaſt imbroydered with a Shield and Croſſe of Saint *George* within the garter and a mantle of red cloath,

and to ſuch one of the thirteen poor Knights, as ſhall be appointed to be head and governour over them, iij li. vj s. viij d. yearly for ever over and beſide the ſaid xij d. by the day. And alſo to cauſe every Sunday in the year for ever a Sermon to be made at *Windeſor* aforeſaid, as in the ſaid Indenture and Covenant ſhall be more fully and particularly expreſſed, willing, charging and requiring Our Son Prince *EDWARD*, all Our Executors and Counſellors, which ſhall be named hereafter, and all other Our Heirs and Succeſſours, whſch ſhall be Kings of this Realm, as they will anſwer before God Almighty at the dreadfull day of judgment, that they, and every of them, doe ſee that the ſaid Indenture and Aſſurance to be made between Us and the ſaid Dean & Canons, or between them and Our executors, and all things therein contained, may be duly put in execution, and obſerved and kept for ever perpetually according to this Our laſt Will and Teſtament. And as concerning the order and diſpoſition of the Imperiall Crown of this Realm of *England* and *Ireland*, with Our Title of *France*, and all dignities, honours, preheminences, prerogatives, authorities and juriſdictions to the ſame annexed or belonging, and for the ſure eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion of the ſame. And alſo for a full and plain gift, diſpoſition, aſsignment, declaration, limitation and appointment with what conditions Our Daughters *MARY* and *ELIZABETH* ſhall ſeverally have, hold and enjoy the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes after Our deceaſe; and for default of Iſſue and Heires of the ſeverall bodies of Us and of Our Son Prince *EDWARD* lawfully begotten and His Heirs; And alſo for a full gift, diſpoſition, aſsignment, declaration, limitation and appointment to Whom, and of what eſtate, and in what manner, form and condition the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, ſhall remain and come after Our deceaſe; And for default of Iſſue and Heirs of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of the ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our ſaid Daughters *MARY* and *ELIZABETH* lawfully begotten, We by theſe preſents doe make and declare Our laſt Will and Teſtament concerning the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and all other the premiſes, in manner and form following:

Ann. Dom. 1546. Ann. Reg. Hen. 38.

That is to ſay, We will, by theſe preſents, that immediately after Our departure out of this preſent life, Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD* ſhall have and enjoy the ſaid Imperiall Crown and Realm of *England* and *Ireland*, Our Title of *France*, with all dignities, honours, preheminences, prerogatives, authorities and juriſdictions, lands and poſſeſsions to the ſame annexed, or belonging unto Him and to His Heirs of His body lawfully begotten; And for default of ſuch Iſſue of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*'s body lawfully begotten, We will the ſame Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, after Our two deceaſes, ſhall wholly remain and come to the Heirs of Our body lawfully begotten, of the body of Our entirely beloved Wife Queen *Katharine* that now is, or of any other Our lawfull Wife that We ſhall hereafter marry, and for lack of ſuch Iſſue and Heirs, We will alſo that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Heirs of the ſeverall bodies of Us and of our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*'s lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperial Crown and all other the premiſes, ſhall wholly remain and come to Our ſaid Daughter *MARY*, and the Heirs of Her body lawfully begotten, upon condition that Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* after Our deceaſe ſhall not marry, nor take any Perſon to Her Huband without the aſſent and conſent of the Privy Counſellours, and others, appointed by Us to Our deareſt Son Prince *EDWARD* aforeſaid, to be of Counſell, or of the moſt part of them, or the moſt of ſuch as ſhall then be alive thereunto, before the ſaid marriage, had in writing, ſealed with their ſeals. All which conditions We declare, limit, appoint and will by theſe

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theſe preſents, ſhall be knit and inveſted to the ſaid eſtate of Our Daughter *MARY* in the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, And if it fortune Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* to die without Iſſue of Her body, lawfully begotten, We will that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, lawfully begotten, and of Our Daughter *MARY*; the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, ſhall wholly remain to come to Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH*, and to the Heirs of Her body, lawfully begotten, upon condition, that our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH*, after Our deceaſe, ſhall not marry, nor take any Perſon to Her Husband without the aſſent and conſent of the Privy Counſellors, and others, appointed by Us to be of Counſell with Our ſaid deareſt Son Prince *EDWARD*, or the moſt part of them, or the moſt part of ſuch of them as ſhall be then alive, thereunto, before the marriage had in writing, ſealed with their ſeals, which Condition We declare, limit and appoint, and will by theſe preſents, ſhall be to the ſaid eſtate of Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH* in the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes knit and inveſted; And if it ſhall fortune Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH* to die without Iſſue of Her body, lawfully begotten, We will that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeveral bodies of Us and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our ſaid Daughters *MARY*, and *ELIZABETH*, the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, after Our deceaſe, ſhall wholly remain and come to the Heires of the body of the Lady *FRANCES*, Our Niece, eldeſt Daughter to Our late Siſter the *French Queen*, lawfully begotten, and for default of ſuch Iſſue of the body of the ſaid Lady *FRANCES*, We will that the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of Our Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our Daughters *MARY*, and *ELIZABETH*, and of the Lady *FRANCES*, lawfully begotten, ſhall wholly remain and come to the Heirs of the body of the Lady *ELANOR* Our Niece, ſecond Daughter to Our ſaid Siſter the *French Queen*, lawfully begotten. And if it happen the ſaid Lady *ELANOR* to die without Iſſue of Her body, lawfully begotten, We will that after Our deceaſe, and for default of Iſſue of the ſeverall bodies of Us, and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our ſaid Daughters *MARY*, and *ELIZABETH*, and of the ſaid Lady *FRANCES*, and of the ſaid Lady *ELANOR*, lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes, ſhall wholly remain and come to the next rightfull Heirs. And we will that if Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* doe marry without the conſent and aſſent of the Privy Counſellours and others appointed by Us to be of Counſell to Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, or the moſt part of them as ſhall then be alive thereunto, before the ſaid marriage had in writing, ſealed with their ſeals, as is aforeſaid, that then and from thenceforth for lack of Heirs of the ſeverall bodies of Us and of Our ſaid Son Prince *EDWARD*, lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperial Crown ſhall wholly remain, be, and come to Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH*, and to the Heirs of Her body lawfully begotten, in ſuch manner and form, as though Our ſaid Daughter *MARY* were then dead without any Iſſue of the body of Our ſaid Daughter *MARY*, lawfully begotten, Any thing contained in this Our Will, or any Act of Parliament or Statute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding; And in caſe Our ſaid Daughter the Lady *MARY* doe keep and perform the ſaid Condition expreſſed, declared and limited to Her eſtate in the ſaid Imperiall Crown, and other the premiſes in this Our laſt Will declared. And that Our ſaid Daughter *ELIZABETH* doe not keep and perform for Her part the ſaid condition declared and limited

Ann. Dom. 1546. Ann. Regin Hen. 8. 38.

ted by this Our last Will to the estate of the said Lady *ELIZABETH* in the said Imperiall Crown of this Realm of *England* and *Ireland*, and other the premises, We will that then and from thenceforth after Our decease, and for lack of Heirs of the several bodies of Us and of Our said Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of Our said Daughter *MARY*, lawfully begotten, the said Imperiall Crown and other the premises shall wholly remain and come to the next Heirs lawfully begotten of the body of the said Lady *FRANCES*, in such manner and form as though the said Lady *ELIZABETH* were then dead without any Heir of Her body lawfully begotten, Any thing contained in this Will, or in any Act or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding, the remainders over for lack of Issue of the said Lady *FRANCES* lawfully begotten to be and continue to such persons like remainders and estates as is before limited and declared. And We being now at this time (thanks to Almighty God) of perfect memory, doe constitute and ordain these personages following Our Executors and Performers of this Our last Will and Testament, willing, commanding and praying them to take upon them the occupation and performance of the same as Executors, that is to say, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriothesly* Chancellour of *England*, the Lord *St. John* great Master of Our House, the Earl of *Hartford* great Chamberlain, the Lord *Russell* Lord Privie Seal, the Viscount *Lisle* high Admirall of *England*, the Bishop *Tonstall* of *Duresme*, Sir *Anthony Browne* Knight Master of Our Horses, Sir *Edward Montague* Knight, chiefe Judge of the Common Pleas, Justice *Bromley*, Sir *Edward North* Knight Chancellour of the Augmentations, Sir *William Pagett* Knight Our chief Secretary, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert* Knights chief Gentlemen of Our Privy Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Knight, and Mr. Doctor *Wotton* his brother, and all these We will to be Our Executors and Counsellors of the Privie Counsell with Our said Son Prince *EDWARD*, in all matters concerning both His private affairs and publick affairs of the Realm, willing and charging them, and every of them, as they must and shall answer at the day of judgment, wholly and fully to see this my last Will and Testament performed in all things with as much speed and diligence as may be, and that none of them presume to meddle with any of Our treasure, or to do any thing appointed by Our said Will alone, unlesse the most part of the whole number of these Co-executors doe consent, and by writing agree to the same; And will that Our said Executors, or the most part of them, may lawfully doe what they shall think most convenient for the execution of this Our Will, without being troubled by Our said Son, or any other, for the same. Willing further, by Our said last Will and Testament, that Sir *Edmund Peckham* Our trusty servant and yet Cofferer of Our house, shall be Treasurer, and have the receipt and laying out of all such treasure and money as shall be defrayed by Our Executors for the performance of this Our last Will, straightly charging and commanding the said Sir *Edmund*, that he pay no great summe of money, but he have first the hands of Our said Executors, or of the most part of them, for his discharge touching the same; charging him further, upon his allegiance, to make a true account of all such summes as shall be delivered to his hands for this purpose; And sithence We have now named and constituted Our Executors, We will and charge them, that first and above all things, as they will answer before God, and as We put Our singular trust and confidence in them, that they cause all Our due Debts, that can be reasonably shewed and proved before them, to be fully contented and payed as soon as they conveniently can or may after Our decease without longer delay, and that they doe execute these points first, that is to say, the payment of Our

Names of the Executors.

Tho: Cranmer.

Edw. Seymour.

John Dudley.

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Our debts, with redreſſe of injuries, if any ſuch can be duly proved (though to Us they be unknown) before any other part of this Our Will and Teſtament, Our Buriall, Exequies, and Funerals, onely except.

Furthermore, We will that all ſuch Grants and Gifts as We have made, given or promiſed, to any which be not yet perfected under Our ſigne or any Our ſeals, as they ought to be, and all ſuch recompenſe for exchanges, ſales, or any other thing or things as ought to have been made by Us, and be not yet accompliſhed, ſhall be perfected in every point towards all manner of men for diſcharge of Our conſcience, charging Our Executors and all the reſt of Our Counſellours to ſee the ſame done, performed, finiſhed and accompliſhed in every point, foreſeeing that the ſaid Gifts, Grants, and Promiſes, and Recompenſe, ſhall appear to Our ſaid Executors, or the moſt part of them, to have been granted, made, accorded, or promiſed, in any manner of wiſe.

Further, according to the laws of Almighty God, and for the fatherly love which We bear to Our Son Prince *EDWARD*, and to this Our Realm, We declare Him according to juſtice, equity, and conſcience, to be Our lawfull Heir, and doe give and bequeath unto Him the ſucceſſion of Our Realms of *England*, and *Ireland*, with Our Title of *France*, and all Our Dominions, both on this ſide the ſeas, and beyond, a convenient portion for Our Will and Teſtament to be reſerved.

Alſo, We give unto Him all Our plate, ſtuffe of houſhold, artillery, ordnance, ammunition, ſhips, cables, and all other things and implements to them belonging, And money alſo and jewels, ſaving ſuch portions as ſhall ſatisfie this Our laſt Will and Teſtament, charging and commanding Him on pain of Our curſe, ſeeing He hath ſo loving a Father of Us, and that Our chief labour and ſtudy in this world is to eſtabliſh Him in the Crown Imperial of this Realm after Our deceaſe, in ſuch ſort as may be pleaſing to God, and to the wealth of this Realm, and to His own honour and quiet, that He be ordered and ruled both in His marriage, and alſo in ordering the affairs of the Realm, as well outward, as inward; And alſo in all His own private affairs, and in giving of Offices of charge by the adviſe and counſell of Our right entirely beloved Counſellours, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriotheſly* Chancellour of *England*, the Lord *St. John* great Maſter of Our houſe, the Lord *Ruſſell* Lord Privie Seal, the Earl of *Hertford* great Chamberlain of *England*, the Viſcount *Liſle* high Admirall of *England*, the Biſhop *Tonſtall* of *Dureſme*, Sir *Anthony Browne* Knight, Maſter of Our horſes, Sir *William Pagett* Our chief Secretary, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Juſtice *Montague*, and *Bromley*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Mr. Doctor *Wotton*, and Sir *Edward North*, whom We ordain, name, and appoint, and by theſe preſents ſigned with Our hand, doe make and conſtitute Our Privie Counſell with Our ſaid Son, and will, that they have the governance of Our moſt dear Son Prince *EDWARD*, and of all Our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and of all the Affairs publick and private, untill he ſhall have fully compleated the xviij^th^ year of his age.

And, for becauſe the variety and number of things, affairs, and matters are, and may be, ſuch as we not knowing the certainty of them before cannot conveniently preſcribe a certain order or rule unto Our ſaid Counſellours for their behaviours and proceedings in this charge which We have now, and doe appoint unto them, about Our ſaid Son, during the time of his minority aforeſaid; We therefore for the ſpeciall truſt and confidence which We have in them, will, and by theſe preſents, doe give and grant full power and authority unto Our ſaid Counſellours, that they all, or the moſt part of them, being aſſembled together in Counſell, or if any of them fortune to die, the more part of them which ſhall be for

the time living being assembled in Counsel together, shall, and may make, devise, and ordain what things soever they, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shall, during the minority of Our said Son, think meet, necessary, and convenient, for the benefit, honour, and surety of the weal, profit, and commodity of Our said Son, His Realms, Dominions, or Subjects, or the discharge of Our conscience. And the same things devised, made, or ordained by them, or the more part of them aforesaid, shall, and may lawfully doe, execute and accomplish, or cause to be done, executed and accomplished by their discretions, or the discretions of the more part of them, as aforesaid, in as large and ample manner, as if We had or did expresse unto them by a more speciall Commission under Our Great Seal of *England*, every particular cause that may chance or occurre during the time of Our said Sons minority, and the self-same manner of proceeding, which they shall for the time think meet to use and follow. Willing and charging our said Son, and all others, which shall hereafter be Counsellours to Our said Son, that they never charge, molest, trouble, or disquiet Our aforesaid Counsellours, nor any of them, for the devising or doing, nor any other person for the doing of that they shall devise, or the more part of them, devise or doe, assembled, as is aforesaid. Ann. Dom. 1546. Ann. Reg. Hen. 38.

And, We doe charge expresly the same Our entirely beloved Counsellours and Executors that they shall take upon them the rule and charge of Our said Son and Heir, in all His causes and affairs, and of the whole Realm, doing nevertheless all things as under Him and in His name, untill Our said Son and Heir shall be bestowed and married by their advise, and that the xviijth year be expired, willing and desiring furthermore Our said trusty Counsellours, and then all Our trusty and assured Servants; and thirdly, all other Our loving Subjects, to aid and assist Our forenamed Counsellors in the execution of the premises during the aforesaid time. Not doubting but they will in all things deal so truly and uprightly, as they shall have cause to think them well chosen for the charge committed unto them, straightly charging our said Counsellours and Executors, and in Gods name exhorting them for the singular trust and speciall confidence which We have and ever had in them, to have a due and diligent eye, perfect zeal, love and affection to the honour, surety, estate, and dignity of Our said Son, and the good state and prosperity of this Our Realm; And that all delaies set apart, they well aid and assist Our said Counsellours and Executors to the performance of this Our present Testament and last Will, in every part, as they will answer before God at the day of judgment, *Cum venerit judicare vivos & mortuos*; and furthermore for the speciall trust and confidence which we have in the Earls of *Arundell*, and *Essex*, that now be, Sir *Thomas Cheny* Knight Treasurer of Our houshold, Sir *John Gage* Knight Comptroller of Our houshold, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Knight Our Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Peeter* Knight one of Our two principall Secretaries, Sir *Richard Rich* Knight, Sir *John Baker* Knight, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Knight, Sir *Thomas Seymour* Knight, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Edmund Peckham* Knights, they, and every of them, shall be of Counsell, for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed Counsellours and Our Executors, when they or any of them shall be called by Our said Executors, or the more part of the same.

Item, We bequeath to Our Daughters *MARY* and *ELIZABETH*'s marriage, they being married to any outward Potentate, by the advise of the aforesaid Counsellours (if We bestow Them not in Our life-time) Ten thousand pounds in money, plate, jewels, and houshold-stuffe, for each of Them, or a larger summe, as to the discretion of Our Executors, or the more part of them, shall be thought convenient, Willing Them on

My

Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 38. Ann. Dom. 1546.

My bleſſing to be ordered as well in marriage, as in all other lawful things by the adviſe of Our forenamed Counſellours, And in caſe They will not, then the ſummes to be miniſhed at the Counſellours diſcretions.

Further, Our Will is, that from the firſt hour of Our death untill ſuch time as the ſaid Counſellours can provide either of Them, or both, ſome Honourable marriages, They ſhall have each of Them M M M li. *ultra repriſas* to live upon, willing and charging the aforeſaid Counſellours to limit and appoint to either of Them ſuch ſage Officers and Miniſters for orderance thereof, as it may be employed both to Our Honour and Theirs; And for the great love, obedience, chaſtneſſe of life and wiſdome being in Our forenamed Wife and Queen, We bequeath unto Her for Her proper uſe, and as it ſhall pleaſe Her to order it, M M M li. in plate, jewels, and ſtuffe of houſhold, beſides ſuch apparell is it ſhall pleaſe Her to take as She hath already; And further, We give unto Her M li. in money, with the enjoying of Her Dowry and Joynture, according to Our Grant by Act of Parliament.

Item, for the kindneſſe and good ſervice that Our ſaid Executors have ſhewed unto Us, We give and bequeath unto each of them ſuch ſummes of money, or the value of the ſame as hereafter enſueth: Firſt, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* v C marks, to the Lord *Wriotheſly* v C li. to the Lord *St. John* v C li. to the Lord *Ruſſell* v C li. to the Earl of *Hertford* v C li. to the Viſcount *Liſle* v C li. to the Biſhop of *Dureſme* C C C li. to Sir *Anthony Browne* C C C li. to Sir *William Pagett* C C C li. to Sir *Anthony Denny* C C C li. to Sir *William Herbert* C C C li. to Juſtice *Montague* C C C li. to Juſtice *Bromley* C C C li. to Sir *Edward North* C C C li. to Sir *Heward Wotton* C C C li. to Doctor *Wotton* C C C li.

Alſo, for the ſpeciall love and favour that We bear to Our truſty Counſellours and other Our ſaid Servants, hereafter following, We give and bequeath unto them ſuch ſummes of money, or the value thereof as is tottad upon their heads: Firſt, to the Earl of *Eſſex* C C li. to Sir *Thomas Theny* C C li. to the Lord *Herbert* C C li. to Sir *John Gage* C C li. to Sir *Thomas Seymour* C C li. to *John Gate* C C li. to Sir *Thomas Darcy* Knight C C li. to Sir *Thomas Speke* Knight C C marks, to Sir *Phillip Hobbey* Knight C C marks, to Sir *Thomas Paſton* C C marks, to Sir *Morrice Barkeley* C C marks, to Sir *Ralph Sadler* C C li. to Sir *Thomas Carden* C C li. to Sir *Peter Newtas* C C marks, to *Edward Ballingham* C C marks, to *Thomas Audeley* C C marks, to *Edmund Harman* C C marks, to *John Penne* C marks, to *Henry Nevile* a C li. to *William Symbarbe* C li. to *Richard Cooke* C li. to *John Osborne* C li. to *David Vincent* C li. to *James Rufforth* Keeper of Our houſe here C marks, to *Richard Cecill* Yeoman of Our Robes C marks, to *Thomas Sternhold* Groom of Our Robes C marks, to *John Rowland* Page of Our Robes L li. to the Earl of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlain C C li. to Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain C C li. to Sir *Edmond Peckham* C C li. to Sir *Richard Rich* C C li. to Sir *John Baker* C C li. to Sir *Rich Southwell* C C li. to Mr. Doctor *Owen* C li. to Mr. Doctor *Wendy* C li. to Mr. Doctor *Cromer* C li. to *Thomas Aſſop* C marks, to *Patrick* C marks, to *John Aileſ* C marks, to *Henry Forreſt* C marks, to *Richard Ferrers* C marks, to *John Holland* C marks, to the four Gentlemen Uſhers of Our chamber (being daily Waiters) a hundred pound in all; And We will that Our Executors, or the moſt part of them, ſhall give Orders for the payment of ſuch Legacies as they ſhall think meet to ſuch Our ordinary Servants, as unto whom We have not appointed any Legacy by this Our preſent Teſtament. Finally, this preſent Writing in Paper We ordain and make Our laſt Will and Teſtament, and will the ſame to be reputed and taken to all intents and purpoſes for Our good, ſtrong, available, moſt perfect

Ann. Dom. 1546. Ann. Regni Hen. 8. 38.

and last Will and Teſtament, And We doe declare all other Wills and Teſtaments made at any time by Us to be void and of none effect.

¶ In witneſſe whereof, We have ſigned it with Our hand in Our Palace at *Weſtminſter* the thirtieth day of *December*, in the yeare of our Lord God 1546. after the computation of the Church of *England*, and of Our Reign the xxxviij^th^ year, being preſent, and called to Witneſſe the Perſons which have written their names:

John Gate.
Ed: Harman.
William Saint-Barbe.
Henry Nevill.
Richard Cooke.
David Vincent.

Patrice? Hians? *Patrick.*
George Owen.
Thomas Wendy.
Robert Kewicke.
William Clerke.

When this Will was made.

51. This the Kings Will was drawn up ſome two years ſince, before He went to *Bologne*, as is intimated in a paſſage, *Be it beyond the ſea, &c.* which now was onely fairly written over again, without any alteration, ſave that *Stephen Gardiner* was expunged from being one of His Executors. It ſeems, that formerly (finding none ſubſtituted in *Gardiner*'s room) He appointed *ſeventeen Executors*, that ſo a deciſive Vote might avoid equality of Voices. And, although in this Will, proviſion is made for *multitude of Maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoule*, yet* one (pretending to extraordinary intelligence herein) would perſwade us, that K. *Henry* intended in His later daies ſo thorow a Reformation, as not to have left one Maſſe in the Land, if death had not prevented Him.

**Fox*, Acts and Mon. p. 1291.

Legacies ſcarcely paid.

52. Amongſt His Servants in ordinary attendance, to whom Legacies were bequeathed, *Richard Cecil* there named *Yeoman of the Robes*, was the Father to *William Cecil* afterwards Baron of *Burghly* and *Lord Treaſurer* of *England*. *Thomas Sternhold*, *Groom of the Robes* (and afterwards of the * *Bed chamber* to King *Edward the ſixth*) was one of them who *tranſlated* the *Pſalmes* into *Engliſh Meeter*, being then accounted an excellent Poet; though he who wore *bayes* in thoſe daies, deſerveth not *ivie* in our Age. Now, ſeeing by the rules of juſtice, and the Kings own appointment, His *Debts were to be paid before His Legacies*; and, ſeeing many of His *perſonall debts* remained unſatisfied till the daies of Queen *Elizabeth*, probably moſt of theſe *Legacies* were never paid, eſpecially to inferiour perſons: As if it were honour enough for them to have ſuch ſumms *bequeathed unto*, though never *beſtowed upon* them.

* *Balæus Cent. pagin. 728. ab intimis cubiculis.*

Monument made for the King by the Cardinal.

53. Whereas mention in this Will of *a Monument well onwards and almoſt made*, it is the ſame which Cardinal *Wolſey* built for King *Henry*, and not for himſelf, as is commonly reported. Wherefore, whereas there goeth a *tale*, That King *Henry* one day finding the Cardinal with the workmen making His Monument, ſhould ſay unto him, *Tumble your ſelf in this Tomb whileſt you are alive, for when dead, you ſhall never lie therein*; it is a meer fiction, the Cardinal originally intending the ſame for the King, as appeareth by the ancient Inſcription * thereupon, wherein King *Henry* was ſtiled *LORD* (not *KING*) *of Ireland*, without addition of *ſupreme Head of the Church*, plainly ſhewing the ſame was of antient date in the daies of the Cardinal.

* *Godwin* in *Hen 8.* p. 200.

Why His Nieces more at liberty than his Daughters.

54. Whereas the Lady *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, Their *marriages* are ſo ſeverely conditioned, that if made without conſent of the Councell, They were to forfeit Their

Ann. Reg. Hen. 38. Ann. Dom. 1546.

Their right to the Crown, men interpret it as provided *in terrorem*, and not otherwise. Yet, this clause was it which afterwards put so plausible a pretence on *Wiat* his *rebellion*; which, though made of *rotten cloth*, had notwithstanding a *good colour* thereon. Now, whereas the King's Nieces (the Daughters to *Mary* His younger Sister) were not clogg'd in this His Will with such restrictions concerning their Marriages, the plain reason was, because both of them were already married before this Will was made: *Frances* the elder, to *Henry Gray* Marquesse *Dorset*, (afterward Duke of *Suffolke*) and *Eleanour* the younger, to *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*.

Not May as one pro-labour the Parents

55. The *Portion* of but *ten thousand pounds* a piece left to His two Daughters, was not much unproportionable to the value of money as it went in that Age, though a summe small for such an use in our daies. And I have heard, that Queen *Elizabeth* being informed that Doctor *Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham* had given *ten thousand pounds* in marriage with his Daughter; and, being offended that a *Prelates daughter* should equal a *Princesse in portion*, took away one thousand pounds a year from that *Bishoprick*, and assigned it for the better maintenance of the *Garrison* of *Barwick*.

Ten thousand pounds the portion of a Princesse.

56. Very much of His own *abitrarinesse* appears in this Will of King *Henry*, entailing the Crown according to His own fancie, against all right, and reason. For, first, how unjust was it, that His female issue by Queen *Katharine Parr*, His last Wife (had He had any) should inherit the Crown before *Mary* and *Elizabeth* His eldest Daughters by His former Wives? If *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were not His lawfull Children, how came They by any right to the Crown? If His lawfull Children, why was Their birth-right and seniority not observed in succession? Well it was for Them that *Henry Fitz-Roy* His naturall Son (but one of *supernaturall* and extraordinary endowments) was dead, otherwise (some suspect) had He survived King *Edward the sixth*, we might presently have heard of a K. *Henry the ninth*; so great was His Fathers affection, and so unlimited His power to preferre Him. *This could not have happened, for Henry died before Edw. was born.*

Much of arbitrarineise in this Will.

They were bastardized by Act of Parliament.

57. But the grand injury in this His Testament is, That He quite passeth over the Children of *Margaret*, His eldest Sister, married into *Scotland*, with all Her issue, not so much as making the least mention thereof.

The Scotish Line quite left out.

58. Great indeed, (when this Will was first made) was the *antipathy*, which for the present possessed Him against the *Scotch*, with whom then He was in actual warre, though at other times, when in good humour, very courteous to His kinred of that extraction. For, most sure it is, that when *Margaret Douglas*, His Sisters Daughter, was married to *Math.* Earle of *Lenox*, He publickly professed, That *in case His own Issue failed, He should be right glad some of Her body should succeed to the Crown*, as it came to * passe.

* Henry Lord Darly her Son, Father to King James.

59. Of the *eleven Witnesses*, whose *names* are subscribed to His Will, the *nine first* are also *Legatees* therein, and therefore (because reputed Parties) not sufficient Witnesses had it been the Will of a private person. But, the Testaments of Princes move in an higher sphere, than to take notice of such *Punctilloes*, and (forraigners being unfit to be admitted to such privacies) domesticall Servants were preferred as the propereſt Witnesses, to attest an *Instrument* of their Lord and Master.

Legatees Witnesses in Kings Will.

60. It is but just with God, that He who had too much of His *Will* done, when living, should have the lesse, when dead, of His *Testament* performed. The ensuing Reformation swept away the *Masses* and *Chantery Priests* founded to pray for His soul. The Tombs of *Henry the sixth*, and *Edward the fourth*, (the one the last of *Lancaster*, the other the first of *Yorke*, the Titles of both which Houses met in this *Henry*) remain at this day *in statu quo prius*, without any amendment. Where, by the way, seeing in this Will King *Henry the sixth*, is styled his *Uncle*, I cannot *make out* the *relation* in the common sence of the word, except any will say, that Kings *Uncles* (as their *Cousins*) are oft taken in a large and favourable acception. But the main wherein His Will missed the intent is in that the *Scotch Line*, neglected

Little of His Will performed.

lected and omitted by Him, (ordinary *Heirs* are made in *Heaven*, *Heirs to Crowns* in the *Heaven of Heavens*) came in Their due time to the *Throne*, Their undoubted Right thereunto recognized by Act of Parliament. Ann. Dom. 1544. Ann. Regni H. 8. 38.

His disease, and the manner of His death.

61. After the making of this his Will, He survived a full Month, falling immediately sick. He had *sesq; corpus*, a *body and half*, very *abdominous* & *unweldy* with fat, and it was death *to Him* to be dieted, so great His appetite, and death to Him not to be dieted, so great His corpulency. But now all His humours repaired to one place, and setled themselves in an old sore in His thigh, which quickly grew to be greatly enflamed. Here *flame* met with *fire*, the anguish of the sore, with an hot and impatient temper, so that during his sickness, few of His Servants durst approach His presence. His Physicians, giving Him over, desired some, who tendred the good of His soul, to admonish Him of His estate. But such, who could flie with good tidings, would not halt to Him with ill newes. Besides, lately a Law was made, That *none should speak any thing of the King's death*. Which Act, though onely intended to retrench the *Predictions* and *mock-Prophesies* of *Southsayers*, yet now all the Courtiers (glad of so legall a *covert* for their *cowardise*) alledged it, to excuse themselves to inform the *King* of His approaching end. At last Sir *Anthony Denny* went boldly unto Him, and plainly acquainted Him of His dying condition; whereupon, Archbishop *Cranmer* was by the *King* his desire sent for, to give him some ghostly counsell and comfort.

His hope expressed by speechlesse gesture.

62. But before *Cranmer* (then being at *Croidon*) could come to Him, He was altogether speechlesse, but not sensless. The Archbishop exhorted Him to place all His trust in Gods mercies thorough Christ, and besought Him, that (if He could not in words) He would by some signe or other testifie this His hope. Who then wringed the Archbishops hand as hard as He could, and shortly after expired, having lived *fifty five years*, and *seven moneths*; and thereof reigned *thirty seven years*, *nine moneths*, and *six daies*. Jan. 28.

Lying *Slanders*.

63. As for the report of *Sanders*, that King *Henry* perceiving the pangs of approaching Death, called for a great bowle of *white-wine*, and drinking it off, should say to the company, *We have lost all*; it is enough to say, it is a *report of Sanders*. As loud a *lie* is it what he affirmeth, that the last words heard from His mouth were, *The Monks, the Monks*, and so gave up the ghost. This may goe hand in hand with what another *Catholick* * relates, that a *black Dog* (he might as truly have said a *blew* one) lickt up His blood, whilest the stench of His corps could be charmed with no embalming, though indeed there was no other noysomnesse than what necessarily attendeth on any dead body of equall corpulency.

* *Rich. Hall* in his Manuscript-Life of Bishop *Fisher*.

His Vices and Virtues.

64. Vices most commonly charged on His *memory* are: 1. *Covetousnes*, He was an eminent *Instance*, to verifie the Observation, *Omnis prodigus est avarus*, vast His profusiveness, (coming a *fork*, after a *rake*) not only spending the great Treasure left Him by His Father; but also vast *wealth* beside, and yet ever in *want*, and *rapacious* to supply the same. Secondly, *Cruelty*, being scarce ever observed to *pardon* any *Noble person*, whom He condemned to death. I finde but two *black swannes* in all the currant of His Reign, that tasted of His favour herein. And therefore when *Arthur* * Lord *Lisle* imprisoned, and daily expecting death in the Tower, was unexpectedly set free, he instantly died of soddain joy; so that it seems King *Henry*'s *pity* proved as *mortal* as His *cruelty*. Thirdly, *Wantonnes*, which cannot be excused; But these *faults* were (if not over) even poised with His *virtues*, of *Valour*, *Bounty*, *Wisdome*, *Learning* and *love of Learned men*, scarce one *Dunce* wearing a *Miter* all His daies.

* *Godwin* in *Hen.8.* p. 181.

Why K. *Henry*'s Monument never perfected.

65. The *Monument* mentioned in His Will, as *almost made*, was never *all made*, but left imperfect, whereof many *reasons* are rendred. Some impute it to the very want of *workmen*, unable to finish it, according to the exactnesse wherewith it was begun; a conceit in my minde, little better than *scandalum seculi*, and very derogatory to the Art and Ingenuity of our Age. * Others more truly ascribe it to the costlinesse thereof, which deterred His Successours from finishing of it.

* *Godwin* in *Hen.8.* p. 113.

Indeed

Ann. Reg. Hen. 8. 38. Ann. Dom. 1546.

Indeed, King *Henry the seventh* in erecting His own *Monument* in His *Chappell at Westminster*, did therein set a *Pattern of despair* for all Posterity to imitate. And yet *Sanders* * tells us, That Queen *Mary* had a great minde to make up *His Tomb*, but durst not for fear a *Catholick* should seem to countenance the memory of one *dying in open schism* with the *Church of Rome*. As for *His imperfect Monument*, it was beheld like *the barren Fig-tree, bearing no fruit, and cumbring the* * *ground*, (I mean the *Chappell* wherein it stood) and therefore it was, since these *Civill Warres*, took down, and sold by *order of Parliament*.

* *De schis. Angl.* pag. 216.

* Luke 13. 7.

66. In the Reign of Queen *Mary*, it was reported, that Cardinal *Poole* (whose spleen generally vented it self against dead-mens bodies) had a designe, with the principall Clergie of *England*, to take up and burn the body of King *Henry the eighth*. This *plot* is said to be discovered by Doctor *Weston* * Dean of *Westminster*. But because *Weston* was justly obnoxious for his scandalous living (for which at that time he stood committed to the Tower) and bare a personal grudge to the Cardinal, his report was the lesse credited, as proceeding from revenge, and desire to procure his own enlargement.

Card. *Poole* his project.

* *Fox* Acts and Mon. p. 2102.

67. Indeed, when a *Vault*, seven years since, was pierced in the midst of the *Quire* at *Windesor*, therein to interre the *corps* of King *CHARLES*, they lighted on two Coffins therein. Now (though no memory alive could reach the same, yet) constant tradition, seconded with a * coincidency of all signs and circumstances concluded these Coffins to contain the bones of King *HENRY the eighth*, and His dear Queen *JANE SEYMOUR*. And yet the bigness of the Coffin, (though very great) did not altogether answer that *Giant-like* proportion, which posterity hath fancied of Him.

The bones of K. *Hen.* abused.

* See more hereof at the buriall of K. *Charles*.

The end of the Fift Book.



THE Church-Hiſtory OF BRITAIN.

THE SIXT BOOK:

BEING

The Hiſtory of Abbeys in ENGLAND:

Of their Originall, Increaſe, Greatneſſe, Decay, and Diſſolution.



BRITAIN

OR A

CHRONOLOGICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

ANTIENT INHABITANTS

OF THE

ISLAND:

BEING

THE SIXTH BOOK:

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

To the Right Honourable,

WILLIAM COMPTON,

Sonne and Heire to the Right Honourable,

JAMES,

Baron *COMPTON* of *COMPTON*,

AND

Earle of *NORTHAMPTON*.

HAving formerly proved at [a] large, That it is *lawfull* for *any*, and *expedient* for *me*, to have *Infant-Patrons* for my Books, let me give an account why this parcell of my *History* was ſet apart for your *Honour*, not being *caſt* by *chance*, but *led* by *choice* to this my Dedication.

First, I reſolved with my ſelf to ſelect ſuch a *Patron* for this my *Hiſtory of Abbies*, whoſe Anceſtour was not onely of *credit*, and *repute*, in the *Reign*; but alſo of *favour* and *eſteem* in the *affection* of *King HENRY the Eighth*.

Secondly, he ſhould be ſuch (if poſsible to be found)

[a] In ſeverall Dedicatory Epiſtles in my *Piſgah Sight*.

who had no *partage* at all in *Abbey-Lands* at their *diſſolution*, that ſo his *judgement* might be *unbiaſed* in the reading hereof.

Both my *Requiſits* have happily met in your *Honour*, whoſe direct Anceſtour Sir *WILLIAM COMPTON*, was not onely *chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber* to the aforeſaid *KING*, but alſo (as a *noble* [b] *pen* writing *his Life*, informeth us) the *third man* in His favour, in the beginning of His Reign: yet had he not a *ſhooe-latchet* of *Abbey-Land*, though nothing ſurely debarred him ſave his *own abſtinence*: as there is none in all your *antient Paternall eſtate*, for I account not what ſince by *acceſſion* of *Matches* hath *accrued* unto it.

[b] The Lord *Herbert* in his Hiſtory, *page* 8.

Thus are you the *Perſon* deſigned for my purpoſe, and I believe very few (if any) in ENGLAND, can *waſh their hands* in the *ſame Baſon*, to have no *Abbey-lands ſticking to their fingers*; and thus being *freeſt* from being a *Party*, in due time you will be *fitteſt* to be a *Judge*, to paſſe *unpartial ſentence* on what is *written* on this *ſubject*.

And now let me make your *Lordſhip* ſmile a little, acquainting you with a *paſſage* in the *Legend*, of *NICHOLAS* a *Popiſh Saint*: They [c] report of him, That when an *Infant* hanging on his *Mothers breaſt*, he *faſted Wedneſdaies* and *Fridaies*, and could not be urged to *ſuck* more than *once a day*. But,

[c] *Lib. Feſtival. in die S.* Nicol. *fol.* 55.

But, *good my Lord*, be not ſo *ceremonious*, or rather *ſuperſtitious*, to imitate his example: *Wean* not your ſelf, untill you be *weaned*, and let *all daies* be alike to *your Honour*. I dare aſſure you, no *ſpark* of *Sanctity* the leſſe for a *drop* of *milke* the more. A good *caſe* is no hindrance to a pretious *jewell*, and a *healthfull body* no abaſement to a *holy ſoule*.

And when your *Lordſhip* ſhall arrive at riper years, conſult your own *Extraction*, as the beſt *Remembrancer* of worthy behaviour. In whoſe *veines* there is the *confluence* of ſo many *Rivulets*, that a *mean Herault*, by the guidance thereof *upwards*, may be led to the *fountains* of the moſt of the *Engliſh Nobility*.

All I will adde is this, as you give *three Helmets* for your *Armes*, may you be carefull to take *the fourth*, even *the* [d] *helmet of ſalvation*. An *Helmet* which here is worn *cloſe*, whileſt *Souldiers* in the *Church-Militant* we *ſee but in part*, but hereafter ſhall be *born* (like the *Helmet* of *Princes*) with the *bever* open in the *Church-Triumphant*, *when we ſhall ſee as we are ſeen*. The deſire of

[d] Eph. 6. 17.

Your Honours moſt engaged Beads-man,

THOMAS FULLER.

Your Honours moſt engaged Beads-man,

THOMAS FULLER.

The History of Abbeys in ENGLAND.

Primitive MONKS, with their Piety and Painfulnesse.

First Monks caused by persecution.

WHen the Fornace of Persecution in the Infancy of Christianity was grown so hot, that most Cities, Towns, and populous Places were visited with that Epidemical Disease, many pious men fled into Desarts, there to live with more safety, and serve God with lesse disturbance. No wilde humour to make themselves miserable, and to chuse and court their own calamity put them on this project, much lesse any Superstitious Opinion of transcendent Sanctity in a Solitary life, made them willingly to leave their former Habitations. For, whereas all men by their Birth are indebted to their Countrey, there to stay and discharge all civil relations, it had been dishonesty in them, like Bankrupts to run away into the Wilderneſse to defraud their Countrey their Creditor, except some violent Occasion (such as *Persecution* was) forced them thereunto: and this was the first Originall of *Monks* in the world so called from μόνος, *because living alone by themselves.*

Their pious employment in a solitary life.

2. Here they in the Desarts hoped to finde Rocks, and Stocks, yea, Beasts themselves more kinde than Men had been to them: What would Hide, and Heat, Cover, and keep Warm, served them for Cloathes, not placing (as their Successours in after-Ages) any Holinesse in their Habit, folded up in the affected Fashion thereof. As for their Food, the Grasse was their Cloath, the Ground their Table, Herbs and Roots their Diet, wilde Fruits and Berries their Dainties, Hunger their Sauce, their Nails their Knives, their Hands their Cups, the next Well their Wine-cellar; But what their Bill-of-fare wanted in Cheer, it had in Grace; their Life being constantly spent in Prayer, Reading, Musing, and such like pious Employments. They turned Solitarinesse it self into Society, and cleaving themselves asunder by the divine Art of Meditation, did make of one, two, or more, opposing answering, moderating in their own Bosomes, and busie in themselves with variety of Heavenly recreations. It would doe one Good, even but to think of their Goodnesse, and at the rebound and second hand to Meditate on their Meditations. For if ever Poverty was to be envied it was here. And I appeal to the moderate men of these Times, whether in the heighth of these wofull Warres, they have not sometimes wisht, (not out of Passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves) some such Private Place to retire unto

to, where, out of the noise of this Clamorous World, they might have reposed themselves, and served GOD with more Quiet.

They vowed no Poverty, Chastity, or Obedience. See *Polidor, Virgil. de inventione rerum, lib. 7. c. 1.* And *Sixtus Senensis. lib. 6. Annotat.* 332.

3. These Monks were of two sorts, either such as fled from actuall, or from imminent Persecution. For when a danger is not created by a timorous Fancie, but rationally represented as probable, in such a case, the Principles of Prudence, not out of Cowardise, but Caution, warrant men to provide for their Safety. Neither of these bound themselves with a wilfull Vow to observe Poverty, but Poverty rather vowed to observe them, waiting constantly upon them. Neither did they vow Chastity, though keeping it better than such as vowed it in after-Ages. As for the Vow of Obedience, it was both needlesse and impossible in their Condition, having none beneath or above them, living alone, and their whole Covent, as one may say, consisting of a single Person; And as they entred on this Course of Life, rather by Impulsion than Election; so when Peace was restored, they returned to their former homes in Cities and Towns, resuming their Callings, which they had not left off, but for a time laid aside. The first *British Monks* that we meet with in this kinde, were immediately after the Martyrdome of Saint *Alban*; for then, saith *Gildas*, *Qui superfuerant sylvis ac desertis, abditisque speluncis se occultaverunt*; *Such as survived, hid themselves in woods and deserts, and secret dens of the earth.* As long after on the like Occasion, when the *Pagan Saxons*, and *Danes*, invaded this *Island*, many religious Persons retired themselves to Solitary lives.

Voluntary MONKS, embracing that Life, not for Necessity, but Conveniency.

Silver Monks succeeded the former golden ones.

After these succeeded a Second Sort of *Monks* leading a Solitary Life, when no visible need forced them thereunto, as neither feeling nor fearing any apparent Persecution; Yet these considering the inconstancy of humane matters, that though they had Prosperity for the present, it might soon be changed into a contrary condition, if either the restlesse endevours of the Devil took effect, or sinfull Christians were rewarded according to their deserts, freely chose a Lone life, also prompted perchance thereunto by their own Melancholy disposition.

Fetcht from wandring in the wilderness to dwell together.

2. Afterwards it was counted convenient, that such who hitherto dwelt desolate in Desarts, scattered asunder, should be gathered together to live under one Roof, because their Company would be Cheerfull in Health, and Needfull in Sickness one to another. Hence these two words, though contrary to sound, signifie the same:

Monasterium, *Cœnobium*, } A place containing men living { *Alone.* *In common.*

For though they were sequestred from the rest of the World, yet they enjoyed mutuall Society amongst themselves. And again, though at solemn times they joyned in their Publick Devotions and Refections, yet no doubt, they observed howers by themselves in their Private Orisons: Of these, some were Gardeners like *Adam*, Husbandmen like *Noah*, caught Fish with *Peter*, made Tents with *Paul*, as every man was either advised by his Inclination, or directed by his Dexterity, and no Calling was counted Base that was found Beneficiall. Much were they delighted with making of Hives, as the Embleme of a Covent for Order and Industry; wherein the Bees under a Master their Abbot, have severall Cells, and live and labour in a regular discipline. In a word, they had hard hands and tender hearts, sustaining themselves by their labour, and relieving others by their Charity, as formerly hath been observed in the Monks of *Bangor*.

3. Take

3. Take a taſt of their Auſterity who lived at *Vall Roſine*, ſince called *Minevea* in *Pembroke-ſhire*, under the Method of S. *David*. They were *raiſed* with the *crowing* of the [a] *Cock* from their *beds*, and then betook themſelves to their *prayers*, and ſpent the reſt of the *day* in their ſeverall *callings*; when their *task* was done, they again beſtowed themſelves in *prayers*, *meditations*, *reading* & *writing*; and at *night* when the *heavens* were full of *ſtarres*, they firſt began to feed, having their temperate repaſt to ſatisfie hunger on *bread*, *water*, and *herbs*. Then the third time they went to their prayers, and ſo to bed, till the circulation of their daily employment returned in the *Morning*. A ſpectacle of *virtue* and *continence*, who although they received nothing, or any thing very unwillingly of others, yet were ſo farre from wanting neceſſaries, that by their pains they provided ſuſtenance for many poor people, Orphans, Widows, and Strangers.

The diſcipline of Britiſh Monks under S. *David*. [a] *Harpsfield Hiſt Eccl. Angl.* p. 49.

4. Here as we cannot but highly *commend* the integrity of their *Hearts* herein, ſo we muſt withall *bemoan*, that what in them was intentionally *good*, proved occaſionally *evill*, hatching *Superſtition* under the *warmth* of their *Devotion*. For though even theſe as yet were free from *humane Ordinances* and *Vows*, yet *Will-worſhip* crept in inſenſible in the next Age, (*Tares* are eaſier ſeen *grown* than *growing*) and *errour* and *vitiouſneſſe* came in by degrees. The *Monks* afterwards having *ſufficiency* turned *lazie*, then getting *wealth* waxed *wanton*, and at laſt endowed with *ſuperfluity* became *notoriouſly wicked*, as hereafter ſhall appear. Thus as *Pliny* reporteth of the *GAGATE-ſtone*, that ſet a fire it burneth more fiercely if *water* be caſt on, but is extinguiſhed if *oyle* be poured thereupon: So the *Zeal* of *Monaſtick men* was inflamed the more with the *bitter water* of *affliction*, whilſt in *proſperity* the *oyle of plenty* quenched their *piety*. So ill a *Steward* is *humane corruption* of *outward happineſſe*, oftner uſing it to the *Receivers hurt*, than the *Givers glory*.

Superſtition unawares occaſioned by them.

Of Superſtition, which was the fundamentall fault in all Abbeys.

THis was one main fault in all *Engliſh* Abbeys, that the Builders did not dig deep enough to lay the Foundation, as grounded on the foundred and mouldring bottome of *ſuperſtition*. For every Monaſtery was conceived a magazine of *merit* both for the Founder, his Anceſtors, and Poſterity. And although all theſe Dotations did carry the title of *pure Alms*, yet ſeriouſly conſidered, they will be found rather *forced* than *free*, as *extorted* from men with the *fear of Purgatory*, one *flaſh* of which *fire* believed, is able to *melt a miſer* into *charity*; yea, which is worſe, many of their *foundations* had their *morter tempered* with *innocent blood*: For which we may conceive afterwards, they ſped never a whit the better. To give ſome inſtances of many.

Abbeys built on the ſand of ſuperſtition.

2. *Wolpher*, King of the *MERCIANS*, having murdered *Wolphald*, and *Ruſine*, his own Sons, with cruell and barbarons Immanity, becauſe they had devoted themſelves unto *Chriſt*, and embraced his *Religion*; afterwards turning *Chriſtian* himſelf, to *waſh* away the *ſtain* of his *impiety*, built that famous Abbey, ſince known by the name of *Peterborough*.

Peterborough Abbey founded to expiate murder. [b] *Cambd. Brit.* in *Northampton-ſhire*.

3. King *Athelſtance* drowned his brother *Edwine*, having put him into a little Wherry, or Cockboat, without any tackling or furniture thereunto (to the end he might impute his *wickedneſs* to the *waves*) and afterwards as a *ſatisfaction* to appeaſe his *Ghoſt*, built the fair Abbey of *Middleton* in *Dorſet-ſhire*.

Middleton being on the ſame occaſion. *Idem* in *Dorcet.*

4. To joyn to theſe two houſes of *Monks*, one of *Nuns*, (ſuch ſociety hath not been unacceptable) *Ælfrith*, ſecond Wife to King *Edgar*, having contrived the death of *Edward* her Son-in-law, King of *England*, murdered him by a company of Hackſters and Villains, at her appointment, at *Corſe-Caſtle* in *Dorſet-ſhire*) to pave the way for the Succeſſion of her Son *Ethelbred* to the Crown) afterwards built the ſtately *Nunnery* of [c] *Ambresbury*, with ſome other *religious Houſes*.

So alſo the Nunnery of *Ambresbury*.

[c] *Harpsfield Hiſt. Eccl. Angl.* Sæc. 10. p. 188.

Suspitious therein might be a great fault herein.

5. It is confest, that *wilfull murder* may be pardoned in Christ, and they who deny it are guilty (as much as lies in their power) of a worse *soul-murder* in their *unchartable opinion*; Yet this we say, that all the *chantings* of the *Monks* and *Nuns* in their Covents could not *drown* the *noise* of *innocent blood*. And if these Founders of Abbeys thought that their *murder* could be *expiated* by raising such beautifull *buildings*, their most polished *marble* and costly carved *pieces* were in the expression of the Prophet, but [d] *dawbing over their damnable sins with untempered morter*. But though Abbeys long since have been demolished, we leave their Founders to stand or fall to their own Maker, when his all-seeing Eye hath discerned betwixt the Errours of their Judgment, and Integrity of their Affections, endevouring that, which they conceived was to the *glory* of God, and *advance* of true Religion.

d Ezek. 22. 28.

Of the severall Orders of Monks and Nuns in England.

An heap of Monkish Orders in *England*.

SO much of the *Superstition of the Founders*, come we now to their *Superstition*, and other *notorious sins*, who lived in these *foundations*. But first we will premise their severall Orders. Herein we pretend not to any *critical skill*: For though every Minister of God's Word (whereof I am the meanest) is a spirituall Herald to derive and deduce the Pedigrees and Genealogies of any Institution, which hath its Originall in God's Word, yet they are not bound (not to say it is a learned Ignorance) to be skilled in the Deductions, Divisions, and Sub-divisions of these Orders, which have no foundation in the Scripture. Yea, hear what [e] *Matthew Paris*, being a Monk of S. *Albans* saith, *Tot jam apparuerunt Ordines in Angliâ, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata*. It is possible then for my best diligence to commit an Errour, and impropriety in Reckoning them up. For what wonder is it if one be lost in a wood, to which their numerous Orders may well be resembled, though in all this *wood* there appears not one *plant* of *God's planting*, as one of their own [f] Abbots most remarkably did observe. In a word, when the [g] *Frogs of Ægypt died out of the houses, out of the villages, and out of the fields, They gathered them together upon heaps, &c.* And give us leave in like manner confusedly to shovel up these Vermin, now dead in *England*.

e *Matth. Paris, An. Dom.* 1257. pag. 949.

f Rob. *Wingfi* Abbot of *Welaw*.

g Exod. 8. 13, 14.

Benedictines the primitive Monks in *England*.

2. First, come forth the *Benedictines*, or *Black Monks*, so called from S. *BENEDICT*, or *BENET*, an *Italian*, first Father and Founder of that Order, *Augustine* the Monk first brought them over into *England*, and these black Birds first nested in *Canterbury*, whence they have flowen into all the parts of the Kingdome. For as [h] one rightly observeth, all the Abbeys in *England*, before the time of King *William the Conquerour* (and some whiles after) were filled with this Order. Yea, all the Abbeys in *England*, of the first magnitude, which had Parliamentary Barons (abate onely the Prior of the Hospitallers of S. *John*'s in *London*) were of this Order, and though the *Augustinians* were their Seniors in *Europe*, they were their Juniors in *England*. Now as *Mercers*, when their old *Stuffes* begin to tire in *Sale*, refresh them with *new Names* to make them more *vendible*: So when the *Benedictines* waxed *stale* in the *world*, the same *Order* was *set forth* in a *New Edition*, *corrected and amended* under the *names*, first of

h *Clem. Reyner De antiq. Ordinis S. Benedict.*

CLUNIACKS: these were *Benedictines* sifted through a finer *search*, with some *additionals* invented and imposed upon them by *Odo* Abbot of *Cluni*, in *Burgundy*, who lived *Anno Domini* 913. But these *Cluniacks* appeared not in *England* till after the *Norman Conquest*, and had their richest Covents at *Barnestable* in *Devon-shire*, *Pontefract* and *Meaux* in *York-shire*, &c.

2. *CISTERCIANS*, so called from one *Robert*, living in *Cistercium*, in *Burgundy* aforesaid, he the second time refined the drosse *Benedictines*, and

and *Walter Especk*, first established their *Brotherhood* in *England* at *Rivall* in *York-shire*, besides which, they had many other pleasant and plentifull habitations, at *Warden* and *Woburne* in *Bedford shire*, *Buckland* and *Ford* in *Devon shire*, *Bindon* in *Dorset-shire*, &c. The *Bernardine* Monks were of a younger House, or under-Branch of the *Cistercians*.

3. Of *GRAND-MONT*, which observed S. *Benet*'s Rule, were brought into *England*, *Anno* 1233, and were principally fixed at *Abberbury* in *Shropshire*.

The Family of these *Benedictines*, taken at large, with their Children, and Grand-Children, of under-Orders springing from them, were so numerous and so richly endowed, that in their Revenues they did match all the other Orders in *England*, especially if the Foundations of *Benedictine* Nuns be joyned in the same reckoning, I doubt not but since these *Benedictines* have had their crudities decon-cocted, and have been drawn out into more slender threds of sub-divisions. For, commonly once in a hundred years starts up some pragmaticall person in an Order, who out of novelty alters their old Rules (there is as much *variety* and *vanity* in *Monks Cowles*, as in *Courtiers Cloaks*) and out of his fancie adds some observances thereunto. To crie quits with whom after the same distance of time, ariseth another, and under some new Name *reformeth* his *Reformation*, and then his late new (now old) Order is looked on as an Almanack out of Date, wanting the Perfection of new and necessary Alterations.

3. A *scandal* hath lately been raised, much in dishonour of these *Benedictines*, *viz.*: That all the antient *English Monks* before the *Conquest*, were onely of the Order of S. *Equitius*. Some highly concerned to confute this *Report*, wrote over to our *Antiquaries* in *England*, for their *judgments* herein; from whom they received this following *Answer*. *Scandalum Benedictinorum.*

'[a] *Quoniam hâc nostra ætate exorta est controversia de Monachatu* Gregorii *magni &* Augustini Cantuariensis, *Sociorúmque ejus quos* Gregorius *in* Angliam *de suo Monasterio prædicandi Evangelii causa destinâsse* 'legitur: *quibusdam ipsos ordini* Benedictino *addicentibus quibusdam vero* 'id acriter pernegantibus & *ipsos Ordini S.* Equitii *sive alicui alii ascriben-* 'tibus; *Nos qui multum temporis in rebus vetustis tam civilibus quàm* 'sacris, *atque iis imprimis quæ ad* Britanniam *nostram potissimum spectant,* 'impendimus, *rogati ut testimonium perhiberemus veritati, cum neutrius* 'partis *prejudicijs simus obnoxii. Dicimus & affirmamus, nos duo solùm Mo-* 'nachorum genera in primis Saxonicæ *apud majores nostros Ecclesiæ tem-* 'poribus: *unum eorum qui Ægyptiensium mores secuti, in hac Insulâ flore-* 'bant, *ante adventum* Augustini: *alterum eorum qui* Benedictini Augustino *itinerij erant comites. Hanc traditionem à patribus ad filios derivatam* 'esse testamur, *atque ita derivatam, ut non levibus innitatur fabulis, aut am-* 'bitiosis partium conjecturis, *quin eam ipsam vetusta signata fidei exhibent* 'apud nos monumenta. *Ab* Augustino *insuper ad* Henricum *octavum per-* 'petuo in hac Insulâ viguit Benedictina *Institutio: nec* Augustino *recentio-* 'rem ejusve originem, *originisve recentioris vestigium ullibi comperimus.* 'Tantum abest Equitianum *aliquem in hâc Insula fuisse Ordinem, ut nulla* 'omnino hujusmodi neque ordinis neque nominis mentio in vetustis, *quibus* 'versamur, tabulariis, habeatur. *Sanè aliorum fere omnium in hâc Insulâ* 'origines ita observavimus, *ut unius cujusque etiam minimi ingressum suo* 'anno consignatum habeamus: *solius* Benedictini *Ordinis originem ante* 'Augustini *sæculum non invenimus*; *ipsius sæculo floruisse apertè re reperi-* 'mus. *Unde exploratissimum nobis esse profitemur, non alterius ordinis fuisse* 'ipsum sociosque ejus quam Benedictini; *qui ideo proculdubio, tam altas ra-* 'dices in Anglia *egerit, quoniam primi illi Monachi à* Gregorio *in Insulam* 'destinati, *Regulæ* Benedictinæ *professores extiterunt.*

[a] Extant in Clem Reynere *de Apostolatu Benedictinorum in Anglia*, pag. 202.

Robertus Cotton. } Henricus Spelman.
Johannes Seldenus. } Gulielmus Cambdenus.

England may see 400 *years*, yet not behold 4 such *Antiquaries* her *Natives* at once, the *four wheels* of the *Triumphant chariot* of *truth* for our *British History*. This *Quaternion* of *Subscribers*, have *stick'n the point* dead with me that all antient *English Monks* were *Benedictines*. Which Order lasting above one *thousand* years in this Land, hath produced about *two hundred* and fifty Writers of *Name* and *note*, as *Pitzeus* [a] accounteth them.

[a] Catalogue, p. 966.

4. What this S. *Equitius* was, (pretended Founder of our first *English Monks*) is worth our enquirie. Sure he could not be that *Equitius*, of whom the *African Bishops* complained in the *Councell of Carthage*, That by indirect courses he had invaded the *Priesthood*; desiring by their [b] *Legats* (whom they sent to the *Emperour*) That he might be expelled that Office. Yet he, in defiance of their endevours, went about to disturb the peace of the Church. More probable it is, he was either *Equitius* a Deacon in the *Apamean Church*, (flourishing in the *fourth Century*) and famous for his *faith* and *fervency* in *Religion* in [c] assisting *Marcellus* Bishop thereof, to *demolish* the *Temple* of *Jupiter*, or else his *contemporary Equitius*, Consul of *Rome* with *Gratian*, *An.* 378, or some other unknown unto us. But be he, who *he himself* or *any other* pleaseth (*brother*, if they will, to S. *George* on *Horse back*) he was never *father* of any *Monks* in *England*.

Hue and Crie after S. *Equitius*.

[b] *Acta Concil.* sect. 32. & 60.

[c] *Theodoret.* lib. 3. cap. 27.

5. I intended to present the Reader, with the *habits* of *Benedictines*, and all other Orders for the *fashion*, *matter*, and *colour* thereof. But understanding the *industrious work* called *Monasticon*, is comming forth (which *hath the speed* of this my *Book*, for a *Term* or *two*) wherein that *Subject* is handled at large, I thought better to forbear. Partly, because I presume Master *Dodsworth* (an eminent instrument in that usefull work) better acquainted, than I am, with their *Taylors*: partly, because *my wardrobe* of their *clothes* (coming so long after *his*) will be beheld, but as from the *second hand* fetched from *Long lane*, and his *new bought* out of the *Draper's-shop*.

Why habits of Monks not here presented.

6. The *Augustinian Monks* succeed, younger than the *Benedictines* in *England*, though older in *Europe*. For S. *Augustine* of *Hippo*, (on whom these *Monks* would willingly recover themselves) was S. *Benet's* Senior by sixty years. I cannot believe, that they came over into *England* (what some affirm) precise, *Anno* 636, (others 640) when *Birinus* was Bishop of *Dorchester*, or that [d] 1059, they were seated in *London*, being rather inclined to believe, that *Eudo* the *Dapifer* (*Sewer*, if you please) to King *Henry the first*, first brought them into *England*, *Anno* 1105, and that S. *John's* at *Colchester* was the prime place of their residence. However, I finde that *Waltham-Abbey* (for *Benedictines* at the first) had its *Copie altered* by King *Henry the second*, and bestowed on *Augustinians*.

Augustinian Monks.

[d] *Josephus Pamphilus* in his *Cronicon Augustin.*

7. These *Augustinians* were also called *Canons Regular*, where, by the way, I meet with such a nice distinction, which disheartens me from pretending to exactnesse in reckoning up these Orders. For, this I finde in our *English* [e] *Ennius*:

Whether *H* be a letter.

[e] *Chaucer* in the Plow-mans Tale.

Jeep 4.

And all such other Counterfaitours
Chanons, Canons and such disguised
Been Goddes enemies and Traytours
By his true religion han soule despised.

It seems the *H* here amounteth to a *letter* so effectuall as to discriminate *Chanons* from *Canons*, (though both *Canonici* in *Latine*) but what should be the difference betwixt them, I dare not interpose my conjecture. I have done with these *Augustinians* when I have observed, that this Order in *England* afforded * *threescore and ten* eminent *Writers*, and *one* in *Germany* worth them all in effect, I mean *Martin Luther*, who by his *writings* gave a *mortall wound* to all these *Orders*, yea, and to the *root* of the *Romish Religion*.

* Reckoned up by *Pitzeus in Indice*, p. 974.

8. *Gilbertine Monks*, may be the third, a *mongrel Order*, observing some *select Rules* partly of S. *Bennet*, partly of S. *Augustine*. So named from *Gilbert* (son to *Joceline* a Knight) Lord of *Sempringham* in *Lincoln-shire*, where 1148, first they were planted. Whereupon, this *Order* may *boast*, that it alone is a *native* and *Indegena*, (whereas *Benedictines* are by original *Italians*; *Augustinians*, *African*;

Gilbertine Monks.

frican, *Carthusians*, *French*, *Dominicans*, *Spanish*, *&c.*) pure *English* by the *extraction* thereof. This *Gilbert*, *unhandsome*, but not *unlearned*, erected this Order, (contrary to *Justinians constitution*, who forbad *double Monasteries*) wherein men and women lived together, (though secluded) under one roof. He survived to see *thirteen Houses* of this his own Order, and in them *seventeen hundred Gilbertine Brothers* and *Sisters*. Yet I finde no *Writer* of this *Order*, conceiving them so well busied with their *Company* in their Convent, they had little leisure for the *writing of Books*.

Carthusian Monks.

9. *Carthusian Monks* make up a *Messe*, much famed for their *mortified lives* and *abstinence from all flesh*; one *Bruno* first *founded* them in the *Dolphinate* in *France*, *Anno* 1080, and some 60 years after they were brought over into *England*. I wonder men *fasting so much*, should have so *high spirits*, no *Order* standing more stoutly on their *priviledges*, insomuch when the *means* of all *Covents* were *valued* in the Reign of * King *Henry the eighth*, a peculiar *clause* was added to the Patent of the Commissioners, impowering them particularly to rate *Charter-house* in *London*. However, their Books (there being eleven * learned Authors of *English Carthusians*) contain much tending to *mortification*, and out of them *Parsons* the Jesuite hath collected a good part of his *Resolutions*.

* Some years before the dissolution of Abbeys.
* *Pitseus in Indice*, p. 973.

Monks and Fryers how they differ.

10. So much of *Monks*, come we now to *Fryers*, and it is necessary to premise what was the *distinction* betwixt them. For though some will say, the matter is not much, if *Monks* and *Friers* were *confounded together*, yet the distinguishing of them conduceth much to the clearing of History. Some make *Monks* the *Genus*, and *Friers* but the *Species*, so that all *Fryers* were *Monks*, but *è contra* all *Monks* were not *Fryers*. Others, that *Monks* were confined to their *Cloisters*, whilst more liberty was allowed to *Fryers* to goe about and preach in neighbouring Parishes. Others, that *Monks* were in those Convents who had a *Bishop* over them, as *Canterbury*, *Norwich*, *Durham*, *&c.* but never any *Fryers* in such places where the *Bishop* was the supreme, and they in some sort had the power of his Election. I see it is very hard *just to hit the joynt* so as to cleave them asunder at an hairs bredth, Authors being so divided in their opinions. But the most essentiall difference, whereon we most confide is this, *Monks* had nothing in *propriety*, but all in *common*; *Fryers* had nothing in *propriety*, nor in *common*, but being *Mendicants*, begg'd all their *subsistance* from the *charity* of others. True it is, they had *Cells* or *Houses* to *dwell*, or rather *hide* themselves in (so *the Foxes have holes*, *and the Birds of the aire have nests*) but all this went for nothing, seeing they had no means belonging thereunto. Yea it hath borne a tough debate betwixt them, *Whether a Fryer may be said to be Owner of the Cloathes he weareth?* and it hath been for the most part over-ruled in the *negative*.

Objection to null the distinction,

11. It will be objected, that many *Convents* of *Fryers* had large and ample *revenues* (as will appear by perusing the *Catalogue* in *Speed's Tables*) amounting to some *hundreds* (though never *thousands*) by the year, some *Fryers* barns wellnigh as wealthy as some *Monks* (rather every pretended *Lazarus*, a *Dives*) holding, though not severally to *themselves*, joyntly *amongst themselves*, most rich endowments. Here also it will be in vain to flie to the *distinction* of *Ctesis* and *Chresis*, of *using* and *owning*, seeing the *Monks* will lay a claim to that *distinction*, and challenge as great an interest therein as the *Fryers* themselves.

Answered.

12. I have nothing to return in answer hereunto, save onely that, *Olim verò non fuit sic*, *from the beginning* [of the Institution of *Fryers*] *it was not so*, these additions of *Lands* unto them, are of later date, and, believe it, not of their *seeking*, but their *Benefactors* casting upon them.

Criticisme in this subject not materiall.

13. However, nothing more common than to make *Monks* and *Fryers* both *Synonyma's* and *reciprocall*, and for my own part, I passe not, if in this my History I have committed the same, and hereafter shall be guilty of greater mistakes. Foresters laughed at the ignorance of that Gentleman, who made this difference betwixt a *Stag* and a *Hart*, that the one was a *red*, the other a *fallow deer*, being both of a kinde, only different in age, and some other circumstances in *Venarie*. I

may make the like ſport to ſome Popiſh Reader, (and much good let it do him) in differencing ſome *Orders* which are the *ſame*, and *identifying* other *Orders* which are diſtinct, but the matter is of no dangerous concernment. May we be but carefull to *order* [f] *our converſations aright, that God may ſhew us his ſalvation*, and it matters not much if we commit *errours*, and diſcover *ignorance* in *ordering Fryers*, not in their exact number and ſeniority. Theſe premiſed, we begin with their *four Elemental Orders*.

f Pſal. 50. 23.

What meant by *Wickliffe's GAIM*.

14. *Wickliffe* conſtantly inveigheth againſt *Fryers*, under the name of *CAIM*. Had it been *Caine*, I ſhould have ſuſpected his alluſion to the words of the Apoſtle, *They have gone in the* * *way of* Cain, but now am *at a loſſe*, and had ſo continued, had I not lighted on a *railing Hexaſtick* of an uncharitable Rythmer, (*a baſe fellow* may ſhow an *honeſt man* the way) who thus letteth flie at them:

* Jude ver. 11.

Per decies binos Sathanas capiat Jacobinus,
Propter & errores Feſu confunde Minores,
Auguſtienſes, Pater inclyte, ſterne per enſes,
Et Carmelitas tanquam falſos Heremitas
Sunt Confeſſores Dominorum, ſeu Dominarum
Et ſeductores ipſarum ſunt animarum.

C. *Carmelites* | I. *Jacobines* } or { *Dominicans.* } Fryers.
A. *Auguſtinians* | M. *Minorites* } or { *Franciſcans.* }

And thus at laſt we have the great myſterie unfolded, whom *Wickliffe* therein did intend.

Dominican Fryers.

15. Of theſe *Dominicans* were the firſt *Fryers*, which came over into *England*, *Anno* 1221, being but *twelve* (an *Apoſtolical number*) with *Gilbert de Fraxineto* their *Prior* firſt landed at *Canterbury*, fixed at *Oxford*, but richly endowed at *London*, they were commonly called *Black Fryers*, *Preaching Fryers*, and *Jacobine Fryers*. They took their name from S. *Dominick* born at *Calogora* in *Spain*, and *Hubert de Burgo* Earl of *Kent*, was their prime Patrone, beſtowing his Palace in the Suburbs of *London* upon them, which afterwards they ſold to the *Archbiſhop's* of *York*, reſiding therein, till by ſome tranſactions betwixt King *Henry the eighth* and Cardinal *Wolſey*, it became the *Royal-Court*, now known by the name of *White-hall*. Afterwards by the bounty of *Gregory Rockſly* Lord Major of *London*, and *Robert Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, they were more conveniently lodged in two Lanes on the bank of *Thames*, in a place enjoying great priviledges, and ſtill retaining the name of *Black Fryers*. No fewer than [g] *fourſcore* famous *Engliſh writers* are accounted of this *Order*. At this day, as beyond the Seas, they are much condemned for being the ſole active *managers* of the cruell *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, ſo they deſerve due commendation for their *Orthodox judgements* in maintaining ſome *Controverſies* in Divinity of importance againſt the *Jeſuits*.

g Pitzeus in Inſtit. p. 981.

Franciſcan Fryers.

16. *Franciſcans* follow, commonly called *Grey Fryers* and *Minorites*, either in alluſion to *Jacob's* words, [h] *Sum Minor omnibus beneficiis Tuis*, or from ſome other humble expreſſions in the New Teſtament. They received their name from S. *Francis*, born in the Dutchy of *Spoletum* in *Italy*. Canonized by Pope *Gregory the ninth*, about two years after whoſe death the *Franciſcans* came over into *England*, and one *Diggs* (Anceſtour of Sir *Dudley Diggs*) bought for them their firſt ſeat in *Canterbury*: who afterwards were diffuſed all over *England*. For *skill* in *School-Divinity* they *beat* all other *Orders* quite *out of diſtance*, and had a curious Library in *London* (built by *Richard Whittington*) in that Age coſting *five hundred*

h Gen. 32. 10.

and

and fifty pounds, which quickly might be made up, if (as it is reported) an [i] *hundred marks* were expended in *transcribing* the *Commentaries* of *Lyra*.

[i] *Reyn. in Ap. Benedict.* pag. 162.

17. We must not forget that one *Bernard* of *Siena* about the year 1400, refined the *Franciscans* into *Observants*, no distinct metall from the former, but different from them as *steel* from *iron*. K. *Edward the fourth* first brought them into *England*, where they had *six famous Cloysters*; since which time there have been a new Order of *Minims* begun beyond the Seas, conceiving the *comparative* of *Minor* too high, they have descended to *Minimus*, according to our Saviour's own words, *He that is* a [*minime*] *of the least among you, the same shall be greatest*: and I much admire that none have since begun an Order of *Minor-Minimo's*; the rather, because of the Apostles words of himself, *who am lesse than the least of all saints*. Βραδὺς ἐγὼ γενόμενος τοῦ ἁγίου. As I may say, a *subter-subterlative* in his *humility*. As for other *Diminutives* of *Franciscans* or *Minorites* beyond the Seas, *Recollects*, *Penitentiaries*, *Capuchins*, *&c.* seeing they had their *rise* since the *fall* of *Abbeys* in *England*, they belong not to our present enquiry. Sufficeth it that this Order, during the extent of our story, afforded in *England* an hundred and ten *learned Writers*.

Sub-reformations of Franciscans.

18. *Carmelites*, or *White Fryers*, come next, so named from Mount *Carmel* in *Syria*, brought over into *England* in the Reign of King *Richard the first*, by *Ralph Freeborn*: and placed at *Alnewicke* in *Northumberland* in a wilderneſſe (*sic canibus catulos*) most like unto *Carmel* in *Syria*. Whose Convent at their dissolution in the Reign of King *Henry the eighth*, was at *low rates*, in that cheap *County*, valued at one hundred ninety four pounds and seven shillings *per annum*, to justifie our former observation, that even *Mendicant Fryers* had Houses endowed with revenues.

Carmelites their first coming into *England*.

Speed Catalog. pag. 795.

19. This soundeth something to the commendation of the *English Carmelites*, That their Order lost not the vigour thereof by being poured into *Cisternes* (mediatly derived from other Countreys) but as our [w] Authour telleth us, *Hi cum primis Monachis Britonum & Scotorum ex Ægypto & Palestinâ in Britanicas Insulas Monachatum intulerunt*, That *Monkery* and (*Carmelite*) *Friery* came out of *Ægypt* and *Palestine* into *Britain*. Thus they will allow us to have *superstition* immediately thence without any *circle* from *Rome*, but are highly *offended* (and *stickle* mainly to the *contrary*) That we should fetch *true Religion* thence (with the antient *observation* of *Easter*) but this forsooth, we must receive at the *second hand* from *Rome*, and be ordered according to her *directions* therein.

A great privilege of English Carmelites.

[w] *Regnum de Apostolatu Benedictinorum*, p. 164.

20. Another thing also is alledged in the praise of our *Carmelites*, That they were most carefull in keeping the *Records* of their *Order*, that the *List* being lost of the *Benedictines*, *Dominicans*, *&c.* (save here or there a broken *link* or two) *Carmelites* have preserved the successive *series* of their *Provincials*. Let them thank *John Bayle* herein, once one of them, (though they be pleased to *jeer* him as forsaking it for the love of his *dear Dorothy*) who in his youth made the *Catalogue* out of love to his *Order*, and in his old age preserved it out of his generall affection to *antiquity*, and it will not be amisse here to represent it.

And praise of their industry.

Provincial

Provincial.	His County.	Began.	Ruled.	Lies buried in.
1. *Ralph Freburne.*	*Northumberland.*	1240	14	*Anwick.*
2. *Henry de Hanna.*	*Brunham.*	1254	17	*Stanford.*
3. *Roger Greſwick.*	*Norfolke.*	1272	05	*Brunham.*
4. *William Hamberg.*	*Surrey.*	1278	03	*London.*
5. *Will: Ludlington.*	*Lincolne.*	1289	05	*Stanford.*
6. *Will: Newenham.*	*Cambridge.*	1303	01	*Cambridge.*
7. *Rich: Wellwen.*	*Hartford.*	1305	04	*Hutchin.*
8. *William Pagham.*	*Kent.*	1309	03	*Meth,* in *Ireland.*
9. *John Barkemſted.*	*Hereford.*	1312	07	*London.*
10. *Richard Blyton.*	*Lincolne.*	1319	06	*Lincolne.*
11. *John Walſingham.*	*Norfolke.*	1326	03	*Avinion.*
12. *John Baconthorp.*	*Norfolke.*	1329	04	*London.*
13. *John Blexam.*	*Oxford.*	1333	02	*Oxford.*
14. *John Poleſhed.*	*Suffolke.*	1335	07	*Yorke.*
15. *John Folſham.*	*Norfolke.*	1340	06	*Norwich.*
16. *Walter Kelham.*	*Yorke.*	1345	05	*Alverſton.*
17. *Will: Lubbenham.*	*Coventrie.*	1353	01	*Coventrie.*
18. *John Counton.*	*Yorke.*	1359	03	*London.*
19. *Thomas Braun.*	*London.*	1362	17	*London.*
20. *Robert Yvorie.*	*London.*	1379	13	*London.*
21. *John Kiningham.*	*Suffolke.*	1393	05	*Yorke.*
22. *Steph: Patrington.*	*Yorke.*	1399	15	*London.*
23. *Thomas Walden.*	*Eſſex.*	1414	16	*Roan.*
24. *Jo: Keninghall.*	*Norfolke.*	1430	13	*Norwich.*
25. *Nic: Kenton.*	*Suffolke.*	1444	12	*London.*
26. *Jo: Milverton.*	*Briſtoll.*	1456	11	*London.*
27. *John Sutton.*	*Doncaſter.*	1465	03	*Doncaſter.*
28. *Jo: Vinde.*	*Lincolne.*	1482	14	*Boſton.*
29. *Rob: Love.*	*Norfolke.*	1505	07	*Norwich.*
30. *Richard Ferris.*	*Oxford.*	1513	03	*Oxford.*
31. *John Bird.*	*Warwick.*	1516	03	*Cheſter.*
32. *Robert Lesbury.*	*Northumberland.*	1519	03	*Cheſter.*

This Order was *vertical*, and in the higheſt exaltation thereof in the Reign of King *Edward the fourth*, under *Nicholas Kenton* their twenty fifth Provincial, they reckoned no fewer than [n] fifteen hundred of their Order. But when *John Milverton* his Succeſſour, began (in favour of *Friery*) furiouſly to engage againſt *Biſhops*, and the *Secular Clergy*, the *Carmelites* good *maſters* and *dames* began to [o] forſake them, and they never recovered their credit, till they were utterly diſſolved. *John Bird* the one and thirtieth (ſome ſay laſt) Provinciall of this Order, zealouſly impugned the *Pope's Primacy* in his *Sermons*, for which he was made the firſt *Biſhop* of *Cheſter*, and was [*] ejected that *See* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, becauſe he was *married*.

n Pitt. *de ſcript. An.* pag. 659.
o *Idem*, p. 674.
* *Godwin* in the Biſhops of *Cheſter*.

21. We muſt not forget how the *Carmelites* boaſt very much of one *Simon Stock* of their Order, a *Kentiſh-man*, or rather *Kentiſh-boy*, which being but *twelve years of age*, went out into the Woods and there fed on Roots and Wilde fruit, living in the Trunke of an hollow-Tree, whence he got the Sirname of [p] *Stock*, having a Revelation, That *ſoon after ſome ſhould come out of* Syria, *and confirm his Order*, which came to paſſe when the *Carmelites* came here. He afterwards became Maſter-Generall of their Order (to whom the reſpective *Provincialls* are accountable) and is ſaid to be famous for his *miracles*. Let *Syria* then boaſt no longer of the *ſanctity* of their *Simon Stulites* (ſo called it ſeems, becauſe conſtantly

The Legend of *Simon Stock*.

p Rein. in *Apoſt. Benedict* p. 164.

conſtantly living about a *Stone-pillar*) our *Simon Stock* may mate their *Simon Stone* in all particulars of *holineſs*, though (*under the Roſe be it ſpoken*) Mr. *Richard Stock*, the painful Miniſter of S. *All-hallowes Broad-ſtreet* in *London* for [r] 32 years did advance God's glory more than both of them.

[r] *Stows* Survey of *Lond.* p. 821.

22. *Auguſtinian Eremites* lag laſt, of farre later date than *Auguſtinian-Monks*, as who firſt entred *England*, *Anno* 1252, and had (if not their *firſt*) their *faireſt* habitation at S. *Peter's the Poor*, *London*, thence probably taking the denomination of *Povertie* (otherwiſe at this day one of the richeſt Pariſhes in the City) becauſe the ſaid *Auguſtinian-Eremites* went under the notion of *Begging-Fryers*. Mean time, what a mockerie was this, that theſe ſhould pretend to be *Eremites*, who, inſtead of a *wide Wilderneſſe*, lived in *Broad ſtreet*, *London*, where their *Church* at this day belongeth to the *Dutch-Congregation*. To give theſe *Auguſtine-Fryers* their due, they were good *Diſputants*; on which account they are remembred ſtill in *Oxford* by an Act performed by *Candidates* for Maſterſhip, called *Keeping of Auguſtines*.

Auguſtinian Eremites.

23. So much for the four principall ſort of *Fryers*. The following *Orders* being but *additionall deſcants* upon them, with ſome variations of their *Founders*: Amongſt whom were the *Trinitarians*, for whom *Robert Rookſley* built firſt an Houſe at *Mottingden* in *Kent*; they were called alſo *Robertines*, and *de Redemptione Captivorum*, whoſe work was to beg money of well-diſpoſed people for the ranſoming of *Chriſtians in Captivity* with the *Pagans*. A charitable employment, and God himſelf in ſome ſort may ſeem *Soveraigne* of their Order, *I who looſeth the Priſoner, and their ſighing cometh before him*. My [s] Author telleth me that he conceiveth them ſuppreſſed in *England* before the generall diſſolution of *Priories*, though conjecturing at no cauſe thereof. Sure I am, 'twas not becauſe *ſublatâ cauſâ tollitur effectus*, plenty of *Chriſtian Captives* then and ſince remaining amongſt the *Pagans*, nor will I be ſo uncharitable as to ſuſpect ſome indirect dealings in their miſapplying Contributions; but leave the reaſon to the enquiry of others.

Trinitarian Fryers.

[s] Pſal. 79. 11. & 146. 7.
[t] *Weavers* Fun. Mon. p. 143.

24. The *Bonhomes* or *Good men* ſucceed them, being alſo *Eremites* brought over into *England* by *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, in the Reign of King *Henry the third*, his Brother. So ſtyled (not *excluſively* of other Orders, but) *eminently* becauſe of their ſignall goodneſſe. Otherwiſe the conceit of the [u] *Epigrammiſt*, admiring that amongſt ſo many *Popes*, there ſhould be but *five Pious*, lies as ſtrongly here, That amongſt ſo many *Orders* of *Fryers*, there ſhould be but *one* of *Good men*. But indeed the Apoſtle himſelf makes a *Good man* a degree above a *Righteous man*: [w] *For ſcarcely for a* Righteous man *will one die, yet peradventure for a* Good man *ſome would even dare to die*.

Bonehomes, or good men.

[u] *Iohn Owen.*

[w] Rom. 5. 7.

25. Theſe *Bonehomes*, though *begging Fryers*, (the pooreſt of *Orders*) and *Eremites*, (the moſt ſequeſtred of *begging-Fryers*) had two (and I believe no more) *Covents* in *England*; abſolutely the richeſt in all the Land, (*Monks* onely excepted) the one in *Aſheridge* in *Buckingham ſhire*, now the Manſion of the truly Honorable E. of *Bridgewater*, where I am informed more of a *Monaſtery* is viſible this day than in any other houſe of *England*. It was valued at the diſſolution yearly at *four hundred forty ſeven pounds eight ſhillings halfpeny*. The other at *Edington* in *Wiltſhire*, now known for the *hoſpitality* of the Lady *Beauchampe* dwelling therein: Valued, when diſſolved at *five hundred twenty one pounds twelve ſhillings halfpeny*. It ſeems that theſe Fryers (though pretending to have nothing *nec in proprio, nec in communi*) would not *caſt their Caps* (I ſhould ſay their *Cowles*) at rich Revenues, if beſtowed upon them, but contentedly (not to ſay cheerfully) imbrace the ſame.

Their rich Revenues.

26. I am affraid I have wronged the *Crouched Fryers* in their *ſeniority*, who about the ſame time, if not before the *Bonehomes*, viz: 1244, came over into *England* with the *Pope's Authentick*, and this unuſuall priviledge, That *none ſhould reprove their Order, or upbraid them, or command them, under pain of* [x] *Excommunication*. They carried a *Croſſe* ſome ſay on their *Staves*; others, on their *Backs*,

Crouched Fryers.

[x] *Mat. Park* in *Anno* 1244.

called in *French*, a *Crouch*; and justly might they be angry, if their *Properneſſe* were debaſed into *Deformity* on the ſame miſtake whereon *Edmund Crouch-back*, Brother to King *Edward the firſt* (one of the comlieſt men alive) is miſ-repreſented to Poſterity for *Crooked-back'd*, meerly for aſſuming the *Croſſe* on Him in the *Holy Warre*. The place of *Crouched-Fryers* in *London* ſtill retaineth their name.

y Fo. Harding.

27. Soon after, one year, *viz.* 1257, produced two new *Orders*: ſo that I know not how to martiall their Priority, except to avoid Conteſts they will be pleaſed diſcreetly to uſe the *Expedient* betwixt the Company of *Merchant Taylors* and *Skinners* in *London*, to take their *precedency* yearly by *turns*. Both of them were fixed in *Cambridge*. The firſt, the *Brethren, De Pœnitentiâ Ieſu*, (otherwiſe *Brethren* of the *Sack*) whoſe *Cell* ſince is turned into *Peter-houſe*. The other *Bethlemites* dwelling ſomewhere in z *Trumpington-ſtreet*, and wearing a *Starre with five Rayes* on their backs. But their *Starre* proved but a *Comet*, quickly fading away, and no more mention found of them in *Engliſh* Authors.

Fryers of the Sack & Bethlemites.

z *Mat. Park* in *Anno* 1257.

28. I will conclude with the *Robertines*, confounded by a ſome, diſtinguiſhed by b others from *Fryers Trinitarians*. Theſe owe their originall to one *Robert Flower*, ſon of *Took Flower*, who had been twice Major of *Yorke* (the name lately remaining in that City) who forſaking the fair lands left him by his Father, betook himſelf to a ſolitary life about the Rocks in *Niddſdale* in *Yorke ſhire*, and it ſeems at *Knaresborough* the firſt and laſt Houſe was erected for his Order. c *Matthew Paris* reports that his Tomb abundantly caſt forth a Medicinall Oyle, which poſſibly might be, the diſſolving of ſome Gums uſed about his body, and other naturall cauſes may be aſſigned thereof.

Fryers Robertines.
a *Weavers* Fun. Mon. p. 143.
b Rein. de Ben. Apoſt. p. 166.

c In his Hiſt. in anno 1239.

29. For mine own eyes have beheld in the fair Church of *Ilminſter* in *Somerſetſhire*, the beautifull Tomb of *Nicholas Wadham* of *Myrefield* Eſquire, and *Dorothy* his Wife (Founders of the uniform Colledge of *Wadham* in *Oxford*) out of which in Summer ſweats forth an unctious moiſture with a fragrant ſmell, (which poſſibly an active fancy might make ſoveraign for ſome uſes) being nothing elſe than ſome bituminous matter (as by the colour and ſcent doth appear) uſed by the Marbler in joyning the chinks of the ſtones, iſſuing out chiefly thereabouts.

Sweating moiſture out of Tombs no Miracle.

30. So much of *Monks* and *Fryers*, as *great* being the *variety* amongſt *Hiſtorians* about their *number*, as amongſt *Criticks* in reckoning up the *Originall Languages*, and the difference almoſt proceedeth on the ſame account; for as the miſcounting of *Dialects* for *Tongues* cauſleſly multiplieth the *number* of thoſe *Languages*: So many miſtaking *graduall* for *ſpecificall* differences amongſt Orders, have almoſt doubled their true number on that miſpriſion. Maſter d *Fox* in the Reign of King *Henry the third*, reckoneth up no fewer than *an hundred and two Male-Orders* of *Monks* and *Fryers* (no *Nuns* being caſt into the account) but therein he confineth not himſelf to ſuch as onely were extant in *England*: but taketh in the whole compaſſe of *Chriſtendome* therein to make up his *Catalogue*. We have work enough upon our hands to inſiſt upon ſuch Orders as found footing in our Land, eſpecially the moſt principall of them. For other inferiour Orders I purpoſely omit (beſides the grand ones of *Templers* and *Hoſpitallers*, becauſe largely handled in my *Holy Warre*) As the Order of the *Bleſſed Mary of reward* which Mr. *Lambert* confoundes with the *Crouched* and *Trinitarian Fryers*, for which my e Author falls foul with his memory, affirming theſe to be *three diſtinct* Orders, *Habitu, fine, & conſtitutionibus*. (Diſtinctions enough of all conſcience to diverſifie them) and therefore greater the wonder that Mr. *Lambert's* pen ſhould *leap* over this *treble ditch* to confound them into one Order.

Why ſo various the number of Monks.

d Acts & Mon. p. 260.

e Rein de Apoſt. Benedict. in Ang. p. 162.

31. The aforeſaid f Author alſo chargeth him, as if he made his *perambulation about Kent*, as done meerly out of *ſpightfull deſigne* to *diſgrace* the *Romiſh Religion*, never mentioning any Convent without *mocking at them*, adding moreover, That his Book contains *fabulas ineptas, & craſſa mendacia*. Mean time he advances *Iohn Stow* to the skies (though confeſſing him farre inferiour to Mr. *Lambert*

A Catholick cauſleſſe accuſation of Mr. *Lambert*.
f *Idem*.

bert in *learning*) for his ſedulous diſtinguiſhing of thoſe Orders, and concludeth that *Stow's Antiquities* of *London* for the worth and truth thereof have often paſſed the Preſſe, whilſt the other his *Deſcription of Kent* underwent the hand of the Printer no more than once. Nor ſtops he here, but uſeth ſo *ſlovenly an expreſſion* (it is well it is in *Latine*) calling his Book *Charta Cacata*, which (*ſaving reverence* to the *Reader*) may be returned on the foul mouth of him who firſt uttered it.

32. Now I conceive, not onely Queen *Elizabeths poor people at Greenwich* (ſo are the Almes-men there termed in a fair Houſe, which this Mr. *Lambert* charitably *founded* for them) engaged to aſſert their good *Patron*, but alſo that all *ingenious Engliſh men* are obliged in his juſt vindication from this unjuſt aſperſion. Indeed, his Book is a rare piece of learning, and he in age and induſtry the true ſucceſſour to *Leland* in the ſtudies of *Engliſh Antiquity*, and the height thereof above common capacity, the ſole cauſe that his Book (as alſo his worthy work on the *Saxon Laws*) hath no oftner paſſed the Impreſſion. His *labours* are *feaſts* for *ſcholars*, not (like *Stow's* works) *daily fare* for *common people*. Thus the *Draper* may ſooner ſell *forty ells* of *freeze* and *courſe cloath*, than the *Mercer four yards* of *cloath of gold*, as onely for the wearing of perſons of prime quality. Nor doth the ſlow-ſelling of a book argue it to be a *drugge*, wanting reall worth in its ſelf, ſeeing this railing *Reinerius* his own Book (notwithſtanding the pompous *Title* thereof, *Apoſtolatus Benedictinorum in Angliâ*) though printed *nine and twenty* years ſince, *viz:* 1626, hath not (on my beſt enquiry) as yet been honour'd with a *ſecond Edition*.

Juſtly diſproved.

g *Cambd. Brit.* in *Kent.*

33. Before we take our farewell of *Fryers*, know there was a *deadly Antipathie* betwixt them and *Pariſh Prieſts*: For the former ſlighted the later, as good alone *to take Tythes*, and like *Hackney poſt-horſes* onely to *run the ſtage* in the *Maſſe-book*, *ſecundùm uſum Sarum*, Ignorant and unable to preach. Wherefore the *Fryers*, when invading the *Pulpit*, would not ſay to the *Parſon*, *By your leave Sir*, but proudly preſuming on their Papall Priviledges, aſſumed it to themſelves, as forfeited to them, for the *Parſon's* want of skill or will to make uſe of it. But theſe Vultures had the quickeſt ſight and ſcent about Corps, flocking faſteſt to men of faſhion when lying on their Death-beds, whoſe laſt Confeſſions were more profitable to the Fryers, than half the *Glebe land* that year to the Prieſt of the Pariſh.

Antipathy betwixt Fryers and Pariſh-Prieſts.

34. This plainly appeareth out of *Eraſmus* in his *Dialogues*, who though perchance therein, he doth *Lucian* it too much, yet truth may be diſcovered under the varniſh of his ſcoffing wit. He, in his *Dialogue* entituled, *FUNUS*: tells us how Sir *George* the *rich Knight* being formerly confeſſed to the *Fryers*, the *Parochiall Paſtour* refuſed to bury him, becauſe he could not give an account to God of this his *ſheep*, as unacquainted with his finall eſtate, and this caſe commonly happened in *England*, the occaſion of much *heart-burning* betwixt them.

In *Eraſmus* his Jeaſt-earneſt Dialogue.

35. *Monks* alſo hated *Fryers* at their hearts, becauſe their activity and pragmaticalneſſe made Monks be held as idle and uſeleſſe; yea, as meer Cyphers, whilſt themſelves were the onely Figures of reckoning and account in the Church.

Monks why hating Fryers.

36. h *Matthew Paris* a *Benedictine Monke* of S. *Albans*, was a back-friend to Fryers, and on all occaſions hath a good word in ſtore for them, thus ſpeaking of the coming in of the *Brethren of the Sack*, as alſo of the *Order* of *Bethlemites*, he welcomes them with this Complement, *That now there were ſo many Orders in* England, *that of them there was an inordinate confuſion*.

h *Hiſt. Angl.* in *Hen.* 3. pag. 949.

37. Indeed, the Pope at laſt grew ſenſible that the world began to *groan*, as *weary* with the *weight* of Fryers. Who, if multiplying proportionably in after-Ages, would ſo increaſe, there would be more *mouthes* to beg almes, than *hands* to relieve them; and therefore they were ſtinted to the aforeſaid four Cardinal Orders, of *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, *Carmelites*, and *Auguſtinian Eremites*:

Fryers ſtinted to 4 Orders.

These boasted themselves to be like *the* [i] *four Evangelists*, though (the *number* alone excepted) no conformity betwixt them. And they more like unto God's *four* [k] *sore Judgments*, wherewith he useth to afflict a *sinfull Nation*.

[i] *Erasmus* Dialogues *in Fun.*

[k] Ezek. 14. 21.

The numerousnesse of Nuns.

37. Come we now to *Nuns*, almost as numerous in *England* as *Monks* and *Fryers*, as having (though not so many Orders) more of the same Order. The *weaker sex* hath ever *equalled men* in their *devotion*. Often exceeded them in *superstition*, as in the one instance of *Gilbertines* may appear. These were an Hermophrodite Order, as is aforesaid, admitting both *men* and *women* under the same roof, and during the life of *Gilbert* their first Founder for *seven hundred Brethren*, there were [l] *eleven hundred Sisters* entred into that Order. None can be so exact in reckoning up the *Nuns* as the *Fryers*, because that *sex* afforded no *Writers* to acquaint us with the *Criticismes* of their *observances*.

[l] *Weavers* Fun. Mon. pag. 148.

The antientest and poorest Nuns.

38. We will insist onely on *three sorts*: 1. The *Antientest*: 2. The *Poorest*: 3. The *latest Nuns* in *England*: Of the first sort we account the *She-Benedictines*, commonly called *black Nuns*, but I assure you, *peny white*, being most richly endowed. The *Poorest* follow, being the strict Order of S. *Clare*, a Lady *living* in the same time, and *born* in the same Town with S. *Francis*: and her *Nuns* did wear a like habit in colour with the *Franciscans*. I am charitably enclined to believe that these were the *least bad* amongst all the Professions of Virginity.

Brigetteans the last Order of Nuns.

39. The *Brigettean Nuns* were the *latest* in *England*, first setled here in the *second year* of King *Henry the fifth*, *Anno Dom.* 1415, dissolved with the rest of all Orders, *Anno* 1538, so that they continued here onely *one hundred three and twenty years*; an Order to be loved on this account, That *it was the last in* England. *Bridget* Queen of *Sweden*, gave them their *name* and *institution*. Men and Women living under the same roof: the Women *above*, the Men *beneath*, and one Church common to both. By their Order their House was to be endowed *plentifully* at the first, whereon they might live without *wanting* or *begging*, as well in *dear* as *cheap years*, and after their *first foundation* they were uncapable of any *future benefactions*, *Si postea totus* [m] *mundus possessiones & praedia eis offerret, quicquam omninò recipere non liceret: If afterwards the whole world should proffer them farms and possessions, it was utterly unlawfull for them to accept any thing thereof*: as indeed, *additions* to such who had *plenty* before, is rather a *burden* than a *benefit*.

[m] Tho. *Walsingham* in Hen. 5. in *Anno* 1413.

The mysticall number of Brigetteans.

40. The mysterious number of *Brigetteans* might not exceed the number of *eighty five*, which forsooth was the number of Christ's Apostles and Disciples put together, and thus they were precisely to be qualified:

1. *Sisters*, sixty.
2. *Priests*, thirteen.
3. *Deacons*, four.
4. *Lay-brethren*, eight.

} In all *Eighty five*.

Where, by the way, know we must reckon *seventy two* Disciples, (which the [n] Evangelist makes but just *seventy*, and also put in S. *Paul* for the *thirteenth* Apostle, or else it will not make up the *summe* aforesaid, but it is all *even* with discreet persons, be it *over* or *above* it. This Order constantly kept their *Audit* on *All-Saints Eve*, *October* 31, and the day after *All-Souls* being the third of *November*, they gave away to the *poor* all that was left of their annual Revenue, conceiving otherwise it would *putrifie* and *corrupt* if treasured up, and be as heinous an offence, as the *Jews* when preserving *Manna* longer than the continuance of *one day*. These *Brigetteans* had but one Convent in *England*, at *Sion* in *Middlesex*, built by King *Henry the fifth*, but so wealthy, that it was valued yearly worth at the dissolution, [o] *One thousand nine hundred forty four pounds eleven shillings eight pence farthing*.

[n] Luke 10. 1.

[o] Th. *Walsingh.* ut prius.

41. No

41. No Convents of *Nuns* in *England* more carfully kept their Records than the *Priory* of *Clarkenwell*, to whose credit it is registred, That we have a perfect Catalogue of their *Prioresses*, from their *foundation* to their *dissolution* (defective in all other Houses) according to the *order* following:

Speed's Catal. of Religious Houses, p. 793.

The Prioresses of *Clerkenwell*.

viz:

1. *Christiana*.
2. *Ermegard*.
3. *Hawisia*.
4. *Eleonora*.
5. *Alesia*.
6. *Cecilia*.
7. *Margery Whatvile*.
8. *Isabell*.
9. *Alice Oxeney*.
10. *Amice Marcy*.
11. *Denys Bras*.
12. *Margery Bray*.
13. *Joan Lewkenor*.
14. *Joan Fullham*.
15. *Katherine Braybroke*.
16. *Luce Attwood*.
17. *Joan Viene*.
18. *Margaret Blakewell*.
19. *Isabell Wentworth*.
20. *Margaret Bull*.
21. *Agnes Clifford*.
22. *Katherine Greene*.
23. *Isabell Hussey*.
24. *Isabell Sackvile*.

Had the like care continued in other *Convents*, it had contributed much to the clearnesse of *Ecclesiasticall Histories*.

A good exchange.

42. Sir *Thomas Challoner* (Tutour, as I take it, to Prince *HENRY*) not long agoe built a ſpacious Houſe within the Cloſe of that *Priory*, upon the Frontiſpiece whereof theſe Verſes were inſcribed, not unworthy of remembrance:

Caſta fides ſupereſt, velatæ tecta Sorores
Iſta relegatæ deſeruere licèt:
Nam venerandus Hymen hic vota jugalia ſervat,
Veſtalémq; focum mente fovere ſtudet.

Chaſt Faith ſtill ſtayes behinde, though hence be flown
Thoſe veyled Nuns, *who here before did* neſt:
For reverend Marriage, *Wedlock vows doth own,*
And ſacred Flames *keeps here in Loyall breſt.*

I hope and believe the ſame may truly be affirmed of many other Numneries in *England*, which now have altered their property on the ſame conditions.

Exactneſſe in dates not to be expected.

43. So much for the ſeverall *dates* of *Monks* and *Fryers*: wherein if we have failed a few years in the exactneſſe thereof, the matter is not much. I was glad to finde ſo ingenuous a paſſage in *Pitzeus*, ſo zealous a *Papiſt*, with whom in this point I wholly concurre: He ſpeaking of the different *Æraes* of the coming in of the *Auguſtinians* into *England*, thus concludeth: *In tantâ ſententiarum Varietate veritatem invenire nec facile eſt, nec multùm refert.* The beſt is, though I cannot tell the exact time wherein *every Counter* was ſeverally laid down on the *Table*; I know certainly the year wherein they were all *thrown together* and *put up* in the *bagge*, I mean the accurate date of their *generall diſſolution*, viz: *Anno One thouſand five hundred thirty and eight*, on the ſame ſigne that *Sanders* obſerveth a grand *providence* therein, That *Jeſuits* began beyond the Seas at the very ſame time: we will not *higgle* with ſo frank a *chapman* for a few months under or over, but taking his Chronology herein *de bene eſſe*, one word of the name of that Order, firſt premiſing a pleaſant ſtory.

r *Pitz. in Indice Illuſt. Angl. ſcript.* p. 974.

A pleaſant ſtory.

44. A Countrey-man, who had lived many years in the *Hercinian woods* in *Germany*, at laſt came out into a *populous City*, demanding of the people therein, *What God they did worſhip?* It was anſwered him, *They worſhipped Jeſu Chriſt.* Whereupon, the *wilde Wood man* asked *the names* of the *ſeverall Churches* in the City; which were all called by the *ſundry Saints* to whom they were *conſecrated. Its ſtrange*, ſaid he, *that you ſhould worſhip* JESUS CHRIST, *and he not have one Temple in all your City dedicated unto him.* But it ſeems *Ignatius Loyola*, Founder of this new Order, finding all other Orders conſigned to ſome SAINT or other, whence they take their denomination, intended at laſt peculiarly to appropriate one to JESUS: That as *at that holy name every knee ſhould bow*: So all other Orders ſhould doe homage, and ſubmit to this his new one of *Jeſuits*.

Jeſuats different from Jeſuits.

45. Here, had not better eyes than mine own made the diſcovery (being beholden to *M. Chemnitius* therein) I had never noted the nice difference betwixt JESUATS and JESUITS ſo neer in *name*, though not in *time*; but it ſeems in *nature* diſtinguiſhed. The former began at *Siena* in *Italy* in the year 1366, of whom thus *Sabellicus*, *Colligebantur ab initio domeſticatim ſimplici habitu amicti, multâ innocentiâ & pietate viri, victum ſibi labore & operâ quaritantes.* Apoſtolici *ab initio* Clerici *nuncupati. Hi neque ſacris initiantur, neque celebrant Miſſarum ſolemnia, tantùm orationi vacant*, Jeſuati *ab eo dicti, quòd* Jeſu *Regis ſummi frequens ſit nomen in illorum ore*, &c. *Men of much innocence and piety were gathered in the beginning from houſe to houſe, cloathed in poor habit, and ſeeking their own livelyhood with labour and pains, called from the beginning* Apoſtolicall Clerks.

Clerks. *These neither were entred into Orders, neither did celebrate the solemnity of Masses, but onely bestowed themselves in prayer, therefore called* Jesuats, *because the name of* Jesus *was so frequent in their mouthes.* But it seems these *Iesuats* sunk down in silence, when the *Iesuits* appeared in the world, the former counting it ill manners *in likeneß of name to sit* so near to those, who were so farr *their betters.*

56. All Orders may be said eminently extant in the *Iesuits*, to and above the *kinde*, the *degree* thereof, and indeed they came seasonably to support the tottering *Church of Rome*: For, when the *Protestants* advantaged with Learning and Languages, brought in the Reformation; *Monks* & *Fryers* were either so *ignorant* as they could not, so *idle* as they would not, or so *cowardly* that they durst not make effectual opposition, as *little* skill'd in Fathers, *lesse* in Scripture, and *not at all* versed in Learned Languages. As for the *Franciscans*, I may say of them, they were the *best* and * *worst schollars* of all *Fryers*: The *best*, as most sublime in School-Divinity: *worst*, for if before their entrance into that Order they knew not learning, they were injoyned not to study it. Besides, *Monks* and *Fryers* were so *clogg'd* with the *observances* of their Orders, that it *confined* them to their Cells, and rendred them *useleß* in a *practical way.* Wherefore, to ballance the *Protestants*, the *Iesuits* were set on foot, obliged to these studies (out of fashion with *Monks* & *Fryers*) wherein they quickly attained a great eminency, as their very adversaries must confesse. And, as their *heads* were better furnished than other Orders, so their *hands* were left at more liberty, (not tied behinde their backs in a large posture of *Canonical idleneße*) whence they are become the most active and pragmatical Undertakers in all *Christendome.*

Jesuits the best buttresses of the Romish Church.

*See Cent. 14. pag. 240.

57. I cannot but commend one policy in the *Iesuits*, which conduceth much to their credit; namely, whereas other Orders of *Monks* and *Fryers* were after their first institution *sifted* (as I may say) thorough many other *searches*, still taking new names according to their *Sub-De-Re-Reformations.* The *Iesuits* since their first foundation have admitted of no new denomination, but continue constant to their primitive constitution; chiefly, because sensible that such after-refinings fix an asperſion of (at leastwise a comparative) impunity on their first institution, and render their first *Founders cheaper* in the worlds *valuation*, whilst the *Iesuits* still keep themselves to their foundation, as begun and perfected at once, and are ἰδιόμορφοι all of a lump, all of a piece, which *unity* amongst themselves maketh them the more considerable in their impreſſions on any other Adversaries.

Jesuits policy.

58. They had two most antient and flourishing *Convents* beyond the Seas, *Nola* in *Italy*, as I take it, where their House it seems gives a *Bow* for their Armes, and *La-Fletcha* in *France*, where they have an *Arrow* for their Device; whereupon, a Satyricall wit thus guirded at them: and I hope I shall not be condemned as accessary to his *virulency*, if onely plainly translating the same.

In England like Astrologers in Rome.

Arcum Nola *dedit, dedit his* La-Fletcha *Sagittam*
Illis, quis nervum, quem meruêre, dabit?

Nola *to them did give a* Bow,
La-Fletch *an* Arrow *bring:*
But who upon them will beſtow
(*What they deſerve*) a ſtring?

I have done with these *Jesuits*, who may well be compared unto the *Astrologers* in *Rome*, of whom the *Historian* doth complain, *Genus eſt hominum * quod in Civitate noſtrâ & vetabitur ſemper & retinebitur, There is a kinde of men in our City who will alwaies be forbidden, and yet alwaies be retained therein.* So, though many

* Tacit. Hist. lib. 1.

many severe Laws have been made against them, yet either such their boldness in adventuring, or our State-mildnesse in executing the Statutes against them, that alwaies they are driven hence, and alwaies they stay here, to the great disturbance of ours, and advancement of their own Religion.

Leprous people not mentioned herein.

59. Here I purposely omit the Houses for *Leprous people*, though indeed they deserved more *charity* than all the rest; and I may say, this onely was an *Order* of *Gods making*, when he was pleased to lay his afflicting hand on poor people in that lothsome disease. I take *Burton-Lazars* in *Leicester-shire* to be the best endowed house for that purpose. But as that disease came into *England* by the *Holy Warre*, so (* as we have elsewhere observed) it ended with the end thereof. And God of his goodnesse hath taken away the *Leprosie* of *Leprosie* in *England*.

* In my Holy Warre.

SECTION

SECTION II.

To the Right VVorshipfull,
RALPH SADLEIR of STANDON, Esq.
AND
ANNE, his virtuous Consort.

IT *was enacted by a* Law *made in the* 27th *year of the Reign of K.* HENRY the eighth, *That* whosoever retained Abbey-lands, after the dissolution passed unto them from the Crown, should keep a standing-House, or else forfeit every moneth Twenty Nobles, recoverable from them in any Court of Record.

True it is, King JAMES *was graciously pleased (in the* 21 *of His Reign) to* repeal this Act *and* burn this Rod, *for which many* under the Lash *(who will not pay) still owe* thanks *to his* Memory. *But suppose this* penal-Statute still *in* force, *you may defie all* Informers *for any advantage they may get against you for the same.*

Indeed you are possessed *of the fair* Covent of *WEST-BURY in* Glouceſter-shire, *and that on as Honourable Terms as any* Lands *in* England *of that* nature *are enjoyed, bestowed on your* Grand-father *Sir RALPH SADLEIR by King* HENRY the Eighth, *partly in* reward *of the* good service *he had done to Him the* Father, *partly in* incouragement *to* what *he* might doe *to His* three Children, *to all which he was* Privie Counsellour.

Yet no danger of penalty *to you, whose* House *is known to be the* Center of Hospitality, *whence even* Abbots *themselves (and they* best skilled *in* that Lesson) *might* Learn *to* keep *a* bountifull Table, *where* all *are* welcomed; *the*

Rich *for* Courteſie, *when their* occaſions *bring them*; *the* Poor *for* Charity, *when they bring their* occaſions *to paſſe by your* Habitation.

Indeed, the Inne-holders *of* London *give for the* Motto *of the* Armes *of their* Company, I WAS A STRANGER, AND YE TOOK ME IN. *But ſeeing our* Saviour *chiefly intended ſuch, who did* not ſell, *but* give entertainment to ſtrangers; *more properly are the words appliable to* your ſelf, *and* other-ſelf, *whoſe* Houſe *is ſo the* Inne-generall *to all* poor people, *that the* Neighbourhood *of a* great *and* good Common, *is not ſo advantageous as their* vicinity *thereunto.*

I doubt not but as you often have relieved CHRIST *in* his poor Members, *he will in due time* receive *you both into* his Houſe, *wherein* there be many Manſions of everlaſting Happineſſe.

Abbeys engroſſed trade, impoveriſhed Pariſh-Prieſts, encouraged Offenders.

Abbots Farmers, Tanners, Brewers.



THE ſpecious pretences of *piety*, and contempt of the world, *Abbots* and *Monks*, were notoriouſly *covetous*, even to the *injury* of others: Witneſſe their *renting* and *ſtocking* of *Farms*, keeping of *Tan-houſes*, and *Brew-houſes* in their own hands. For, though the *Monks* themſelves were too *fine-noſed* to dabble in *Tan-fatts*, yet they kept others (bred in that trade) to follow their work. Theſe *Covents* having *barke* of their own *woods*, *hides* of the *cattle* of their own *breeding* and *killing*: and (which, was the main) a *large ſtock of money* to buy at the *beſt hand*, and to allow ſuch Chapmen they ſold to, a long day of payment, eaſily eat out ſuch who were bred up in that vocation. Whereupon, in the *one and twentieth* of King *Henry the eighth*, a Statute was made, That *no Prieſt, either Regular or Secular, ſhould on heavy penalties hereafter meddle with ſuch mechanick employments.*

Abbots rob Pariſh Vicars by appropriations.

2. Secondly, they impoveriſhed *Pariſh-Prieſts*, by *decrying* their *performances*, and *magnifying* their own *merits*. Alas! what was the *ſingle devotion* of a *ſilly Prieſt*, in compariſon of a *Corporation of Prayers* (*twiſted Cables* to draw down *bleſſings* on their *Patrons* heads) from a whole *Monaſtery*? And, ſuppoſe (which was ſeldome done) the *Parſon* in the *Pariſh* preaching to his people, yet *Sermons* in a *Church* once conſtituted were needleſſe, as miniſtring matter of *Schiſmes* and *diſputes*, and at the beſt onely profiting the preſent: whileſt prayers benefitted as well the abſent, as the preſent, dead, as living. But eſpecially prayers of *Monaſteries*

ſteries commanded Heaven, pleaſed with the holy violence of ſo many and mighty petitioners. By theſe and other artifices they undermined all Prieſts in the affections of their own people, and procured from Pope and Prince, that many Churches Preſentative, with their *Glebes* and *Tithes*, were appropriated to their Covents, leaving but a poor pittance to the *Pariſh-Vicar*: though the *Pope* (as ſtyling himſelf but a *Vicar*) ought to have been more ſenſible of their ſad condition.

And other Prieſts from exemption from Tithes.

3. Beſides *appropriation* of ſuch *Churches*, *Abbeys* alſo wronged *Pariſh-Prieſts*, by procuring from the Pope *Paſchal the ſecond*, *Anno Dom.* 1100, in the *Councel of Mentz*, that their *Demeſnes*, *Farmes*, and *Granges* (antiently paying *Tithes* like the *Lands* of other *Lay-men*) ſhould hereafter be free from the ſame. But this exemption was afterwards by Pope *Adrian the fourth*, about the year 1150, juſtly limited and reſtrained: Religious Orders being enjoyned the payment of Tithes of whatſoever increaſe they had in their own occupation (ſave of new improvements by culture of paſture of their cattle, [a] and of garden fruits. Onely three Orders, namely, the *Ciſtertians*, *Templers*, and *Knights-Hoſpitallers* (otherwiſe called of S. *John's of Jeruſalem*) were exempted from the generall payment of all Tithes whatſoever.

[a] *Vid. Alex. 4. in 6. de dec. c. 2. Statuto & In. noc. 8. tom. 2. p. 4. 10. Edit. Colonienſ.*

Freedom from Tithes goeth by favour.

4. And, why *Ciſtertians* rather than any other Order? Give me leave to conjecture three Reaſons thereof:

1. *Adrian the fourth*, our none Countrey-man, was at firſt a *Benedictine-Monke* of S. *Albans*, and theſe *Ciſtertians* were onely *Benedictines* refined.
2. They were the *Benjamins*, one of the *youngeſt* remarkable *Orders* of that Age, and therefore made *Darlings* (not to ſay *Wantons*) by the *Holy Father* the *Pope*.
3. It is ſuſpitious, that by *bribery* in the *Court* of *Rome*, they might obtain this priviledge, ſo beneficial unto them. For, I finde, that K. *Richard the firſt* diſpoſed his Daughter *Avarice* to be married to the *Ciſtertian-Order*, as the moſt graſping and griping of all others.

I leave it others to render Reaſons why *Templers* and *Hoſpitallers*, being meer Lay-men, and divers times of late, adjudged in the *Court of Aides* in [b] *Paris*, *no part of the Clergie ſhould have this priviledge to be exempted from Tithes*. But we remember they were *Sword-men*, and that aweth all into obedience.

[b] *Le Bret. Advoc. ex la diſte cour. Playdoi. 27.*

Confined to Lands given before the Lateran Councel.

5. However the *Lateran-Councell*, holden *Anno* 1215, Ordered, That *this priviledge of Tithe-freedome to the aforeſaid three Orders, ſhould not extend to Poſtnates* (as I may term them) *to Covents erected ſince the* Lateran Councell, *nor to Lands ſince beſtowed on the aforeſaid Orders, though their Covents were erected before that Councell*. Therefore when the covetous *Ciſtertians* (contrary to the *Canons* of that *Councell*) purchaſed *Bulls* from the *Pope* to *diſcharge their Lands from Tithes*: *Henry the fourth*, pitying the *plea* of the poor *Pariſh Prieſt*, by Statute nulled ſuch [c] *Bulls*, and reduced their Lands into that ſtate wherein they were before.

[c] *Anno 2 Hen. the fourth, cap. 4.*

Offend none in a captious Age.

6. Once it was in my minde to ſet down a *Catalogue* (eaſie to doe, and uſefull when done) of ſuch *houſes* of *Ciſtertians*, *Templers*, and *Hoſpitallers*, which were founded ſince the *Lateran Councell*, yet going under the generall notion of *Tithe-free*, to the great injury of the Church. But ſince on *ſecond thoughts*, I conceived it better to let it alone, as not ſure on ſuch *diſcovery* of any bleſſing from thoſe *Miniſters* which ſhould gain, but certain of many curſes from ſuch *Lay-men* who ſhould loſe thereby.

A price in the hand, but no heart.

7. Now, when King *Henry the eighth* diſſolved *Monaſteries*, there was put into His hand an opportunity and advantage to ingratiate Himſelf and His memory for ever; namely, by reſtoring *Tithes* appropriated to *Abbeys*, to their reſpective *Pariſhes*.

Parishes. But, whether He wanted *minde*; or *minding*, or both, God would not doe Him so much honour, that He should doe so much honour to God, and his Church; being now past like *Lay-fees* with the rest of the *Abbey-land*, to the great empairing of the just maintenance of *Ministers*.

Sanctuaries Sewers of sin.

8. Lastly, one grand mischief (to omit many others) done by *Monasteries*, was by the *priviledges* of *Sanctuaries*, whereby their *houses* became the *sink* and *center* of *sinners*, to the great dishonour of God, and obstruction of justice.

The conscientious Abbot of *Crowland*.

9. And here I commend the memory of *Turketill*, once Abbot of *Crowland*, being confident that the Reader will joyn with me in his commendation. Such vast immunities were bestowed on that Covent by *Witlaffe*, King [d] of *Mercia*, that *if any Officer did follow an Offender, of what nature soever, to fetch him out of that Liberty, he was to have his right foot cut off*. Strange exchange! when a legall *Prosecutor* is made a *Malefactour*, and the *Malefactour* an *Innocent*; such the *converting power* of a *Monkish Asylum*. But in processe of time, and depredation of the *Danes*, this *priviledge* was lost, and profered afterwards by some *Saxon* Kings to be *restored*; which *Turketill* would never consent unto: and take it in the [e] *Authors* own words, *Antiquam verò loci impunitatem vel immunitatem nullo modo consensit acquirere, ne sceleratis & impiis refugium à publicis legibus videretur in aliquo præbere, & cum hujusmodi maleficiis compelleretur, vel in aliquo contra conscientiam suam cohabitare, seu consentire*. This Priviledge other Churches of S. *Albans*, *Beverly*, *Westminster*, did accept. Such *Sanctuaries* were grievances constantly complained of in Parliaments, till *Richard the second* first began, *Henry the fourth* and *seventh* proceeded to regulate them as abused and usurping, and *Henry the eighth* utterly abolished them as useless and unlawfull.

d In *Gulph. Histor.* pag. 856.

e *Idem* p. 879.

Of the prime Officers and Officines of Abbeys.

The Abbot.

THe *Officers* in *Abbeys* were either *supreme*, as the *Abbot*; or (to use a *Canonical term*) [a] *Obediential*, as all others under him. The *Abbot* had Lodgings by himself, with all Offices thereunto belonging. The rest took precedencies according to the *Topical Statutes* of their *Covents*, but for the generality, they thus may be marshalled.

a *In Vita viginti trium Abbatum S.* Alban. pag. 170.

The Prior.

2. First the *Prior*, who, like the *President* (under the *Master*) in our *Colledges* in *Cambridge*, was next to the *Abbot*. Note by the way, that in some *Covents*, which had no *Abbots*, the *Prior* was *Principal*, as the *President* in some [b] *Oxford-Foundations*; and, being *installed Priors*, some voted as *Barons* in *Parliament*, whereof formerly, as the *Prior* of *Canterbury*, and *Coventrie*. But, when the *Abbot* was *Superintendent*, there the person termed *Prior* was his *subordinate*, who in his absence, in *mitred Abbeys*, by courtesie was saluted *the Lord Prior*.

b *Magd. Corp. Christi. Trin. & S. Johns.*

The Sub-Prior.

3. Secondly, the *Sub-Prior*, (as *Hugo Balciam*, *Sub-Prior* of *Elie*, Founder of *Peter-House*) *quare* whether any complement descended so low as to *Lord the Sub-Prior* in the absence of the *Prior* and *Abbot*. As for the *third Prior*, and *fourth Prior* (for such Diminutives [c] appear) they come not within the suspition of so much favour.

c In the *subscri.* of the Chron. of the *August.* of *Gen.* p. 2294.

The Secretary.

4. Thirdly, the *Secretary*, who was the *Register*, *Auditour*, and *Chancellour* of the *Covent*, it being proper to his place to write and return Letters, and manage the most learned employments in the *Monastery*.

The Chamberlain.

5. With him the *Camerarius*, or *Chamberlain*, may seem to contest for *precedency*, as *keeping the keyes* of the *Treasury*, *issuing out* and *receiving in* all *considerable summes of money*; in which notion the *Chamberlaine* of *London* holdeth his *name*.

The Celleret.

6. Fiftly, the *Cellarius*, or *Celleravius*, a Place of more power and profit, than the name may seem to import. He was the *Burser* who bought in all provisions, and appointed the *pittances* for the severall *Monks*, and in some *Houses* he was

Secundus

[d] *Secundus Pater in Monasterio*, as in the *Abbey* of *Burie*, where a large part of the Buildings was assigned for his Residence, and Lands for his Maintenance. These *Celleres* were *brave blades*, much affecting *Secular gallantry*. For, I finde it [e] complained of, that *they used to swagger with their swords by their sides like lay-Gentlemen.*

d *John Brakeland.*

e *Burchard, inde Index Caf. 3. Gal.*

7. The remaining Officers are best reckoned up by the *Canonical* rooms (as I may term them) in an *Abbey*, each giving denomination to him who had the inspection thereof. I begin with the *Gate-house*, and its relative the *Porter*; an office, I assure you, of some trust in an *Abbey*, to know what guests, and when (especially at the *postern*) are to be admitted thereunto.

The Gate-house.

8. The next room is the *Refectorium*: and *Refectorius* the [f] *Controller* thereof. It was the *Hall* wherein the *Monks* dined together, and sometimes the *Abbot* on great solemnities graced them with his presence, when he had [g] *Vastellum*, that is, not *common bread*, but *vastell bread*, [h] or *simnels* for his diet.

The Refectory.

f *Chron. August. Cant. p. 2294.*

g *In Vitis, p. 141.*

h *See Glossarie of Will. Somner.*

9. Adjoyning to it was the *Locutorium*, or *Parlour*, because there leave was given for the *Monks* to discourse, who were enjoyned silence elsewhere. Thus we read how *Paul* the fourteenth Abbot of S. *Albans*, made it penal for any to talk in the *Cloister*, *Church*, *Refectory*, or *Dormitory*.

The Parlour.

10. *Oriolium*, [i] or the *Oriol*, was the next room. Why so called, some of the *name-sake Colledge* in *Oxford* are best able to satisfie. Sure I am, that small excursion out of *Gentlemen's Halls* in *Dorcetshire* (respect it *East* or *West*) is commonly called *an Orial*. The use hereof is known for *Monks*, who were in *latitudine morbi*, rather *distempered* than *diseased* to dine therein, it being cruelty to thrust such into the *Infirmarie*, where they might have died with the conceit of the sickness of others.

The Oriol.

i *In Vitis p. 100.*

11. *Dormitorium*, the *Dormitorie*, where they all slept together, it being ordered in the *Councel* [k] of *Aquisgrane*, *Nisi in Dormitorio cum cæteris absque causa inevitabili, nemo dormire præsumpserit.*

The Dormitorie.

k *Sub Ludov. Imp. An. 816. cap. 134.*

12. *Lavatorium* succeeds, generally called the *Laundrey*, where their clothes were washed. Haply it was also the place (such in the *West-side* of *Westminster-cloysters*) where all the *Monks* at the Conduit washed their hands, there being as much good fellowship in washing, as eating together.

The Laundry.

13. *Scriptorium* remains, a room where the *Chartularius* was busied in writing, especially employed in the *transcribing* of these Books:

Their
1. *Ordinals*, containing the *Rubrick* of their *Missal*, and *Directorie* of their *Priests* in *Service.*
2. *Consuetudinals*, presenting the *antient customs* of their *Covents.*
3. *Troparies.*
4. *Collectaries*, wherein the *Ecclesiastical Collects* were fairly written.

14. Next this the *Librarie*, which most great *Abbeys* had exactly furnished with variety of choice *Manuscripts.*

The Library.

15. All is marred if the *Kitchin* be omitted, so essential a requisite in an *Abbey*, with the *Larder* and *Pantrey* the necessary suburbs thereof.

The Kitchin.

16. Come we now to their *Abbey-Church*, where we first meet their

The severall parts in the Church.

1. *Cloisters*, *consecrated ground*, as appeares by their *solemne Sepultures* therein.
2. *Navis Ecclesiæ*, or *Body of the Church.*
3. *Gradatorium*, a distance containing the ascent out of the former into the *Quire.*
4. *Presbyterium*, or the *Quire*, on the right side whereof was the *Stall* of the *Abbot*, and his; on the left side the *Prior*, and his moiety of *Monks*, who alternately chaunted the *Responsals* in the *Service.*
5. *Vestiarium*, the *Vestiarie*, where their *Copes* and *Clothes* were deposited.

l *In Vita, pag. 225.*

6. *A Vaulta,* l *a Vault,* being an arched-room over part of the *Church,* which in ſome *Abbeys* (as S. *Albans*) was uſed to enlarge their *Dormitorie*, where the Monks had twelve beds for their repoſe.

m *In Vita, pag. 521.*
n *Pſal. 26.6.*

7. *Concameratio*, being an arched-room betwixt the *Eaſt-end* of the *Church,* and the m *High Altar,* ſo that in Proceſſion they might ſurround the ſame, founding their fancie on n *David*'s expreſſion, — *and ſo will I compaſs thine Altar, O Lord.*

As for the other Rooms of the Church; *Cerarium,* where their *wax candles* were kept; *Campanile,* their Steeple; *Polyandrium,* the *Church-yard,* and ſometime the *Charnel-houſe,* let ſuch be conſulted with, who have written large Volumes on this ſubject, who will alſo inform them of the Dignities and Duties of the *Præcentor, Sacriſt, Sub-ſacriſt, Capellane, Oſtiarie, Veſtiarie, Ceroferarie, &c.* belonging thereunto. The remaining Rooms of an Abbey ſtood a diſtance from the main ſtructure thereof. To begin with the beſt firſt: *Eleëmoſynaria,* or the *Almorie,* being a building neer, or within the Abbey, wherein poor and impotent perſons did live maintained by their Charity.

The Centurie.

17. Secondly, *Sanctuarium,* or the *Centurie,* wherein *Debtours* taking refuge from their *Creditours, Malefactours,* from the *Judge,* lived (the more the pity) in all ſecurity.

The Firmorie.

18. Thirdly, *Infirmarium,* or the *Firmorie* (the *Curatour* whereof *Infirmarius*) wherein perſons down-right ſick (trouble to others, and troubled by others, if lodging in the *Dormitorie*) had the benefit of Phyſick, and attendance private to themſelves. No *Lent,* or *Faſting-dayes* came over the *threſhold* of this roome; Sickneſſe being a Diſpenſation for the eating of Fleſh. It was puniſhable for any to eate therein, except ſolemnly deſigned for the place.

The Stables.

o *In Vita, &c. pag. 97.*

19. At diſtance ſtood the *Stables,* where the *Stallarius,* or *Maſter of the Horſe* did command; and under him o the *Provendarius,* who, as his name imports, provided Provender for the Horſes. Theſe were divided into foure ranks, and it would puzzle all the *Jockies* in *Smithfield* to underſtand the meaning of their names.

p *Wats in Gloſſar.* at the end of *Mat. Paris.*

1. *Manni,* being Geldings for the Saddle of the larger ſize.
2. *Runcini,* Runts, p ſmall *Pad-Nags:* like thoſe of *Galloway* or *Gennehely.*
3. *Summarii,* Sumpter-horſes.
4. *Averii,* Cart, or Plough-horſes.

This was the quadripartite diviſion of the Horſes of *William,* the two and twentieth Abbot of S. *Albans,* on the token that he loſt an hundred Horſes in one yeer.

The Gaole.

q *In Vita, pag. 52.*

20. One roome remaines, laſt named, becauſe leaſt loved, even a *Priſon* for the puniſhment of incorrigible *Monkes,* who otherwiſe would not be ordered into obedience. It was a grand penance impoſed on the q Delinquents, *to carry about the Lanthorn,* (though light, an heavy burden) but ſuch contumacious Monks as would not be amended therewith, the Abbot had *tetrum & fortem carcerem,* a ſtrong and hideous Priſon, where their Obſtinacie was corrected into Reformation.

The Grange.

21. We omit other roomes, as *Vacciſterium,* the Cow-houſe; *Porcarium,* the Swine-ſtie; as having nothing peculiar therein, but concurrent with thoſe offices in other houſes. As for *Granges,* being Farms at diſtance, kept and ſtocked by the Abbey, and ſo called (as it ſeemeth) *à grana gerendo* (the *Overſeer* whereof was commonly called the *Prior* of the *Grange*) becauſe ſometimes many miles from the *Monaſterie,* they come not within the reach of our preſent diſcourſe. Onely I adde, in Female Foundations of *Nunneries,* there was a correſpondencie of all the ſame eſſential Officers, and Offices.

22. Expect

22. Expect not of me a List of those *mean Officers* in the *Abbey*, whose employment was not so base, as their names barbarous, and of *English* extraction. Such were,

1. *Coltonarius*, Cutler.
2. *Cupparius*.
3. *Potagiarius*.
4. *Scutellarius Aulæ*.
5. *Salsarius*.
6. *Portarius*.
7. *Carectarius Cellerarii*.
8. *Pelliparius*, Parchment-Provider.
9. *Brasinarius*, Maltster.

Barbarous names and Offices.

All these appeared at the *Hali-mote*, or *Holy Court* of the *Cellarer*, and it is the degrading the soul of a Scholar (best pleased in a progressive motion to attain elegancy) to stoop to the understanding of such base and unlearned Etymologies.

23. Note that the Offices aforesaid in the *smaller Abbeys* were but one *fair intire room*, which in *greater Monasteries* were a distinct structure, with all *under-Offices* attendant thereupon. Thus the *Firmorie* in the *Priorie* of *Canterbury* had a *Refectorie* thereto belonging, a *Kitchin*, a *Dortour* distributed into several Chambers that one might not disturb another; and a private *Chappel* for the devotions of the diseased. Their *Almerie* also was accommodated with all the aforesaid appurtenances, and had many distinct *Manours* consigned onely to their maintenance.

Rooms in small, houses in great Abbeys.

24. It were aliene from our present purpose to speak of *Cells*, which were *aut pars, aut proles*, of all *great Abbeys*, sometime so farre off, that the *Mother-Abbey* was in *England*, the *Childe-Cell* beyond the Seas, and so reciprocally. Some of these were richly endowed, as that of *Windham* in *Norfolke*, which, though but a *Cell* annexed to S. *Albans*, yet was able at the Dissolution to expend of its own Revenues, seventy two pounds *per annum*. These were *Colonies* into which the *Abbeys* discharged their superfluous numbers, and whither the rest retired when Infections were feared at home.

The use of Cells.

25. Thus have we run thorough the main Rooms in all *great Abbeys*, though besides the same, *particular Abbeys* had *particular Houses* known to those of their own *Covent* by peculiar denominations. It were endlesse for one to instance in all these, and impossible to render a reason of their names, except he were privie to the fancies of the *Founders*. Thus we meet with a *pile of building* in the *Priorie* of *Canterbury*, called, *the Honours*; but, why so termed, my *good friend*, and *great* [r] *Antiquarie*, is fain to confesse his own ignorance.

The Honours in *Canterbury* Priorie.

[r] Mr. *William Somner* in his Antiquit. of *Canterbury*, pag. 196.

Some generall Conformities observed in all Covents.

SUndry Orders were bound to observe severall Canonicall Constitutions. However the rule of the antient Benedictines, with some small variations according to time and place, hold true thorough most Monasteries. Some generall heads whereof (the under-branches being infinite) we will here insert, it being hard, if amongst much drosse, some gold be not found, to repair the pains of the Reader. We will contrive them into Canons, collected out of Authors, before, or in the daies of *Dunston*.

Rules calculated for the Benedictines, without any grand errour will serve all Orders.

1. *Let Monks*, (after the example of [a] *David*) *praise God seven times a day. Seven times*:] Some difference in reckoning them up, but the following computation is generally imbraced.

[a] Psal. 119. 164.

1. *At Cock-crowing*: Because the [b] Psalmist saith, *At midnight will I praise the Lord*: and most conceive that Christ rose from the dead about that time.

[b] Psal. 119. 62.

2. *Matutines*: At the *first hour*, or *six of the clock*, when the Jewish morning sacrifice was offered. And at what time Christ's resurrection was by the Angels first notified to the women.

3. At

3. At the *third hour*, or *nine of the clock before none:* When according to S. *Marke*, Christ was condemned, and scourged by *Pilate*.

4. At the *sixt hour*, or *twelve of the clock at high noon:* When Christ was crucified and darknesse over all the earth.

5. At the *ninth hour*, or *three of the clock in the afternoon:* When Christ gave up the ghost, and, which was an hour of publick prayer in the [c] Temple, and privately in his closet with [d] *Cornelius*.

[c] Acts 3. 1.
[d] Acts 10, 30.

6. *Vespers:* At the *twelfth hour*, or *six a clock in the afternoon:* When the Evening-sacrifice was offered in the Temple, and when Christ is supposed taken down from the Crosse.

7. At *seven of the clock at night*, (or the first hour beginning the nocturnall twelve:) When Christ's agonie in the garden was conceived began.

The first [e] of these was performed at two of the clock in the morning: When the Monks (who went to bed at eight at night) had slept six hours, which were judged sufficient for nature. It was no fault for the greater haste to come *without shooes*, or with *unwashen hands*, (provided sprinkled at their entrance with *holy-water*) to this nights service. And I finde no expresse to the contrary, but that they might go to bed again. But a flat prohibition after *Matutines*, when to return to bed was accounted a *petty apostacie*.

[e] This whole Chapter is the abridgment of *CONCORDIA REGULARUM*, collected by S. *Benet* the *Anian* Abbot, but printed with a Comment, *An.* 1638. set forth by Frier *Ward*.

2. *Let all at the sign given leave off their work, and repair presently to prayers.*
Sign:] This in *England* (commonly called the *ringing Island*) was done with *tolling a bell*; but in other Countreys with loud stroaks, as Noblemens Cooks *knock to the dresser*, at which time none might continue their work. Yea, the Canon was so strict, that it provided *scriptores literam non integrent:* That writers (a great trade in Monasteries) having begun to frame and flourish a Text letter, were not to finish it, but to break off in the middle thereof.

3. *Let those, who are absent in publick imployment, be reputed present in prayers.*
Absent:] Hence it was, that antiently at the end of prayers, there was a particular commemoration made of them, and they by name recommended to Divine protection.

4. *Let no Monk go alone, but alwaies two together.*
Two:] That so they might mutually have, both *testem honestatis*, and *monitorem pietatis*. And this was done in some imitation of Christs sending his Disciples to preach [f] *Two, and two before his face*, that so they might alternately ease one another.

[f] Luke 10. 1.

5. *From Easter, to Whitsunday, let them dine alwaies at twelve; and sup at six of the clock.*
Dine:] The Prmitive Church forbade fasting for those fifty, daies that Christians might be cheerfull for the memory [g] of Christs resurrection. *Immunitate jejunandi à die Paschæ Pentecosten usque gaudemus*, and therefore more modern is the custome of fasting on Ascension Eve.

[g] Tertullian, Libro de corona militis.

6. *Let them at other times fast on Wednesdaies, and Fridaies, till three a clock in the afternoon.*
Three of the clock:] So making but one meal a day, but know that the *twelve daies* in *Christmas* were in this Canon excepted.

7. *Let them fast every day in Lent till six of the clock at night.*
Six a clock:] Stamping a character of more abstinence on that time. For though all a Monk's life ought to be a LENT, yet this, most especially, wherein they were to *abate* of their wonted *sleep* and *diet*, and adde to their daily *devotion:* Yet so, that they might not lessen their daily fare without leave from the *Abbot*, all things done without whose consent, will be accounted *presumption*, and not redound to *reward*; so that in such cases, *obedience* to their Superiours was better than the *sacrifice* of their own free abstinence.

8. *Let*

8. *Let no Monk ſpeak a word in the Refectory, when they are at their meals.*
Speak a word:] Whilſt their *mouthes* are *open* to eat, their *lips* muſt be *lockt* to ſpeak. For proof whereof they corruptly cite the Apoſtles words, *to* [b] *eat their own bread with ſilence*; whereas indeed it is, *work with quietneſs*, and therein a contented minde injoyned. Such might alſo remember *Solomon's* rule, *Eat thy bread with joy.*

[b] 2 Theſ. 3. 12.

9. *Let them liſten to the Lecturer reading Scripture to them, whilſt they feed themſelves.*
Liſten:] This was [i] S. *Auſtine's* rule, *Ne ſola fauces ſumant cibum, ſed & aures percipiant Dei verbum.*

[i] *In regula Capite quinto.*

10. *Let the Septimarians dine by themſelves after the reſt.*
Septimarians:] Theſe were weekly Officers, (not as the Abbot, Porter, &c. for term of life) as the Lecturer, Servitors at the table, Cook, who could not be preſent at the publick refection: as the *Bible-Clerks* in *Queens-Coll:* in *Cambrige* (waiting on the Fellows at dinner) have a Table by themſelves, their ſtomacks being *ſet, to go an hour* after all the reſt.

11. *Let ſuch who are abſent about buſineſſe obſerve the ſame hours of prayer.*
Abſent:] Be it by ſea, or land, on ſhip, in houſe, or field, they were to fall down on their knees, and though at diſtance, and very briefly, yet in ſome ſort to keep *time, and tune* with the Covent in their devotions.

12. *Let none, being from home about buſineſſe, (and hoping to return at night) preſume foris mandicare, to eat abroad.*
Eat abroad:] This Canon was afterwards ſo diſpenſed with by the Abbot on ſeverall occaſions, that it was fruſtrate in effect, when Monks became common gueſts at Lay-mens tables.

13. *Let the* COMPLETORIE *be ſolemnly ſung about ſeven a clock at night.*
COMPLETORIE:] Becauſe it compleated the duties of the day. This ſervice was concluded with that Verſicle of the Pſalmiſt, [k] *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips.*

[k] Pſal. 141. 3.

14. *Let none ſpeak a word after the* Completorie *ended, but haſten to their beds.*
Speak a word:] For, they might expreſſe themſelves by ſignes, and in ſome caſes whiſper, but ſo ſoftly that a third might not overhear it. This ſilence was ſo obſtinately obſerved by ſome, that they would not ſpeak though aſſaulted with thieves, to make diſcovery in their own defence.

15. *Let the Monks ſleep in beds ſingly by themſelves, but all (if poſſible) in one room.*
Singly by themſelves:] To prevent that ſin of *Sodomie*, whereof many were detected, and more ſuſpected in after-Ages. *One room:*] For the comfort of their mutuall ſociety.

16. *Let them ſleep in their cloathes, girt with their girdles, but not having their knives by their ſides, for fear of hurting themſelves in their ſleeps.*
In their clothes:] Is ſlovenneſs any advantage to ſanctity? This was the way, not to make the Monks *to lie alone*, but to carry much *company* about them.

17. *Let not the youth lie by themſelves, but mingled with their ſeniours.*
Seniours:] That their gravity may awe them into good behaviour. Thus husbandmen couple *young colts* with *ſtaid horſes*, that both together may draw the better.

18. *Let not the candle in the Dormitory go out all the night.*
Candle:] In caſe ſome ſhould fall ſoddainly ſick; and that this *ſtanding* candle might be a *ſtock* of light, to recruit the reſt, on occaſion.

19. *Let Infants, incapable of excommunication, be corrected with rods.*
Infants:] Such, all were accounted under the age of fifteen years (of whom many in Monaſteries) whoſe minorities were beneath the cenſures of the Church.

20. *Let the offenders in ſmall faults (whereof the Abbot is ſole Judge) be onely ſequeſtred from the table.*

Small faults :] As coming after grace to dinner, breaking (though casually) the earthen ewer wherein they wash their hands, being out of tune in setting the Psalm, taking any by the hand (as a preface forsooth to wantonnesse) receiving Letters from, or talking with a friend without leave from the Abbot, &c. *From the table :*] Such were to eat by themselves, and three hours after the rest, untill they had made satisfaction.

21. *Let the offenders in greater faults be suspended from table, and prayers.*
Greater faults :] viz: Theft, adultery, &c. *And Prayers :*] This in effect amounted to the *greater Excommunication*, and had all the penalties thereof.

22. *Let none converse with any excommunicated, under the pain of excommunication.*
None :] Yet herein his *Keeper*, (deputed by the Abbot) was excepted. *Converse :*] Either to eat, or speak with him. He might not so much as blesse him, or his meat if carried by him: Yet to avoid scandall, he might *rise up*, *bow*, or *bare his head* to him, in case the other did first with *silent gesture* salute him.

23. *Let incorrigible offenders be expelled the Monastery.*
Incorrigible :] Whom no *correption* with words, nor *correction* with blows, nor censures of excommunication would amend: Absciffion is the onely plaster for such an incurable Gangrene.

24. *Let an expelled Brother, being re-admitted on promise of his amendment, be set last in order.*
Last :] He was to lose his former *seniority*, and begin at the bottome. Know, that whosoever willingly quitted the Covent *thrise*, or was *thrise* cast out for his misdemeanours, might not any more be received.

25. *Let every Monk have two Coats, and two Cowles, &c.*
Two :] Not to wear at once, (except in Winter) but for exchange, whilst one was washed. And when new cloathes were delivered them, their old ones were given to the poor.

26. *Let every Monk have his Table-book, Knife, Needle, and Hankerchief.*
Needle :] To mend his own cloathes when torn. *Hankerchief :*] Which they wore on their left side, to wipe away rheum, or (as we may charitably believe) tears from their eyes.

27. *Let the Bed of every Monk have a Mat, Blanket, [a] Rugge, and Pillow.*
Mat :] In Latine *Matta*, the Liers whereon are termed by S. *Austine* [b] *Mattarii*. *a Blanket :*] *Lana*, in Latine, *quasi de lana*, saith *Varro*, [c] made of thick wooll. No *down*, *feathers*, nor *flocks* used by them, yea no linen worn on their bodies. The Abbot also every Saturday was to visit their beds, to see if they had not shuffled in some softer matter, or purloyned some progge for themselves.

28. *Let the Abbot be chosen by the merits of his life and learning.*
Merits :] Though he were the last in degree, and though he had the fewest voices, the *better* were to carry it from the *greater* number. But in after-Ages, to avoid schisme, upon a parity of deserts the Senior was generally chosen by plurality of votes.

29. *Let him never dine alone, and when Guests are wanting, call some Brethren unto his table.*
Alone :] Such as were relieved by his hospitality, are by *Canonical Criticks*, sorted into four ranks:

1. *Convive, guests*, living in or near the City, where the Covent stood.
2. *Hospites, strangers*, coming from distant places, yet still of the *same Country*.
3. *Peregrini, pilgrims*, of *another Nation*, and generally travailing for devotion.
} Invited, or inviting themselves into the Abbey.
4. *Mendici, beggars*, who received their *Almes* without at the Gate.

30. *Let*

[a] *Sagum*, properly the lower coat of a Souldier.
[b] *Lib. 5. contra Faustum*, cap. 5.
[c] *De lingua Latina*, lib. 4.

30. *Let the* CELLARER *be a diſcreet man, to give all their meat in due ſeaſon.*

Diſcreet:] He needed to be a good Mathematician in the *gages* of mens bellies, not allowing all food alike, but proportioning it to their ſeverall ages, labour, (for antient Monks did work) appetites, &c. For this they alledge the Primitive practiſe, when *all goods* kept in common were divided, though *unequally*, for the *ſummes equally*, as to their *perſonall neceſſities*, *And* [a] *they parted them to all men, as every man had need.*

a Acts 3.45.

31. *Let none be excuſed from the Office of the* COOK, *but take his turn in his week.*

None:] The Abbot is excepted, and the Cellarer in great Covents; But know, this was onely antiently uſed in primitive poor Monaſteries, our *Engliſh* Abbies having afterwards Cooks, and under-Cooks of Laypersons able to pleaſe the pallate of *Apitius* himſelf.

32. *Let the Cook each Saturday when he goeth out of his Office, leave the linen and veſſels clean and ſound to his ſucceſſours.*

Clean and ſound:] Severe one Canon which I read, that is, To receive [b] twenty five claps on the hand for every default on this kinde; And ſtill more harſh what another rule enjoyneth, That the Cook might [c] not taſte what he dreſſed for others, not permitted to *lick his own fingers*: Underſtand it thus, though he might eat his own pittance, or *dimenſum*, yet he muſt meddle with no more, leſt the taſting ſhould tempt him to gluttony and exceſſe.

b *XXV palmarum percuſſionibus emendetur. Regula magis cap. 15. ſect. 10.*

c *Regula S. Pachomii, artic. 21.*

33. *Let the* PORTER *be a grave perſon, to diſcharge his truſt with diſcretion.*

Grave:] Whoſe age might make him reſident in his place. *Diſcharge:*] In liſtening to no Secular news, and (if caſually hearing it) not to report it again; In carrying the keyes every night to the Abbot, and letting none in, or out, without his permiſſion.

We leave this *Porter* in the *peaceable poßeßion* of his *Lodge*; and by his leave, are *let out* of this tedious diſcourſe. Onely I will adde, as the Proverb ſaith, *The Lion is not ſo fierce as he is painted.* So *Monaſticall diſcipline* was not ſo terrible in the *practice*, as in the *precepts* thereof. And as it is generally obſerved in Families, that the *eldeſt Children* are moſt hardly uſed, who, (as yet being but few, and their Parents in full ſtrength) are taught, and tutoured, and nurtered, with much chiding, and correction; whilſt more liberty is allowed to the *younger brood*, age abating their Parents auſterity, and ſometimes turning their harſhneſſe into fondneſſe unto them. So thoſe *fatherly rules* fell moſt heavily on the Monks of the firſt foundation, their rigour being remitted to ſuch who ſucceeded them, inſomuch that in proceſſe of time, Monks turned very *wantons*, through lazineſſe and luxurie; as hereafter (God willing) ſhall appear.

Of such Abbots who attained to be Parliamentary Barons.

Numerous Abbots summoned to Parliament.

THE highest Civil honour the *English* Abbots arrived at, was, that some *were* selected to be *Barons* in Parliament, and called to be Assistants to the *King* in His *Great Councell*. To begin at the Reign of King *Henry the third*, (before whose time the footsteps of solemn summons to Parliament are almost worn out) in His time all Abbots and Priors of quality were summoned thither. Alas! this King lived a long time on Abbeys (the Patron fed by His Chaplains) the most of His maintenance issuing out of the purses of Priories. It was but fitting therefore they should be consulted with, who were so much concerned in all publick payments. In the *forty ninth* of His Reign, no lesse than sixty four Abbots, and thirty six Priors, (a jolly number) with the Master of the *Temple*, were voluntary *summoniti*, out of the King's free will and pleasure (no right that they could claim themselves) summoned to Parliament.

a *Durf. Clause 49 Hen. 3. m. 11. in scedula*

Who afterwards decline their troublesome service.

2. But in after-Parliaments the number of Abbots summoned thither, was fluctuating, and uncertain, sometimes forty, as the *twenty seventh of Edward the first*; sometimes seventy five, as the *twenty eighth* of the same *King*; fifty six in the *first of Edward the second*; and yet but fifteen in the *second* of His Reign. Indeed, when Parliaments proved frequent, some Priories farre from the place where they were summoned, the way long, the weather (especially in winter) tedious, travelling on the way costly, living at *London* chargeable: Some Priors were so poor they could not, more so covetous they would not put themselves to needlesse expences: All so lazie, and loving their ease, that they were loath to take long journeys, which made them afterwards desire to be eased of their Honourable but Troublesome attendance in Parliament.

Their number contracted to twenty six.

3. At last, King *Edward the third* resolved, to fix on a set number of Abbots, and Priors, not so many as with their numerousnesse might be burdensome to His Councell; yet not so few but that they should be a sufficient representation of all *Orders* therein concerned, which being *twenty six* in number are generally thus reckoned up:

1. St. *Albans*.
2. *Glassenbury*.
3. St. *Austins Cant.*
4. *Westminster*.
5. *Edmunds-bury*.
6. *Peterborough*.
7. *Colchester*.
8. *Evesham*.
9. *Winchelcombe*.
10. *Crowland*.
11. *Battaile*.
12. *Reading*.
13. *Abington*.
14. *Waltham*.
15. *Shrewsbury*.
16. *Glocester*.
17. *Bardney*.
18. *Bennet* in the *Holme*.
19. *Thorney*.
20. *Ramsey*.
21. *Hide*.
22. *Malmsbury*.
23. *Cirencester*.
24. St. *Mary Yorke*.
25. *Selbye*.
26. With the Prior of St. *Johns of Jerusalem*, first & chief Baron of *England*.

None of these held of mean Lords by *franke almonage*, but all of the King *in capite per Baroniam*, having an intire *Baronie*, to which thirteen *Knights fees* at least did belong.

4. Yet

4. Yet even after this fixation of Parliamentary Abbots in a set number the same was ofttsoons subject to variety. The *Prior of Coventry* played at *in and out*, and declined his appearance there. So did the *Abbot of Lester*, who may seem to have worn *but half a Mitre on his head*. So also the *Abbot of St. James* by *Northampton* may be said to sit but on *one hip* in Parliament, he appears so in the twilight betwixt a Baron, and no Baron, in the summons thereunto. But afterwards the first of these three was confirmed in his place, the two last on their earnest request obtained a discharge. Partly, because they were summoned onely *interpolatis vicibus*, and not constantly; Partly, because they made it to appear, that they held not of the King a whole Barony in chief.

Doubtfull Barons amongst the Abbots.

5. To these twenty six *regular Barons*, King *Henry the eighth* added one more for a casting voice; *viz:* the Abbot of *Tavistocke* in *Devon-shire*, on this token, that being created in the *eighth* of His Reigne he enjoyed not his Baronie full twenty years, and acted so short a part on the stage of Parliament, that with *Cato* he might seem onely *ingredi ut exiret*, to come in that he might go out. And, because some may be curious to know the manner of his *creation*, take here the form thereof:

A short-lived Barony made by K. *Henry* the eighth.

HENRICUS, &c. [b] *Sciatis quod certis considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus & ob specialem devotionem, quam ad beatam Virginem* Mariam *matrem* Christi, *Sanctumque* Rumonum *in quorum Honore Abbatia de* Tavistoke, *quæ de fundatione nobilium progenitorum nostrorum, quondam Regum* Angliæ *& nostro patre natu dedicata existit, gerimus & habemus, hinc est quod de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostris, volumus eandem Abbatiam, sive Monasterium nostrum gaudere honore, privilegio, ac libertatibus spiritualium Dominorum Parliamenti nostri Haredem, & successorum nostrorum, ideo concessimus, & per præsentes concedimus pro nobis Haredibus, & successoribus nostris quantum in nobis est, dilecto nobis in Christi,* Richardo Banham *Abbati de* Tavistocke *prædicto & successoribus suis, ut eorum quilibet qui pro tempore ibidem fuerit Abbas, sit & erit unus de spiritualibus, & religiosis Dominis Parliamenti nostri Haredem, & successorum nostrorum, gaudendo honore, privilegio ac libertatibus ejusdem; Et insuper, de uberiori gratia nostra, affectando utilitatem, dicti nostri Monasterii, considerando ejus distantiam, ita quod si contingat aliquam Abbatem qui pro tempore fuerit, fore vel esse absentem propter prædicti Monasterii utilitatem in non veniendo ad Parliamentum prædictum Haredem, vel successorum nostrorum, quam quidem absentiam eidem Abbati perdonamus per præsentes; Ita tamen quod tunc solvet pro hujusmodi absentia cujuslibet Parliamenti integri in nostro Scaccario, suum per attornatum quinque Marcas nobis haredibus sive successoribus nostris, toties, quoties, hoc in futurum contigerit. In cujus, &c. Teste &c. Vicesimo tertio die* Januarii, *&c.*

[b] *Pat. 5. Hen. 8. part. 2. m. 22.*

Whereas this Charter affirmeth *Tavistocke* founded by King *Henry's noble Progenitors*; Some will wonder thereat, and the rather, because [c] *Ordulph*, the son of *Ordgare*, Earl of *Devon-shire* is notoriously known for the Founder of this Monastery before the Conquest, and no *English* King appeareth eminently a Benefactour thereunto. Yet because the *English* Kings successively confirmed the Charters thereof, they were *in a loyall complement*, acknowledged as the interpretative Founders of that Abbey. And as little children, whose parents decease in their infancie, innocently own their Fathers and Mothers-in-laws, for their naturall parents: So many Monasteries, whose first Founders, were in a manner forgotten *as time out of minde*, applied themselves to the present Kings (though but the Favourers) as to the Founders of their Corporations.

[c] *Cambden's Br. in Devon-shire.*

6. Know that besides these Abbots, there were four Abbesses, *viz:* of *Shaftsbury*, *Barking* in *Essex*, St. *Marys* in *Winchester*, and *Wilton*, who held from the King an intire Baronry, yet never were summoned as Baronesses to Parliament; because that honour (*frequent in Lay-persons*) was never conferred on any

Abbesses no Baronesses, though holding Baronies.

any *Ecclesiastical Female*. Yet were they (and almost all other Abbesses of any quality) saluted *Ladies*, as Earls Daughters are, *by the courtesie of England*, which custome hath made such a right, that they are beheld not onely as unmannerly, but unjust, who in common discourse deny the same. However the aforesaid four Abbesses, though not called to Parliament, were solemnly [d] summoned by special Writs *ad habendum servitium suum*, that is, to have their *full number of Knights* in time of warre, where the Ladies personal presence was not expected, but their effectual appearance by the proxies or their purses to supply the King's occasions.

d Pat. 5 Ed. 1. Dors. in 11. Rot. Scutagii ejusd. an. m. 7.

7. Of all these, the Prior of S. *Johns in Jerusalem*, took the precedencie, being generally of Noble extraction, and a Military person. Yea, not content to take place of all regular Barons, *Primus Angliæ Baro haberi voluit*, saith my [e] Authour: *He would be counted* [*simply*] and [*absolutely*] *the first, and chief Baron in England*; though the expression, speaks rather his affectation, than peaceable possession of such priority.

Prior of Jerusalem chief Baron.

e Cambd. Brit. pag. 123.

8. Next him, the Abbot of S. *Albans* took place above all of his Order, to the no small grief and grudge of *Glassenbury*, seeing *Joseph of Arimathea* was two hundred years senior to S. *Albans*. But, who shall deny the Patriarck [f] *Jacob* the priviledge of *crossing his own hands*, to preferre the *younger* before the *elder*? The same power (but on what pretence, let others enquire) the Pope assumeth to himself, whereby *Adrian the fourth* (once a Monk of S. *Albans*) gave that Covent the *precedencie*.

Next the Abbot of S. Albans.

f Gen. 48. 14.

9. As for the remaining Abbots, we may observe a kinde of a *careless order* observed in their *summoning to* (and consequently their *sitting* in) Parliament. Now seeing it will not enter into a rationall belief, that their methodizing was meerly managed by the will of the *Clerk of the Writs*, it must descend on the disposall of the King, calling them in what order He pleaseth.

The careless order of the rest.

10. Sure I am, these Abbots were not summoned according to their personall seniorities of their severall instalments, nor according to the antiquity of their respective foundations: For, *Waltham* Abbot being *ante-penultimus*, as but founded by King *Herold*, is commonly fourteenth or fifteenth in the summons. *Battaile* Abbey, which in this body of Abbeys, should be beneath the *ancle*, (as last of all save *Selbye*) is commonly about the *breast*, the eighth or ninth in number.

Seniority not observed in the summons.

11. Nor are they ranked according to the richnesse of their annuall Revenues; for then (according to their Valuations at the Dissolution) they should be martialled according to the method here insuing, when first I have premised a Note concerning the Abbey of *Tewxbury* in *Glocester-shire*.

Not ranked by their wealth.

12. This Abbot appeareth Parliamentary neither in any summons exhibited by [g] Master *Selden*, most curious in this point; nor yet in the Catalogue of them presented by [h] Master *Cambden*; and reverence to these worthy Authors hath prevailed with me so much that I durst not insert him. However, since I am convinced in my judgement, he must be entred in the list; Partly, moved by the greatnesse of Revenues; Partly, because I finde him registred by [i] Bishop *Godwin*, no lesse Criticall than the former in Historicall matters. Yet to please all parties, we will onely adde him in the Margine, and not enter him in the body of the *Catalogue*.

Tewxbury to be added to the Catalogue.

g Titles of honor, p. 728.

h Brit. p. 170.

i In his Annall of K. Hen. 8. An. 1539.

1. S. *Peters*

	lib.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
1. S. *Peters*, Westminster.	3977	6	4	1	1
2. *Glassenbury*, Somerset-shire.	3508	13	4	1	1
3. S. *Albans*, Hertford-shire.	2510	6	1	1	1
4. S. *Johns of Jerusalem*, Middlesex.	2385	19	8	0	0
5. S. *Edmunds-Bury*, Suffolke.	2336	16	0	0	0
6. *Reading*, Berk-shire.	2116	3	9	0	1
7. S. *Maryes* nigh Yorke.	2085	1	5	1	1
8. *Abington*, Berk-shire.	2042	2	8	1	1
9. *Ramsey*, Huntingdon-shire.	1983	15	3	0	1
10. *Peterborough*, Northampton-shire.	1972	7	0	1	1
11. *Glocester*.	1550	4	5	1	0
12. S. *Austines*, Canterbury.	1412	4	7	1	1
13. *Evesham*, Worcester-shire.	1268	9	9	0	0
14. *Crowland*, Lincoln-shire.	1217	5	11	0	0
15. *Wealtham*, Essex.	1079	12	1	0	0
16. *Cirencester*, Glocester-shire.	1051	7	1	0	0
17. *Battaile*, Sussex.	987	0	11	1	1
18. *Tavystoke*, Devonshire.	902	5	7	1	1
19. *Hide*, nigh Winchester.	865	1	6	1	1
20. *Selby*, York-shire.	819	2	6	0	0
21. *Malmsbury*, Wilts-shire.	803	17	7	0	0
22. *Wivelscombe*, Glocester-shire.	756	11	9	0	0
23. *Middleton*, Dorset-shire.	720	4	1	0	0
24. S. *Bennet Hulm*. Morthfolke.	677	9	8	0	1
25. *Shrewsbury*.	615	4	3	1	0
26. *Thorny*, Cambridge-shire.	508	2	5	0	0
27. *Bardney*, Lincoln-shire.	429	7	0	0	0

* *Tewxbury* valued at 1598 l. 12 s 3 d.

* All these valuations are taken out of *Speed's* Catalogue of religious Houses, pag. 787.

The valuations of *Coventry* & *Colchester*, I cannot finde; and in all these sums we have trusted *Harps-field*, and *Speed*, both subject to many mistakes, those standing on *slippery ground*, who in point of computation, *tread* onely on *figures*, and not on *numbers at length*. The Auditors in these *accounts* pretend to much exactnesse, descending to the fractions of *half-pence* and *farthings*, though much partiality was used therein, many of the Raters at the dissolution, being Ranters for the present, proved Purchasers for the future, of the lands. The Abbey of *Ramsey*, commonly called [l] the RICH, is here but the ninth in number, according to the wealth thereof, whereby it plainly appears, that much favour was used in the undervaluing of that foundation.

[l] Sir *Rob. Cotton* (under the name of *Speed*) in the description of *Huntingdon-shire*.

13. We must know there were other Abbeys, who, though not so high in Dignity, were richer in Indowments, than many of these Parliamentary Barons, *viz.*

Some Abbots, not Barons, richer than those that were.

	lib.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
1. *Fountains*, Richmond-shire.	1173	0	7	1	0
2. *Lewes*, Sussex.	1691	9	6	0	1
3. S. *Werburghs*, Cheshire.	1073	17	7	1	0
4. *Leicester*.	1062	0	4	1	1
5. *Marton*, Surrey.	1039	5	3	0	0
6. *Fournace*, Richmond-shire.	969	7	1	0	0

These had more Lands, at best were more highly valued, though not so Honourable a tenure, as holding of mean Landlords in frank almonage. And probably the Parliamentary Barons had more old rents, though these (as later foundations) greater incomes by improved demeans.

14. There

Shafts-bury the richeſt Nunnery.

14. There alſo were Nunneries corrivall in *revenues* with Parliamentary Abbeys, whereof *Shafts-bury* the chiefeſt, valued at—1329 li.—21 s.—3 d. So that the Countrey-people had a Proverb, That *if the Abbot of* Glaſſenbury *might marry the Abbeſſe of* Shafts-bury, *their Heire would have more land than the King of* England. *Barkeing* in *Eſſex*, and *Sion* in *Middleſex*, fell not much ſhort of *Shafts-bury*, being ſeverally endowed with above a 1000 li. *per annum*.

A prophane proverb.

15. Of all Counties in *England*, *Gloceſter-ſhire* was moſt peſtered with Monks, having four mitred Abbeys, beſide S. *Auſtines* in *Briſtoll* (who ſometimes paſſed for a Baron) within the compaſſe thereof, viz: *Glocester*, *Teuxbury*, *Ciren-ceſter*, and *Wevelscome*. Hence the topical wicked Proverb, deſerving to be baniſht out of that Countrey, being the prophane childe of ſuperſtitious parents: *As ſure as God is in Gloceſter ſhire*. As if ſo many Convents had certainly faſtned his *gracious preſence* to that place.

No Countrey free from Monks.

16. As *Gloceſter-ſhire* was the fulleſt of, ſo *Weſtmereland* the freeſt from Monaſteries. It ſeemeth the Monks did not much care for that cold Countrey, neſtling themſelves but in one place, called *Sharp*, which they found ſo anſwering the name, that they ſought warmer places elſwhere. As for the boaſting of the men of the *Iſle of Wight*, That *they never had* [m] *hooded Monks therein*, were it ſo (their ſoyl being ſo fruitfull, and pleaſant) it would merit more wonder, than that *Ireland* hath no Venemous creatures therein. But their brag hath more of Mirth than Truth in it, ſeeing the Priorie at *Caris-brook*, and Nunnery at *Quarre* evidence them ſufficiently ſtockt with ſuch Cattell.

[m] *Cambd. Brit.* in the *Iſle of Wight*. *Quare* what meant by four Abbots peculiarly exempt.

17. I have done with this ſubject of Mitred Abbeys when we have obſerved that they were called ABBOTS GENERALL, *aliàs* ABBOTS [n] SOVEREIGNE, as acknowledging in a ſort no Superiour, becauſe exempted from the Juriſdiction of any Diocezan, having Epiſcopall power in themſelves. And here I would be thankfull to any who would inform me, that ſeeing all theſe Abbots were thus priviledged, how it came to paſſe that Four of them were eſpecially termed ABBOTS [o] EXEMPTI, viz: *Bury*, *Waltham*, S. *Albans*, and *Eveſham*. I ſay ſeeing theſe were ſo called κατ' ἐξοχὴν, EXEMPT, as it were, out of the EXEMPTED, I would willingly be ſatisfied, what extraordinary Priviledges theſe enjoyed by themſelves above others of their own Order.

[n] *Sir. Hoſpinian in Gloſſario verbo Abbas.*

[o] Titles of honour, pag. 727.

Of the Civill benefits, and Temporall conveniences, accruing to the State by the continuance of Abbies.

Give Abbies their due.

SO much of the *greatneſſe*, ſomewhat of the *goodneſſe* of Abbeys, if poſsibly it may be done without prejudice to truth. Surely ſome pretences (plauſible at leaſt) did ingratiate them with the Politicians of that Age, otherwiſe Prince, and people in thoſe daies (though blinded with ignorant zeal, yet worldly-wiſe) would never have been gulled into ſo long a toleration, yea veneration of them.

They convenient to diſpoſe youngeſt children in.

2. They were an eaſie and cheap outlet for the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of the land, therein to diſpoſe their younger children. That younger ſon who had not mettal enough to manage a *ſword*, might have meekneſſe to become a *coule*. Which *coule* in ſhort time might grow up to be a *Mitre*, when his merits preſented him to be Abbot of his Covent. Clap a vail on the head of a younger daughter (eſpecially if ſhe were ſuperannuated, not over-handſome, melancholy, &c.) and inſtantly ſhe was provided for in a Nunnery, where, without coſt or care of her parents, ſhe lived in all outward happineſſe, wanting nothing except (perhaps) it were an husband. This was a great cauſe of the long continuance of the *Engliſh* Nobility, in ſuch pomp, and power, as having then no temptation to torture their Tenants with racking of rents, to make proviſion for their younger children. Indeed, ſometimes Noblemen gave ſmall portions with their children to the *Co-*

vent

vent (not such as would preferre them in marriage to one of their own quality) but generally Abbeys were glad to accept them with nothing, thereby to engage the Parents, and Brothers of such *young men* and *maidens*, to be the constant friends to their Covent, on all occasion at *Court*, and chiefly in all Parliaments.

An eminent instance thereof.

3. One eminent instance hereof we have in *Ralph Nevil*, first Earl of *Westmerland*, of that Family whom I behold as the happiest Subject of *England* since the Conquest, if either we count the number of his Children, or measure the height of the Honour they attained:

He had by

Margaret, his first Wife,	*Joan*, his second Wife,
1. *John*, his eldest son, Lord *Nevil*, &c.	1. *Richard*, Earl of *Sarisbury*.
2. *Ralph*, in the right of *Mary* his wife, Lord *Ferrars* of *Ously*.	2. *William*, in the right of *Joan* his wife, Lord *Faulconbridge*.
3. *Maud*, married to *Peter* Lord *Mauley*.	3. *George*, Lord *Latimer*.
4. *Alice*, married to Sir *Thomas Gray*.	4. *Edward*, Lord *Abergavennie*.
5. *Philip*, married to *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilsland*.	5. *Robert*, Bishop of *Durham*.
6. *Margaret*, married to the Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*.	6. *Thomas*, in right of his wife, Lord [a] *Seymour*.
7. *Anne*, married to Sir *Gilbert Umfrevil*.	7. *Katharine*, married to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.
8. *Margerie*, Abbesse of *Bearking*.	8. *Elianour*, to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*.
9. *Elizabeth*, a Nun.	9. *Anne*, to *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*.
	10. *Jane*, a Nun.
	11. *Cicilie*, to *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Mother to King *Edward* the fourth.

[a] *Mills*, p. 393.

See we here the policie of that age, in disposing of their numerous issue. More than the tithe of them was given to the Church, and I trow the Nuns (and Abbesse especially) were as good *Madams* as the rest, and conceived themselves to go in equipage with their other *Lady-Sisters*. And, no wonder, if an Earl preferred his daughters to be Nuns; seeing no King of *England*, since the Conquest, had four Daughters living to womans estate, but He disposed one of them to be a *Votarie*. And *Bridget*, the fourth Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth, a Nun at *Dartford* in *Kent*, was the last Princesse; who entered into a Religious Order.

Children taught therein.

4. They were tolerable Tutours for the education of *youth* (there being a great penurie of other *Grammar-schools* in that Age) and every Covent had one, or moe therein, who [generally *gratis*] taught the children thereabouts. Yea, they, who were loose enough in their own lives, were sufficiently severe in their discipline over others. *Grammar* was here taught, and *Musick*, which in some sort sung her own *Dirige* (as to the generall use thereof) at the dissolution of Abbies.

Conveniency of Shee-Colledges.

5. Nunneries also were good *Shee-schools*, wherein the Girles, and Maids of the Neighbourhood, were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latine was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such Feminine Foundations had still continued, provided no *vow* were obtruded upon them (*virginity* is least kept where it is most constrained) haply the weaker sex (besides the avoiding modern inconveniences) might be heightned to an higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. That sharpnesse of their wits, and suddennes of their conceits (which their enemies must allow unto them) might by education be improved into a judicious solidity, and that adorned with Arts, which now they want, not because they cannot learn, but are not taught them. I say, if such Feminine

Foundations were extant now of dayes, haply ſome Virgins of higheſt birth, would be glad of ſuch places, and I am ſure their Fathers, and elder Brothers would not be ſorry for the ſame.

Monks the ſole Hiſtorians, and why.

6. They were the ſole Hiſtorians, in writing to preſerve the remarkable paſſages of Church, and Common-wealth. I confeſſe, I had rather any than Monks had written the Hiſtories of our Land; yet rather than the ſame ſhould be unwritten, I am heartily glad the Monks undertook the performance thereof. Indeed, in all their Chronicles one may feel a rag of a *Monks coule*; I mean, they are partial to their own intereſt. But in that Age there was a choiceleſſe choice, that Monks, or none at all, ſhould write our *Engliſh* Hiſtories. Sword-men lacked learning, States-men leaſure to doe it: it was therefore devolved to Monks and Friers, who had ſtore of time, and no want of intelligence, to take that task upon them. And ſurely that induſtrious [b] *Bee* hath in our Age merited much of poſterity, having lately, with great coſt and care, *enlarged* many *Manuſcripts* of Monks (formerly confined to private Libraries) that now they may take the free aire, and, being printed, publickly walk abroad. Mean time, whileſt Monks *pens* were thus employed, Nuns with their *needles* wrote hiſtories alſo; that of *Chriſt his paſſion* for their Altar-clothes, and other Scripture- (and moe Legend-) ſtories in hangings to adorn their houſes.

[b] An able Stationer in *Little Britain, London.*

Abbots excellent Land-lords.

7. They were moſt admirable good Land-lords; and well might they let, and ſet *good peny-worths*, who had good *pounds-worths* freely given unto them. Their yearly rent was ſo low, as an *acknowledgment* rather than a *rent*, onely to diſtinguiſh the Tenant from the Land-lord. Their fines alſo were eaſie; for, though every Convent, as a *body politick*, was *immortal*, yet becauſe the ſame conſiſted of mortal Monks for their *members*, and an old Abbot for the *head* thereof, they were glad to make uſe of the preſent time for their profit, taking little fines for long leaſes. As for rent-beeves, ſheep, pullein, &c. reſerved on their leaſes, Tenants both payed them the more eaſily, as growing on the ſame, and the more cheerfully, becauſe at any time they might freely eat their full ſhare thereof, when repairing to their Land-lords bountiful table. Inſomuch, that long Leaſes from Abbeys were preferred by many before ſome *Tenures* of *freeholds*, as leſſe ſubject to taxes, and troubleſome attendance.

And admirable Houſe-keepers.

8. Their hoſpitality was beyond compare, inſomuch that *Ovid* (if living in that Age) who feigned *famine* to dwell in *Scythia*, would have fancied *feaſting* an inhabitant of *Engliſh* Abbeys: Eſpecially in Chriſtmas-time, they kept moſt bountifull houſes. Whoſoever brought the face of a man, brought with him a Patent for his free welcome, till he pleaſed to depart. This was the method: where he brake his faſt, there he dined; where he dined, there he ſupped; where he ſupped, there he brake his faſt next morning: and ſo in a *circle*. Alwaies provided, that he provided lodging for himſelf at night; Abbeys having great halls, and refectories; but few chambers, and dormitories, ſave for ſuch of their own ſociety.

Objection againſt their hoſpitality.

9. Some will object, that this their hoſpitality was but *charity miſtaken*, promiſcuouſly entertaining ſome, who did not need, and moe, who did not deſerve it. Yea, theſe Abbeys did but maintain the poor which they made. For, ſome Vagrants, accounting the Abbey-almes their own *inheritance*, ſerved an *apprentiſhip*, and afterwards wrought *journey-work* to no other trade than *begging*; all whoſe children were, by their *fathers copie*, made *free* of the *ſame company*. Yea, we may obſerve, that generally ſuch places wherein the great Abbeys were ſeated (ſome few excepted, where *cloathing* began, when their *Covent* did end) ſwarm moſt with poor people at this day, as if beggary were entailed on them, and that lazineſſe not as yet *got out of their fleſh*, which ſo long ſince was *bred* in their *bones*.

The ſame anſwered.

10. All this is confeſſed; yet, by their hoſpitality, many an honeſt and hungry ſoul had his *bowels refreſhed*, which otherwiſe would have been ſtarved; and, better it is, two *drones* ſhould be fed, than one *bee* famiſhed. We ſee the heavens themſelves

themselves, in dispensing their rain, often water many stinking bogs, and noisome lakes, which moisture is not needed by them (yea, they the worse for it) onely because much good ground lies inseparably intermingled with them; so that, either the bad with the good must be watered, or the good with the bad must be parched away.

11. Of all Abbeys in *England*, *Elie* bare away the bell for bountifull feast-making, the vicinity of the fenns affording them plenty of flesh, fish, and fowle, at low rates. Hereupon the Poët,

Elie puts all Abbeys down for feasting.

Prævisis aliis, Elienſia *festa videre*,
Est, quasi prævisa nocte, videre diem.

When other Feasts before have been,
If those of ELIE last be seen,
'Tis like to one who hath seen night,
And then beholds the day so bright.

But, with the leave of the Poëts Hyperbole, other Abbeys, as *Glassenbury*, S. *Albans*, *Reading*, spurred up close to *Elie*, which, though exceeding them in feasts (the evidence oft of a miser) yet they equalled *Elie* in the constant tenour of house-keeping. The mention of *Reading* mindes me of a pleasant and true story; which, to refresh my wearied self, and Reader, after long pains, I here intend to relate.

12. King *Henry the eighth*, as He was hunting in *Windesor Forrest*, either casually lost, or (more probable) wilfully losing Himself, struck down about dinner-time to the Abbey of *Reading*. Where, disguising Himself, (much for delight, more for discoverie to see unseen) He was invited to the Abbots table, and passed for one of the Kings guard, a place to which the proportion of His person might properly intitle Him. A *Sir loyne* of *beef* was set before Him (so Knighted, saith tradition, by this King *Henry*) on which the King laid on lustily, not disgracing one of that place, for whom He was mistaken. *Well fare thy heart*, (quoth the Abbot) *and here in a cup of sack I remember the health of His Grace your Master. I would give an hundred pounds on the condition I could feed so heartily on beef as you doe. Alas! my weak and squeazie stomack will hardly digest the wing of a small rabbet or chicken.* The King pleasantly pledged him, and heartily thanking him for His good cheer, after dinner departed, as undiscovered as He came thither.

A pleasant Story of K. *Henry* the eighth.

13. Some weeks after, the Abbot was sent for by a Pursevant, brought up to *London*, clapped in the Tower, kept close-prisoner, fed for a short time with bread and water. Yet not so empty his body of food, as his minde was filled with fears, creating many suspitions to himself, when, and how he had incurred the King's displeasure. At last a *sir-loyne of beef* was set before him, on which the Abbot fed *as the Farmer of his Grange*, and verified the Proverb, That *two hungry meals makes the third a glutton.* In springs King *Henry* out of a private lobbie, where He had placed Himself the invisible spectatour of the Abbots behaviour, *My Lord*, (quoth the King) *presently deposit your hundred pounds in gold, or else no going hence all the daies of your life. I have been your Physician to cure you of your squeazie stomack, and here, as I deserve, I demand my fee for the same.* The Abbot down with his dust, and glad he had escaped so, returned to *Reading*; as somewhat lighter in purse, so much more merrier in heart than when he came thence.

He proves a good Physician.

Presages of the approaching ruine of Abbeys.

Oldham's prophesie of the Friers fall.

THE wisest, and most religious amongst the Romanists, presaged, and suspected a downfall of these Covents, some years before it came to passe. For, when it was in the intention, and designe of *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Wincheſter*, to have built a Monasterie; *Hugh Oldham*, Bishop of *Exeter*, disswaded him, affirming, That *such Covents possessed more already than they would long* [a] *enjoy*. He advised him rather to bestow his bounty, on founding some *Colledge* in the *Universitie*, as which was likely to last longer, and certain to doe more good, promising also his own utmost assistance in so pious an undertaking. This was done accordingly, *Fox* being the first Founder of, and *Oldham* a liberall Benefactour to *CORPUS CHRISTI Colledge* in *Oxford*.

[a] *Godwin* in the Bishop of *Winchester*.

Seconded by Abbot *Whitgift*.

2. Adde to this, a Speech of *Robert* [b] *Whitgift*, Abbot of *Wellow* (nigh *Grimsbey*) in *Lincoln shire* (Uncle to Archbishop *Whitgift*) who was wont to say, That *they, and their religion* (chiefly in relation to Monasteries) *could not long continue, because* (said he) *I have read the whole Scripture over, and over, and could never finde therein that our religion was founded by God*. And, for proof of his opinion, the Abbot would alledge that saying of our Saviour, *Every planting, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up*. And, that he proved a true Prophet herein, the next Book will sufficiently evidence.

[b] Sir *George Paul* in *Whitgift's* life, p. 3.

Ominous burning of Abbeys, [often] by lightning.

3. We will conclude with their observation (as an ominous presage of Abbies ruine) that there was scarce a great Abbey in *England*, which (once at the least) was not burnt down with *lightning* from heaven.

1. The Monastery of *Canterbury* burnt *Anno* 1145. And afterward again burnt *Anno* [c] 1174.
2. The Abbey of *Croyland* twice [d] burnt.
3. The Abbey of *Peterborow* twice set on [e] fire.
4. The Abbey of S. *Maryes* in *Yorke* burnt.
5. The Abbey of *Norwich* burnt.
6. The Abbey of S. *Edmonds-bury* [f] burnt, and destroyed.
7. The Abbey of *Worceſter* burnt.
8. The Abbey of *Gloceſter* was also burnt.
9. The Abbey of *Chicheſter* burnt.
10. The Abbey of *Glaſtenbury* burnt.
11. The Abbey of S. *Mary* in *Southwarke* burnt.
12. The Church of the Abbey of *Beverley* burnt.
13. The Steeple of the Abbey of *Eveſham* burnt.

[c] *Ex Hiſt. Gervaſii.*
[d] *Ex Hiſtor. Ingulphi.*
[e] *Ex Chron. Peterb. Walteri Weeks. Hovedeni Gualteri. Coventr. Fabiani.*
[f] *Ex Chron. S. Edmond. Guil. Malmesb.*

I will not, with Master *Fox*, inferre from such casualties, that God was more offended with Abbeys, than other buildings, a naturall cause presenting it selfe of such accidents; namely, because the higheſt structures (whatever they are) are the faireſt marks for lightning, and thunder. As if those active Meteors took the usurpation of such aspiring buildings in distaste, for entring their territory, and for offering, without leave, to invade the marches of the *middle region* of the aire. And, if mountains of Gods own advancing thither, and placing there, pay dear for their honour, and frequently feel the weight of thunder-bolts falling upon them, *feriunt ſummos fulmina montes*; no wonder if artificiall buildings of mens making (whatsoever they be, Palaces, or Castles, or Churches, or Covents) have their ambition often humbled with thunder, and lightning, which casually melt and consume them.

Bells no effectuall charm against lightning.

4. Onely we will adde, that such frequent firing of Abbey-Churches by lightning, confuteth the proud *Motto*, commonly written on the Bells in their Steeples, wherein each Bell intituled it self to a sixfold efficacie;

1. *Funera plango,* { Men's deaths I tell / By dolefull knell.

2. *Fulgura* / *Fulmina* } *frango,* { Lightning and thunder, / I break asunder.

3. *Sabbata pango;* { On Sabbath, all / To Church I call.

4. *Excito lentos,* { The sleepy head, / I raise from bed.

5. *Dissipo ventos,* { The winds so fierce / I doe disperse.

6. *Paco cruentos,* { Men's cruell rage, / I doe asswage.

Whereas it plainly appears, that these Abbey-steeples, though quilted with Bells almost *cap a pee*, were not of proof against the sword of God's lightning. Yea generally, when the heavens in tempests did *strike fire*, the Steeples of Abbeys proved often their *tynder*, whose frequent burning portended their finall destruction; which now, God willing, we come to relate.

Of the Essaies and Offers to overthrow Abbeys before they took effect.

GReat *buildings* commonly *crack* before they *fall*, to give the *dwellers* therein *warning* to *depart*; so was it here in *Abbeys*. But may we here, first premise, as an *Introduction*, that it was placed in the power and pleasure of *Princes* and great *persons*, their Founders, to displace & exchange particular Orders, as sometimes *Monks* for *Nuns*, and reciprocally *Nuns* for *Monks*; *white* for *gray Friers*, and *gray* for *white*, as their fancie directed them: whereof we have plenty of instances. But all this made nothing to the losse of *Monkery* in generall, though *sexes* or *colours* of *Friers* were altered, the same *Bells* did hang still in the *steeple*, though *rung* in *changes* to content severall *people*.

Orders of Friers alterable according to the pleasures of their Founders.

2. Secondly, particular *Covents* might be wholly dissolved upon their misdemeanour, as in *Berklie Nunnery*: Here a *young man* (left out of *designe* by Earl *Godwine*) dissembled himself to be sick, who, in short space, so acquirted himself amongst the Votaries there, that all of them, with their *Abbesse*, (whose age might have been presumed a *protection* for her *honesty*) were got with [a] *childe*: upon complaint and proof whereof unto King *Edward the Confessour*, they were all driven out; and their *Nunnery*, with large revenues, bestowed upon Earl *Godwine*, by the aforesaid King, who was then accounted Patron of all *Abbeys*, which now fallen into His hands, by this foule *lapse*, He bestowed, as a *Lay fee*, upon this *new Owner*, wholly altering the property thereof.

Particular Covents on misdemeanour dissolvable.

[a] *De honestis comestas, de agnis lupus, Cambdens Brit. in Glocester-shire, out of Walterus Mapæus.*

3. Thirdly, whole *religious Orders* might by order from the *Pope* be totally and finally extirpated. Here I passe by the *Fratres Flagelliferi*, or *scourging Friers*,

Whole Orders routed out by the Pope for their faults.

Friers, religious Bedlams, who uſed publickly to *whip* themſelves in the *Market-place,* making *velame* of their own *skins,* thereon to *write* their *follies* in *legible characters.* I ſay I omit them; afterwards put down by the *Pope* himſelf: the rather becauſe I finde them not in *England,* or elſwhere, endowed with conſiderable *revenues.* I will inſiſt on the *Templers,* whoſe numerous and wealthy *fraternity* was for their *vitiouſneſs,* by the *Pope,* in the *Councell* of *Vienna,* diſſolved all over *Europe,* and in *England* all or moſt of their *land* was given to the *Knights* [b] *Hoſpitallers.* This was a great ſhaking of all *religious Orders,* the plucking out of theſe chief *threads,* made a in the whole *cloth*; men conceiving that in proceſſe of time the whole *ſheafe* may be broken as well as the ſingle *Arrows,* ſeeing, perchance, other Societies led lives not more religious, but leſſe examined.

[b] See Supplement of the Holy Warre, chap. 1, 2, 3.

The firſt ſtroke at the root of Abbeys.

4. But the firſt terrible *blow* in *England* given generally to all Orders, was in the *Lay-Parliament,* as it is called, which did wholly *Wiccliſize,* kept in the *twelfth year* of King *Henry the fourth,* wherein the [c] *Nobles* and *Commons aſſembled,* ſignified to the *King,* that the temporal *poſſeſſions* of *Abbots, Priors, &c.* lewdly ſpent within the Realm, would ſuffice to finde and ſuſtain 150 *Earls,* 1500 *Knights,* 6200 *Eſquires,* 100 *Hoſpitals,* more than there were. But this motion was maul'd with the *King's own hand,* who daſhed it, perſonally interpoſing Himſelf contrary to that character, which the jealous *Clergie* had conceived of Him, that coming to the *Crown* He would be a great [d] *enemy* to the *Church.* But though *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter* was no friend to the *Clergie,* perchance to ingratiate himſelf with the *people,* yet the ſame *Henry* King of *England* His intereſt being altered, to ſtrengthen Him with the conſiderable power of the *Clergy,* proved a *Patron,* yea, a *Champion* to defend them. However, we may ſay, that now the *Axe is laid to the root of the tree of Abbeys,* and this *ſtroke* for the preſent, though it was ſo farre from hurting the *body,* that it ſcarce pierced the *bark* thereof, yet bare *attempts* in ſuch *matters* are important, as putting into *peoples heads* a *feaſibility* of the *project,* formerly conceived altogether impoſſible.

[c] Thomas Walſingham.

[d] Being heard to ſay, That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much, Holinſhed, pag. 514.

The objection of covetouſneſs againſt Abbeys (though not anſwered) evaded by Archb. Chicheſly.

5. Few yeares after, namely, in the *ſecond year* of King *Henry the fift,* another ſhreud thruſt was made at *Engliſh* Abbeys, but it was finely and cleverly put aſide by that skilfull State-Fencer *Henry Chicheſly* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.* For the former Bill againſt Abbeys, in full Parliament was revived, when the Archbiſhop minded King *Henry* of His undoubted Title to the fair and flouriſhing Kingdome of *France.* Hereat, that King who was a ſpark in Himſelf, was enflamed to that deſigne by this Prelates perſwaſion: and His native courage ran fiercely on the project, eſpecially when clapt on with conſcience and encouragement from a Church-man in the lawfulneſſe thereof. An undertaking of thoſe vaſt dimenſions, that the greateſt covetouſneſſe might ſpread, and higheſt ambition reach it ſelf within the bounds thereof: If to promote this project, the Abbeys advanced not onely large and liberall, but vaſt and incredible ſummes of money, it is no wonder if they were contented to have their nails pared cloſe to the quick, thereby to ſave their fingers. Over goes K. *Henry* into *France,* with many martiall ſpirits attending him, ſo that putting the King upon the ſeeking of a new Crown, kept the Abbots old Mitres upon their heads, and Monaſteries tottering at this time, were (thank a politick Archbiſhop) refixed on the firm foundations, though this proved rather a *reprieve* than a *pardon* unto them, as will afterwards appear.

Of the ſuppreſsion of alien Priories.

NExt followed the diſſolving of *alien Priories*, of whoſe firſt founding and ſeverall ſorts ſomething muſt be obſerved. When the Kings of *England* by Conqueſt or Inheritance were poſſeſſed of many and great Territories in *France* (*Normandy, Aquitaine, Picardy, &c.*) many *French* Monaſteries were endowed with lands in *England*. For an *Engliſh kitchin* or *larder* doth excellently well with a *French hall*. And whilſt forreigners tongues ſlighted our Iſland (as barren in compariſon of their own Countrey) at the ſame time, they would lick their lips after the full-fare which our Kingdome afforded.

The originall of Priories aliens.

2. Very numerous were theſe *Cells* in *England* relating to forreign *Abbeys* ſcattered all over the Kingdome. One *John Norbury* erected two for his part, the one at *Greenwich*, the other at *Leweſham* in *Kent*. Yea, [e] *Roger de Poictiers*, founded on in the remoteſt corner of the Land, in the Town of *Lancaſter*; the richeſt of them all for annuall income was that which [f] *Two Talbois* built at *Spalding* in *Lincoln ſhire*, giving it to the *Monks* of *Angiers* in *France*, & valued at no leſſe than 878 lib. 18 s. 3 d. of yearly revenue. And it is remarkable, that as one of theſe *Priories* was granted before the Kings of *England* were inveſted with any Dominion in *France* (namely, *Deerhirſt* in *Glocester ſhire*, [h] aſſigned by the Teſtament of *Edward the Confeſſour* to the Monaſtery of S. *Denis* neer *Paris*) ſo ſome were beſtowed on thoſe places in forreign parts, where our *Engliſh Kings* never had finger of power, or foot of poſſeſſion. Thus we read how *Henry the third* annexed a *Cell* in *Threadneedle-ſtreet* in [i] *London* to S. *Anthony* in *Vienna*, and neer *Charing-Croſſe* there was another annext to the Lady *Runciavall* in *Navarre*. Belike men's devotion, in that Age, look'd on the world as it lay in *common*, taking no notice how it was ſub-divided into private Principalities, but proceeded on that rule, [k] *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſſe thereof*, and Charity, though wandring in forreign parts, counted it ſelf ſtill at home, becauſe dwelling on its proper pious uſes.

e *Cambd. Brit.* in *Lancaſhire.*

f *Idem* in *Lincoln-ſhire.*

g *Harpsfield* in *Catal. religioſarum Ædium*, fol. 762.

h *Camb. Brit.* in *Glocester-ſhire.*

i *Harpsfield*, *ut priùs*, pag 763.

k 1 Cor. 10. 28.

3. Theſe *alien Priories* were of two natures, ſome had *Monks* with a *Prior* reſident in them, yet not *Conventuall*, but dative and removable *ad nutum* of the forreign *Abbey*, to which they were ſubſervient; Others were abſolute in themſelves, who though having an honorary dependance on, and bearing a ſubordination of reſpect unto *French Abbeys*, yet had a *Prior* of their own, being an intire body of themſelves to all purpoſes and intents. The former not unlike *Stewards* managing profits for the behoof of their *Maſter*, to whom they were reſponſible. The later reſembling *retainers at large*, acknowledging a generall reference, but not accomptable unto them, for the revenues they received. Now both theſe kindes of *Priories* peaceably enjoyed their poſſeſſions here, even after the revolt of thoſe Principalities from the Crown of *England*: yet ſo, that during open hoſtility and actuall warre betwixt *England* and *France*, their revenues were ſeiſed and taken by the King, and reſtored again when amity was ſetled.

Alien Priories of two natures.

4. But King *Richard the ſecond*, and King *Henry the fourth*, not ſo fair as their *predeceſſours* herein, not onely detained thoſe revenues in time of peace, but alſo diverted them from their proper uſe, and beſtowed them on ſome of their *Lay-ſervants*. So that the Crown was little enriched therewith: eſpecially if it be true what *Arundell* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* averred in the *houſe* of *Commons* to the face of the *Speaker*, That theſe *Kings* [l] were not half a *mark* the *wealthier* for thoſe rents thus aſſumed into their hands. And a *Synod* of the *Clergie* in the laſt of *Henry the fourth* petitioned the *King*, That *Lay men* might not invade the poſſeſſions of *alien Priories*, [*] but thoſe Foundations might be furniſhed, Native *Engliſh* ſubſtituted in their rooms; whoſe requeſt, by reaſon of the *King's death* enſuing took no effect. But this doth intimate, (though I had rather *learn* than *teach* in ſo dark a point) that thoſe *alien Priories* ſtill ſtood undiſſolved by *Act of State*, with a poſſibility to revert to their former uſe, and though the *King* had faſtned

l *Antiq. Brit.* pag. 274.

* *Harpsfield Hiſt. Ang. ſæc. decimo quinto cap octavo.*

faſtned upon their profits by his abſolute power, yet as yet they were not ſetled and eſtabliſhed in the Crown by *Act* of *Parliament*.

Their diſſolution.

5. But in the fourth year of King *Henry the fift*, in the heat and height of His Warres with *France*, all ſuch *Priories alien*, as were not Conventuall, were by Act of [m] Parliament diſſolved, and beſtowed on the *King*. It being conceived unſafe, that men, moving according to a forreign intereſt, having their affections leading them beyond the ſeas, and their actions following, (when befriended with ſecreſie) ſhould be maintained in this Kingdome. Beſides it tended to the manifeſt detriment of the State, that ſuch ſhould tranſport our *coyn* and *commodities* into an enemies Countrey, without returning a proportionable profit to the Common-wealth. Other *alien Priories*, which were Conventuall, ſurvived untill the general mortality of *Engliſh* Monaſteries. Theſe *alien Priories* were not conceived to have ſuch a temptation to diſloyalty, as the others, having their abſolute ſubſiſtence here; and though the *Monks* therein were ſtrangers in reſpect of their birth, they were counted Naturalized in a manner in regard of their education and livelyhood.

[m] Parliament Rolls *Raſtall. titul.* Monaſteries.

The dangerous influence of this precedent.

6. The diſſolving of theſe *Priories*, made a dangerous impreſſion on all the reſt. Say not that *Engliſh Abbeys* were unconcerned, becauſe theſe ſtrangers being rather *ſuckers* than *branches* of their *tree*, their growing was a burthen, and their pruning off a benefit thereunto; for, though *Aliens* in their *Countrey*, they were *Allies* in their *Cauſe*, there being an *affinity* betwixt all *religious Foundations*. And now here was an Act of State for precedent, That *without ſin of Sacriledge ſuch Donations might be diſſolved*. Uſe was made hereof, beyond the *Kings intention*, who, in this act not *covetous*, but *politick*, aiming rather to *ſecure* than *enrich* Himſelf: whereas now ſome Courtiers by His *bounty* taſting on the ſweet of *Abbey-lands*, made their *break-faſts* thereon in the time of *Henry the fift*, which increaſed their appetites to *dine* on the ſame in the daies of King *Henry the eighth*, not ſo glutted, but they could *ſup* on the reverſions left in the Reign of K. *Edward the ſixt*.

SECTION

SECTION III.

To the Honourable, the Lady MARY FOUNTAINE.

MADAM,

THough none *can expect* Courtship, many *will require* Congruity *from me. Such will charge me with a great* Impropriety, *for dedicating a discourse of* Monks *and* Friers *to your Ladiship, where some passages of their* wantonnesse, *may occasion your* blushing *for them, who never* blushed *for themselves. But, know it done by* design, *that you may plainly perceive how far* Marriage-chastity *transcended* forced *and* pretended virginity: *or, if you please, how much a* springing Fountain, *is better than a* standing-Pool *soon subject to putrefaction.*

Your Family, *though not a* Nunnery, *may be a* Religious house, *seeing God hath multiplied you into a whole* Convent, *I mean, the* fourteen Children *which you have at this present*; *I say* have; *for this reason is rendred, why the* Children *of* Job (*after his restitution*) *were not* doubled *unto him as his* Cattle *were, because they were utterly* foregone, *his Children onely* gone before; *on which account those* six removed *from you, into a* better world, *still* remain *yours. God in due time translate you, and your* worthy Husband, *in* a good old age, *into the same Place of Happiness.*

of Cardinal Wolsey's *ominous suppressing of forty lesser Monasteries, therewith to build two Colledges.*

VAst were the revenues of Cardinal *Wolsey*, if we account both his Wives, and Concubines, I mean, the place whereon he resided, and Churches he held in *Commendam*; being at the same time, the Pope's Legate *à latere*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, Chancellor of *England*, Bishop of *Winchester*, Abbot of S. *Albans*, besides other meaner preferments. Yet he found [a] *Solomon's* observation true, *When goods encrease, they are encreased that eat them*: Insomuch, that his magnificent mind was poor in his plenty; & in the midst of his *wealth*, wanted *means* to compass his vast designs. Wherefore, intending to erect *two fair Colledges*, one, where he was born, in *Ipswich*; the other, where he was bred, in *Oxford*; and finding himself unable to endow them at his own charges, he obtained license of Pope *Clement* 7th. *An.* 1525, to suppress forty *smaller Monasteries* in *England*, and to lay their *old land* to his *new foundations*, which was done accordingly. For the Cardinal thought,

Wolsey's wealth and want.

[a] Eccles. 5. 11.

thought, that these petty Houses, like *little sparks of diamonds*, were inconsiderable in themselves, whereas they would make a fair show, if all were put together into *two jewels only*, (his two Colledges) and he carry away all the credit thereof.

Wolsey his act justly censured.

2. An action condemned by the conscientious in that Age, accounting it essentiall to charity, that the thing given be the proper goods of the Donour. *Cast thy bread* (saith [b] *Solomon*) *upon the water*. It must be *thy bread*, otherwise, though [c] *stollen bread* may be pleasant to men, it is nauseous and distastfull to the God of heaven; who, in such cases will not be the *receiver*, though man be the *thief*; solemnly disavowing the acceptance of such *donations*, witnesse his own words, [d] *I hate robbery for burnt-offering*.

[b] Eccles. 11,1.
[c] Prov. 9.17.
[d] Isa. 61.8.

Fig-leaves to cover it, in vain.

3. Plead not in the Cardinal's excuse, that the *houses* by him suppressed were of small value, it being as great, yea, greater sacriledge to invade *the widows mite*, than the large gifts, which the rich Priests cast into *Corban*: because their bounties were but superfluous *wenns*, whilst hers was an essentiall limb; yea, as our Saviour [e] observes, the *whole body* of her estate. As probably, some of those poor Foundations were erected by Founders, like those of [f] *Macedonia, to their power, and beyond their power willing of themselves*. As for the poor people, formerly living in these then-dissolved houses, they may be presumed more religious than others that were richer; *poverty* being a protection for their *piety*, and they unable to go to the cost of luxurious extravagancies. I finde not what provision was afterward made for these helplesse souls, thrust out of house and home; so that it is suspitious, that the Cardinal, notwithstanding his prodigious hospitality, made moe beggars than ever he relieved.

[e] Luke 21. 4.
[f] 2 Cor. 8. 3.

The miserable ends of the Cardinals instruments herein.

4. Others alledge, that these *houses* were still continued to the generall end of pious uses: however, it was not fair to alienate them from the primitive intention of the Founders; yea, God himself seemed not well-pleased therewith. I know, that [g] *no man knoweth either love, or hatred, by all that is before them. All things come alike to all, there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, &c.* However, Gods exemplary hand ought to be heeded in the signall fatality of such, as by the Cardinall were employed in this service: Five they were in number, two whereof challenging the field of each other, one was [h] slain, and the other hanged for it. A third, throwing himself headlong into a well, perished wilfully. A fourth, formerly wealthy, grew so poor, that he begged his bread. The fifth Dr. *Allen*, one of especiall note, afterward Archbishop of *Dublin*, was slain in *Ireland*. What became of the Cardinal himself, is notoriously known: and, as for his two Colledges, that in *Ipswich* (the embleme of its Builder, *soon up, soon down*) presently vanished into private houses; whilst the other, *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, was fain to disclaim its Founder, and (being adopted the issue of the bounty of King *Henry the eighth*) at this day owns not him for Father, who first gave it *life*, but who afterwards kept it from *dying*. In a word, this dissolution of fourty small Houses caused by the Cardinall, made all the *Forest* of religious Foundations in *England* to shake, justly fearing the King would finish to *fell* the *oaks*, seeing the Cardinal began to *cut* the *underwood*.

[g] Eccles. 9. 1,2.

[h] *Godwin* his Annals of Hen. the eighth, *Anno* 1525. Yet Mr. *Fox* maketh the Lord *Cromwell* the principall person employed by the Cardinall therein.

Of the first Priory which was solemnly suppressed by King Henry *the eighth.*

Christ-Church Priorie neer *Allgate* first, and solely dissolved.

SOme six years after, whilst as yet all other Abbeys flourished in their height and happinesse, as safe and secure as ever before; King *Henry the eighth*, for reasons best known to Himself, singled out the Priory of *Christ-Church* nigh *Allgate* in *London*, and dissolved the same. This He bestowed as a boon on *Thomas* [a] *Audley* Speaker in the Parliament; and indeed, it was an excellent receit to *clear his voice*, to make him speak shrill, and loud for his Master. This shrewdly shook the *freehold* of all Abbeys, seeing now, two such great men, *Wolsey* and *Audley*, both in their times *Lord-Chancellours of England*, (and therefore presumed well versed in cases of conscience) the one a Divine first *took*, the other a Common-Lawyer first *received* such lands into their possession.

[a] *Hall's* Chronicle, *An* 1525.

2. A word of the antiquity, wealth and dignity of this Covent, because in each respect it was remarkable. It was founded *Anno* 1108. by Queen [b] *Matilda*, Wife to King *Henry the first*, dedicated to the holy Trinity, for Black Canons, or Canons-Regular, and one *Norman* (by name and nation) was first *Prior* thereof. In processe of time it became rich in land and ornaments, and passed all the Priories in *London* or *Middlesex*, especially in this particular, that the Prior thereof was alwaies an [c] Alderman of *London*, namely, of *Portsoken* Ward (though otherwise their Covent standeth in *Ealgate* Ward) and used to ride amongst the Aldermen in a *livery* like the rest, save that his habit was in the shape of a spiritual person. In the year 1264, [d] *Eustathius* the eighth Prior of this Covent, because he himself was loth to deale in temporall matters, instituted *Theobald Fitz-Ivo*, Alderman in his place. They were most bountifull house-keepers, relieving all comers and goers, and got themselves much reputation for their hospitality.

The antiquity, wealth, and dignity thereof. b *Harpsfield* in his Catalogue of Abbeys.

c *Stow's* Survey of *London*, p. 145.

d *Idem ibidem.*

3. Some conjecture this was King *Henry's* designe in dissolving this Priorie, thereby to make a discovery in peoples affections, how they resented the same. He dispatched this Covent first, as the *forelorn hope* is sent out before the *body of the Army*, which, if meeting with unsuspected dangers, may give timely notice to the rest, to advance no farther. And, if He had found the people much startled thereat, He could quickly *knock* off, retrench His resolutions, and (dexterous to decline envy for Himselfe) handsomely cast the same on His instruments employed therein. Others think, the King as yet had no such project in intention, but did it meerly to gratifie Sir *Thomas Audley*, whom He loved the better for hating Cardinal *Wolsey*, now beginning to fall, against whom he had bitterly inveighed in the Parliament.

A guesse at King *Henry's* design.

4. As for the manner of the dissolving thereof, whereas all other Abbeys afterwards were *stormed by violence* (whatsoever is plausibly pretended to the contrary) this onely was fairly taken by composition. For the Prior thereof was sent for by the King, commended for his hospitality, promised preferment as a man worthy greater dignity, which promise surely He performed, though the particulars of the agreement are not to be known. Whereupon, *Anno* 1531, the twenty third year of the King's reign, in the moneth of *July*, he surrendred the same to the King's use. As for the Canons, they were sent to other *houses* of the same Order; who now, being severally disposed in other Covents, they might serve them as *Monitours* to warn all the rest, seasonably to prepare for the time of their dissolution.

The Priory taken by composition.

5. The rooting out of this Priory wrought a middle effect in people, for they were neither dumb, nor clamorous thereat, but grumbled out their discontentment for a time, and then returned to their former temper. However at first they were so abstemious, that, whereas the Priory, Church and Steeple was [e] profered to whomsoever would take it down, no man would undertake the offer. Whereupon, Sir *Thomas Audley* was fain to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, loosed stone from stone, and throwing them down, most part of them were broken in the fall, and remained useless.

The effect thereof upon the people.

e *Idem, ut prius.*

6. What might move the King to single this Priory out of all the rest, to *lead this sad dance*, is variously conjectured. Indeed, this was the antienteſt of all *England* of that Order since the Conquest, I mean, of Canon-Regulars, as our [f] Authour telleth us. And therefore it was but reasonable, the *oldest should go first*, the *first-born* should be first buried. But surely, no such consideration moved King *Henry* to this choice, who was not so methodical in His *deeds of undoing*.

This the antienteſt of all Priories. f *Stow, ut prius.*

7. As for the Lord *Audley*, on whom this Priory was bestowed, *Margaret* his sole Daughter & Heir was married to *Tho: Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, who dwelt therein, and which from him was called the *Dukes-Place*. No ingenuous soul will envy so Honourable a person the accommodation of so handsome an habitation; onely some, perchance, will bemoan that the *Lords-Place* (for so in their, and [g] *Jacob's* language, they called the Church) whither alone the numerous neighbour-

At this day called the *Dukes-Place*.

g Gen. 38. 17.

bour-inhabitants repaired for publick service, should be so destroyed, that the people were for many years left Church-lesse, till their wants [b] very lately were supplied by the re-edifying thereof out of the ruines, by the charity of others; I am sure, none of the Heirs of Him, who demolished the same.

[b] viz. An. Dom. 1621.

Of the suppression of the Order of Observant Friers, and a preparatory for the dissolution of all the rest.

Observant Friers why first falling under King *Henry's* displeasure.

IT is the practise of advised Physicians, in purging of long corrupted bodies (where the ill humours may prescribe peaceable possession for many years) to proceed not violently, all at once; but gently, by degrees. The same course was embraced by King *Henry* in dissolving of Abbeys, gradually (and therefore the lesse visibly) to work their subversion, so to avoid the danger of a sudden and extreme alteration. And first He began with the *Minorites*, or *Franciscan-Observant Friers*, whose chief seats were *Greenwich*, and *Canterbury*. Two motives mainly incensed Him against this Order; One, because two of their most eminent Fathers, *Hugh Rich* (Prior of a Covent in *Canterbury*) and *Richard Ruby*, had tampered with *Elizabeth Barton* (alias *the holy maid of* Kent) and were *convicted*, and *executed* with her for *high Treason*. A second, because this Order generally manifested most *contumacie* and *contempt* against the King, in the matter of Queen *Katharine's divorce*, inveighing both in their *sermons*, [a] and *disputations* against the *unlawfulnes* thereof, especially *Elston* and *Payton*, two famous *Friers* in *London*. A great [b] Papist beholds it as ominous, and a prognostick of sad successe, that the Lady (afterward Queen) *Elizabeth*, just eleven moneths before, had been *Christened* in these Friers Church in *Greenwich*, as if Her baptizing therein portended, That those Friers should soon after be washed away from this their Covent.

[a] *Sanders de Schis. Anglic. lib. 1. pag. 81.*
[b] *Idem, pag. 80.*

Totally and finally dissolved.

2. Hereupon, in the year of our Lord 1534, the aforesaid whole Order of *Friers-Observant* were suppressed, and *Augustine-Friers* substituted in their places. Nor were these *Observants* (like the *Canon-Regulars* in the last Chapter) disposed of in other Foundations, but totally and finally banished out of all Religious Societies. For, King *Henry* his smiles complemented the former out of their Houses, by their own willing condescension; whilst His frowns outed these as Delinquents, by a violent expulsion. Yea, probably, some of them had been expelled their *lives*, as well as their *livings* (two hundred of them being at once imprisoned) had not Sir *Tho:* [c] *Wriothesly*, their great friend and favourer, seasonably interceded for them to the King, on hopes of some of their future conformity to His Majesties desires.

[c] *Sanders*, p. 89.

The Supplication of Beggars, with the Sense thereof.

3. Immediately after, a famous Petition, called the *Supplication of Beggars*, came into publick view. It was made some years before by one Mr. *Simon* [d] *Fish* a Gentleman of *Grays-Inne*, and solemnly presented by *George Eliot* an *English*-Merchant, and entertained by King *Henry* for a great rarity: Though indeed the same long since had been tendred Him by Queen [e] *Anna Bollen*, and the King acquainted with the passages therein. So that possibly, this Supplication might first come from some neer His Majesty, as *contrivers* thereof. And, as *Moses* [f] was sent to be nursed unto her, who (though generally unknown) was indeed his own Mother which bare him: so Petitions may sometimes be recommended back to the same power that first framed them. Great ones delighting, not onely for the greater solemnity, but also for their better security to transferre their intentions to be others intreaties; their private designes finding more acceptance, when passing under the notion of a *publick desire*. The effect thereof was to complain, how a crew of *strong, puissant, counterfeit-holy, idle beggars, and vagabonds*, by their luxurie starved a number of *needy, impotent, blinde, lame*, and *sick people*, which otherwise might comfortably be maintained. As also to discover the foul enormities

[d] *Fox* Monum. vol. 2. pag. 179.
[e] *Idem ibidem.*
[f] Exod. 2. 8.

enormities and filthy converſation uſed amongſt thoſe pretended pious Fraternities, as the ſame is ſet forth at large in the *Book of Martyrs*, whither we remit the Reader.

4. Onely a word of the *Geometry*, *Arithmetick*, and *Chronologie*, uſed by the Author of this *Supplication*. For his *Geometry*, I conceive he faileth not much in proportion, when, in meaſuring the *content* of this Kingdome, he affirmeth, That *they had got into their hands more than the third part of all the Realm*. But, whereas he auditeth the Revenues of the Friers in *England* (beſides their lands) to amount yearly to Four hundred thirty thouſand three hundred thirty and three pounds, allowing their quarteridge to ariſe out of Fifty two thouſand Pariſhes, he highly over-reacheth their number, not compleating a Ten thouſand. Indeed, the Papiſts tell us of Ten thouſand Churches in *England* deſtroyed all in one year,

The Geometry, Arithmetick, and Chronology of the Author thereof.

a See *Cambd. Brit.* in his diviſion of *Brit.* pag. 162.

Millia dena unus Templorum deſtruit annus.

Yet, theſe being Conventual, not Parochial Churches, adde nothing to the former computation. Yea, ſhould all the *Chappels of Eaſe* in this Land be admitted to take a *new degree*, and to *commence* Churches in this catalogue, it would not make up the number. But, it is given to *Beggars*, ſometimes to hyperbolize, to make their caſe the more pitifull: and indeed, if we defalk a third part of that ſumme, yet ſtill vaſt was the remainder of ſuch Friers revenues. But, whereas the ſaid Authour of this *Supplication*, ſaith, That *four hundred years paſt theſe Friers had not one peny of this money*, *Quare*, whether he be not miſtaken in his Chronologie? and, whether ſome of the ſame profits accrued not to the *Benedictines* before the Conqueſt.

5. In anſwer to this, an *Anti-ſupplication* was made, and ſet forth by Sir *Thomas More* (extant amongſt his other works) called, *The Supplication of the ſouls in Purgatory*. The ſcope whereof is, to preſſe the continuation of thoſe lands, given to pious uſes, for the good of the deceaſed, and that they might not be aliened without danger of Sacriledge. In this *Supplication*, *pleaſant dallying and ſcoffing* are ſo intermixt with *complaints*, that the Authour thereof diſcovereth himſelf more *Satyriſt* than *Saint* in his expreſſions. So hard it is for an Actor ſo to deveſt himſelf of himſelf, as not to vent ſome of his own humours, with the property of that perſon whom he is to repreſent. And, ſeeing Sir *Thomas More* would have his own jeſts when dying, no wonder if he makes others to jeer when dead.

The Anti-ſupplication of the ſouls in Purgatorie.

6. Theſe two *Supplications* preſſing both together for audience and reception, that of the *Beggars on earth* found the beſt entertainment. Whether becauſe it came firſt, which we know is great advantage in Beggars, *firſt come, firſt ſerved*: Or, becauſe theſe *Terreſtrial beggars* were neerer at hand (and ſo beſt able to manage their own ſuit) whilſt thoſe in *Purgatory* were conceived at a greater diſtance: Or, chiefly, becauſe their *Supplication* ſuggeſted matter of profit to the King and His Courtiers; and ſuch whiſpers ſound loud, and commonly meet with attentive ears. And, as an introduction to the diſſolution of all Abbeys, *ſpies* were ſent forth to make ſtrict diſcovery of mens behaviours therein. Indeed, the Lord *Cromwell*, *Scout-Maſter-Generall* in this deſigne, ſtayed at the Court, whilſt his ſubordinate Emiſſaries (men of as prying eyes, as afterwards they proved of gripple hands) ſent unto him all their intelligence, in manner and form as in due time ſhall enſue.

The firſt Supplication beſt received.

The lesser Monasteries bestowed on the King.

A gainfull motion made for the King.

NOW because some moneths were imployed in that service before a perfect account was returned to the Lord *Cromwell*: The suppressing of the smaller Monasteries may here seasonably be inserted: For in the *twenty seventh* of the Kings Reign *Anno* 1539, a motion was made in Parliament, That *to support the Kings States, and supply His wants, all Religious Houses might be conferred on the Crown, which were not able clearly to expend above Two hundred pounds a year.*

Reported by mistake opposed by Bishop *Fisher.*

2. Some may report, that *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* earnestly (though pleasantly) opposed the motion, by alledging an *Apologue* out of *Æsope*, That *the Helve of the Axe craved a Handle of the wood of Oaks onely to cut off the Serebowes of the Tree, but when it was a complete Instrumentall Axe, it felled down all the wood.* Applying it, That *the grant of these smaller Houses would in fine prove destructive to all the rest.* But *Fisher*, being now in his grave, this could not be spoken in this Parliament; which, with more probability was formerly urged by him against Cardinal *Wolsey* in dissolving the *forty Houses*, whereof before.

Easily passed in Parliament.

3. This Proposition found little opposition in *either Houses*. *Henry the eighth* was a *King*, and His *necessities* were *Tyrants*, and both suing together for the same thing, must not be denied: besides the larger *thongs* they cut out of other mens *leather*, the more intire they preserved their own *hide*, which made the Parliament to ease their own purses by laying the load on those *lesser Houses*, which they accordingly passed to the Crown.

A Preamble of importance restored out of the Records to the Printed Statute.
a Of *Henry* 8. pag. 376.

4. The Lord *Herbert* in his [a] *Historie* complaineth, and that justly, That *this Statute for dissolution of the lesser Monasteries doth begin very bluntly, without any formall Preamble in the Printed Books they are Published.* It seemeth that herein he never searched the *Record* it self (otherwise industrious in that kinde) to which a *solemn Preface* is prefixed, shewing some *Reasons* of the *dissolution*, and *pious uses*, to which they were attained: In form as followeth:

The Preamble is this:

FOrasmuch as manifest sin, vitious, carnall and abominable living, is daily used and committed commonly in such little and small Abbeys, Priories, and other religious houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, where the Congregation of such religious persons, is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the Governours of such religious Houses and their Covent, spoile, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well the Churches, Monasteries, Priories, principall Houses, Farms, Granges, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as the ornaments of the Churches, and their goods and Chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good Religion, and to the great infamy of the King's Higness and the Realm, if redresse should not be had thereof. And albeit that many continuall Visitations hath been heretofore had by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnall, and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or no amendment is hitherto had, but their vitious living shamefully increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custome so grown and infested, that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small Houses, do rather choose to rove abroad in Apostasie, than to conform themselves to the observation of good Religion; so that without such small Houses be utterly suppressed, and the Religion therein committed to the great and honourable Monasteries of Religion in this Realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for reformation of their lives, there can else be no redresse nor reformation in that behalf. In consideration whereof, the King's most royall Majesty, being Supreme head in earth under God, of the Church of England, *daily*

daily ſtudying and deviſing the increaſe, advancement, and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the ſaid Church, to the onely glory and honour of God, and the totall extirping and deſtruction of vice and ſin, having knowledge that the premiſes be true, as well by the compts of his late viſitations, as by ſundry credible informations; conſidering alſo that divers and great ſolemn Monaſteries of this Realm, wherein, thanks be to God, Religion is right well kept and obſerved, be deſtitute of ſuch full numbers of religious perſons as they ought and may keep, have thought good that a plain Declaration ſhould be made of the premiſes, as well to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, as to other His loving Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled.

WHEREUPON the ſaid Lords and Commons by a great deliberation finally be reſolved, That it is, and ſhall be much more to the pleaſure of Almighty God, *and for the honour of this His Realm, that the poſſeſſions of ſuch ſmall religious Houſes, not being ſpent, ſpoiled and waſted for increaſe of maintenance of ſin,* ſhould be uſed and converted to better uſes; *and the unthrifty religious perſons ſo ſpending the ſame, to be compelled to reform their lives. And hereupon moſt humbly deſire the King's Highneſſe, that it may be enacted by authority of this preſent Parliament, That His Majeſty ſhall have to Him and to His Heirs for ever, all and ſingular ſuch Monaſteries.*

His Majeſty ſhall have and enjoy, &c. As it foloweth in the printed Statute.[b]

b *Cap.* 28.

In this *Preamble* two *principles* are laid down of *infallible truth*, and *poſterity* muſt not be ſo *preſumptuous* as to *queſtion* them.

Two principles which muſt not be queſtioned.

1. *The ſmalleſt Convents were the greateſt ſinners, and they who had the leaſt lands led the leudeſt lives.*
2. *It was harder to reform little Covents than thoſe that were greater.*

It ſeems ſuch *ſmall Houſes*, like *little fiſhes*, could not be caught with the *net* of *Reformation*, as ſlipping through the holes thereof, and therefore no way to repreſſe their faults except by ſuppreſſing their *foundation*. All I will adde is, God firſt puniſhed great *Sodome*, and ſpared little *Zoar*, (though probably alſo in fault) here *Zoar* was firſt puniſhed, let great *Sodome* beware, and the *larger Monaſteries* look to themſelves.

5. And now adieu all *religious Houſes* in *England* that could not cleerly ſpend above Two hundred pounds *per annum*, and we muſt not believe any ſiniſter dealing was uſed by favour *to wrack* the revenues of ſome above, and out of diſlike to *ſhrink* the rents of others, beneath the *ſtandard of diſſolution*, when Twenty ſhillings a year, under or over the aforeſaid ſumme, might ſave or deſtroy a *ſmall Monaſtery*. As for ſuch (if any in that poſture) who had juſt Two hundred pounds, and no more, they were obnoxious to the Statute, whilſt Five ſhillings more ſaved all, as that is a *fair ball* in the Tennis-Court, which toucheth the line, yet goeth over it.

Exact meaſuring to the ſtandard of diſſolution.

6. Ten thouſand perſons were by this diſſolution ſent to ſeek their fortunes in the wide world, ſome indeed had Fathers or Friends to receive them, others none at all; ſome had Twenty ſhillings given them at their Ejection, and a *new Gown*, which needed to be of *ſtrong cloath* to laſt ſo long till they got *another*. Moſt were expoſed to want. I ſee no ſuch certainty for a comfortable livelihood as a *lawfull calling*, for Monkiſh *profeſſion* was no *poſſeſſion*, and many a *young Nun* proved an *old Beggar*. I pity not thoſe who had hands and health to work, but ſurely the gray hairs of ſome impotent perſons deſerved compaſſion, and I am confident ſuch, had they come to the doors of the *charitable Reader* hereof, ſhould have had a *meals meat* and a *nights lodging* given unto them.

Many aged perſons at a loſſe for livelihood.

Abbey-lands politickly scattered among many purchasers.

7. A clear Revenue of Thirty thousand pounds *per annum*, was here advanced to the Crown, (besides Ten thousand pounds in plate and moveables) though the King enjoyed it but a short time, as passing it away by grant, sale, and exchange to His Subjects. This was done by the politick counsell of the wise Lord *Cromwell*, not hoping that these *small morsels* to so *many mouthes* should satisfie their *hunger*, but onely intending to give them a *taste* of the sweetnesse of *Abbey-lands*. And here Papists plentifully rail upon him in scattering these Lands all abroad, that if any should be so scrupulous as to finde fault with the fact, a *general guiltinesse* should amount unto *innocence*: Thus say they, *there is no fear that a man shall be condemned for felony, who hath so many receivers in the County; that scarcely a Judge can sit, and surely no Jury can be impanelled upon him, saving such who had been parties with him.*

The number of the lesser Monasteries.

[e] See *Speed* his Catalogue of Valuations.

8. No fewer than *Three hundred seventy five Covents* (as *Sanders* doth account them) *were dissolved at this time*: sure I am, *none* was left standing in the whole Diocesse of *Bangor*, where no Foundation was valued[e] at full seventy pounds *per annum*.

Why the King cajoleth the great Monasteries.

9. We must not forget how in the foresaid *Preamble*, the King fairly *claweth* the *great Monasteries*; wherein, saith He, *Religion thanks be to God is right well kept and observed*; though He *clawed* them soon after in another acceptation. The truth is, King *Henry* could not suppresse the *lesser Abbeys* but by the consent of the *greater Abbots*, whereof *twenty six* (as Barons) voted in the Parliament, who mollified them by this Commendation into a Concurrence with His desire.

Specious uses pretended on heavy penalties.

10. However, most specious uses were pretended (though few perchance had faith firm enough to believe their full performance) That *all should be done to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of the Realm.* And particular care is taken in the Statute, as it is printed, for *the reservation of many Rents and Services, Corrodice, and Pensions to Founders, Donours, and Benefactors.* Order also was taken, that *those to whom Abbey-lands were passed, should keep, or cause to be kept a continual House and Household in the same Site or Precinct.* They were also to *occupy yearly as much of the demeans in Tilledge as the Abbots did, or their Farmers under them, within the time of twenty years next before this Act, otherwise forfeiting to the King's Highnesse for every Moneth so offending* 6 lib. 13 s. 4 d. *to be recovered to His use in any of His Courts of Record.* The *arrears* whereof, if rigorously exacted, would amount to a vast summe from such Offenders, whose *hospitality* was contracted to a *Shepheard and his Dog*, neither *relieving* those that *would work by industry*, nor such who *could not work* by *their charity.*

Such penalties graciously repealed by King *James*.

11. These penalties stood in full force above eighty years, *viz.* untill the 21 of King *James*, when by Act of Parliament they were repealed. Indeed, such who are obnoxious to *penall Statutes* are onely *innocent by courtesie*, and may be made *guilty* at their Princes pleasure. And though such Statutes may be dormant as disused, they are never dead till revoked, seeing commonly Princes *call on* such Statutes when themselves are *called on* by their necessities. Many of the *English* Gentry knew themselves subject to such penalties, when instead of maintaining Tillage had converted the Granges of Abbeys into inclosures: And therefore provided for their own safety, when they * wrought the King to a revocation of those Statutes.

* See the Statutes the 21 of K. *James*, c. 28.

Some grudge at so great a grant.

12. But the Courtiers grudged at this Grant and great Indulgence given by the King without any valuable compensation, some sticking not to say, That *hereby the King at once gave His Subjects more than ever they gave Him in Subsidies, Benevolences, Contributions, or any other way whatsoever all the time of His Reign.* Which, if so, Let no mans eye be *evil*, because the King's was so *good* to His Subjects.

The

The Northern Rebellion occasioned by this dissolution.

Northern Rebellion,

WHen all in the School are equally guilty, and the Master beginneth at the bottome to correct the least boyes first, no wonder if those in the highest form begin to shake; as here no doubt the bigger Abbeys did, except some few, who (to follow the Metaphor) like sturdy striplings (counting themselves above correction) began to prepare themselves to make resistance; hence presently arose the *Northern Rebellion*, wherein all the open Undertakers were North of *Trent*, though, no doubt, many secret Compliers South of *Thames* were ingaged.

begun suppressed, punished,

2. This Commotion began first in *Lincoln shire*, where the Rebels presented *six Articles* to the King, in the last whereof they complained, That divers Bishops of *England* of His Graces late promotion, had *Subverted the Faith of CHRIST*, (as they thought) which is, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Rochester*, *Salisbury*, S. *Davids*, and *Dublin*.

3. This *Lincoln shire* Commotion being quickly suppressed, and a right understanding begotten betwixt the King and His Subjects, the Rebellious humour removed into *York shire*, where no fewer than fifty thousand, saith *Sanders*, were assembled in a body under *Robert Aske* (a mean Gentleman) their Captain, and one *Diamond* (though a *knave* of another *suit*) who termed himself the *Earl of Poverty*: yet this distemper also was seasonably cured by the King's pardon, and their submission, till soon after a great part of them fell into a *relapse* of Rebellion, carrying in their Ensignes the *five wounds* of our Saviour, the *Chalice*, with the *Hoste*, and the Name of *JESUS* betwixt them; who being vanquished by the King's forces, under the command of the Earle of *Shrewesbury*, were condignely executed for the same.

Excused by *Sanders* unjustly.

4. Indeed *Sanders*, (to whom it is as naturall to defame, as for a stone to descend) complaineth, That the King executed those whom formerly He had pardoned for the same offence, contrary to Gods proceedings, with whom *peccata remissa non recurrunt*: yea, contrary to equity, and all common justice; but our Chronicles make it plain, that they ran on the score of a new Rebellion (their faults *specifically* not *numerically* the same) and justly suffered for their offences therein.

5. *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Hussey* (first and last Baron of his Family) were beheaded on this account: The first of these being much bemoaned both for what he had been (a marshall man of merit by sea and land) and for what he was, (decaied, being almost eighty, with old age) insomuch that there goeth a Tradition, that he had the King's Pardon in his pocket, and slept the while the sentence of condemnation was passed on him, and then produced it too late: such (it seems) were the rigorous proceedings against him.

Persons executed,

6. *Ask* and *Diamond* were executed in this Rebellion, and so also were six Abbots, namely, of *Sanley*, *Barling*, *Gerviaux*, *Whaley*, *Rivers*, with the Prior of *Berlington*, besides many Gentlemen of prime account, whereof these the chief: *Robert Constable*, *Thomas Piercy*, *Francis Bigot*, *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Nicholas Temple*, *Stephen Hamilton*, *Thomas Gilby*, *William Lomley*, *John Bulmar* and his Wife. However, some pity may seem proper to these persons, as ignorantly zealous, and grieved to behold the *destruction* of the *old Religion* before they had received any competent *instruction* for a *new*. And thus was there a *rout* of the most *antient* of the Northern Gentlemen of the Romish perswasion, who in the next Generation had scarcely *rallied* themselves again but they were *routed* the second time in the Rebellion of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*.

The return of the Visitors of Abbeys.

The return of the L. Cromwells agents.

BY this time, the *Instruments* imployed by the Lord *Cromwell*, to make discovery of the vitious lives of *Monks*, and *Fryers*, were all returned in their *persons*, or in their *intelligence* sent unto him. They were men, who well understood the Message they went on, and would not come back without a satisfactory answer to him that sent them, knowing themselves were likely to be no losers thereby. And now they had found out *water enough to drive the mill*, (besides what *ran by*) a sufficient detection to effect the businesse. Of these, some were put in *Commission* to *visit Abbeys*, others moving in a *lower*, (but no lesse *needfull*) sphere of activity.

The principall Commissioners.

2. Of these *Commissioners* the principal were *Rich: Layton*, *Tho: Legh*, *William Peters*, Doctors of the Law; [a] Doctor *John London* Dean of *Wallingford*. Of the three former I can say nothing, but finde the later (though imployed to correct others) no great *Saint* himself. For afterwards he was publickly [b] convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the Horse-tale at *Windsor* and *Ockingham* with papers about his head, which was done accordingly.

a L. *Herbert* in the Life of *Hen.* 8. p. 398.
b *Fox* Acts & Mon. p. 1221. where is a picture thereof.

Their two-edged sword.

3. Their power was partly *Inquisitive*, to search into the former lives of *religious persons*; partly *Impositive*, to enjoyn them stricter rules for their future observation. It is hard to say, whether their *eyes* were more *prying* for what was *past*, or *hands* more *heavy* for the time *to come*; and, most true it is, that *betwixt both*, many *Monks* formerly *lazie in*, were now *weary of* their present profession.

Monks weary of their lives.

4. Some counted their *Convents*, their *Prisons*, being thus confined; for, *once out* of the house, (without *lawful cause* and *leave* obtained) and *never in* again. It was a fine thing when they *might*, but sad case, when they *must*, live in their *Monasteries*; the *Eighty six Articles* of the *Visitors*, (looking with *Janus* partly backward, partly forward) did so vex them, that many who had hopes of others subsistence, cast off the *Couls* and *Vails*, and quitted their *Convents*.

The second sort of insinuating Emissaries.

Others undone by their own dissensions.

THese *Visitors* were succeeded with a second sort of *publick Agents*, but working in a more *private way*, encouraging the *members* in *Monasteries* to impeach one another: for seeing there was seldome such general agreement in any great *Convent*, but that *factions* were found, and *parties* did appear therein, these *Emissaries* made an advantageous use thereof. No *Abbey* could have been so soon destroyed, but by cunning setting *it* against *it self*, and secret fomenting of their own divisions. Whereupon, many being *accused*, did recriminate their *Accusers*, and hopelesse to recover their own innocency, *pleased* themselves by *plunging* others in the like guiltinesse. Others being conscious to themselves, prevented accusing, by confessing their faults, and those very foul ones. Insomuch that some have so much charity as to conceive, that they made themselves worse than they were, though it was a needlesse work for a *Black-Moore* to *besoot* his own face.

A charitable censure.

2. Yea, some hold that as Witches long-tortured with watching and fasting, and pinched when but ready to *nod*, are contented causlesly to accuse themselves to be eased of the present pain; so some of these poor souls frighted with *menaces*, and fearing what might be the successe, acknowledged all, and more than all against themselves, the truth whereof none on earth can decide.

Soliciting

Soliciting and tempting Emissaries complained of by the Papists.

THe *Papists* doe heavily complain (how justly, *God* alone knoweth) that a third sort of *Agents* were imployed, to practise on the *chastity* of the *Nuns*, so to surprize them into *wantonness*. Some young *Gallants* were on designe sent to some *Covents*, with *fair faces, flattering tongues, store of gold*, and *good cloathes, youth, wit, wantonness*, and what else might work on the *weaker sex*. These having with much craft, screwed themselves into the affections of *Nuns*, and *brought them to their lure*, accused them afterwards to the *Kings Commissioners* for their incontinence. A damnable act, if true, and which mindeth me of the ensuing story, here not impertinently inserted. A devilish design, if true.

2. Some sixty years since, an *English Gentleman* had the *chastity* of his *Wife* in suspition, jealous of a *particular person*, who kept her company. To put it to *triall*, this her *Husband* so contrived the matter, a private place was appointed, with all accommodations for such a *deed of darkness*, whither the Woman with her suspected *Paramore*, were by *set designe*, (but wearing to them the visage of a *seeming casualty*) brought, and left together. Mean time her *Husband* made himself *Master* of a secret inspection out of the next *room*, where, with some of his *friends*, he was the witnesse of his *Wives* dishonesty, and his own disgrace. Soon after he entred his action, sues for a *divorce*, and the *Court* seemed generally inclined to the granting thereof. A memorable story.

3. But a *Reverend Judge* there *present*, refused to consent thereunto, alledging it the *duty* of every *Husband* by his *prayers, counsel*, and all other lawful means to save and secure the *chastity* of his *Wife*; and not to *tempt temptations to tempt her*: who otherwise might charitably be presumed *honest*, if such a *fore-plotted occasion* had not *debauched* her, and this not the *detecting*, but first *causing* of her *disloyalty*. Seeing therefore in some sort he had been a *Pander* to his *Wife*, let him satisfie himself in the *assurance* of what was *doubtfull* before, and bear the *burthen* of his own *betraying her*. Sin plot, sin pay for.

4. How just this Judges sentence was (all circumstances considered) I will not interpose. Onely in application to the present purpose, though I confesse the *relation* betwixt *Husband* and *Wife* the neerest, (and therefore most obliging to their mutual preservation) the *general Principles of Religion*, and the *Communion of Saints*, tieth all *Christians*, as they tender the *honour* and *glory of God*, to preserve the *consciences* of others *undefiled*. It was therefore a meer *Satanical trick*, who is commonly called the [c] *Tempter* in Scripture, first to sollicite *souls* to sin, and after the committing thereof to be an [d] *Accuser of the brethren*. And seeing the *Tempter* is deeper guilty than the *tempted*, (as more *active* and *voluntary*) no reason that he should *escape*, and the other be *punished*. But all this discourse sinketh, the foundation failing, namely, if the *premisses* cannot be (which as yet are not) proved, that such indirect dealing was used in surprizing of any *Votaries* into *uncleanness*. Application as far as concerns the matter in hand.

[c] Mat. 4. 3. & 1 Thes. 3. 5.
[d] Rev. 12. 10.

5. But still the *Papists* go further, complaining of false returns, that many of these *Enveiglers* of *Nuns* met with *impregnable pieces of chastity*, (neither to be *battered* by *force*, nor *undermined* by *fraud*) who despairing to *lie with* their *bodies*, did *lie on* their *reputations*, making their fames to suffer in those false reports, which they returned to the *Kings Commissioners*. And the following *story* is, I assure you, *traditioned* with very much credit amongst our *English Catholicks*. A complaint of the Papists.

6. Two *young Gentlemen* (whose *names* for just cause I forbear) went to a *Nunnery* within twelve miles of *Cambridge*, in the *nature of Travellers on the high way*, who being *handsomly habited*, and late at night, were admitted into some *out-Lodgings* of that *Nunnery*: next day their civil addresses to the *Abbesse* were returned with such entertainment as became the *laws* of *hospitality*. Afterwards (producing or pretending a *Commission* to visit their *Covent*) they abode there A sad story, if true.

certain daies, and how bad soever they were, met with no counterpart to embrace their wanton profers. However, at the return they gave it out, that nothing but their *wearinesse* bounded their *wantonnesse*, and that they enjoyed those *Nuns* at their own command.

The Pedigree of this tradition.

7. One of the afore said *Gentlemen*, with great grief and remorse of heart did in private confesse the same to Sir *William Standly* Knight, (afterwards imployed in the *Low Countreys*) avowing that nothing in all his life lay more heavy on his conscience than this false accusation of those Innocents: and the said Sir *William* told this passage to a *noble Catholick* still alive. All I will say to this story is this, that if this Sir *Will: Standly* was he, who contrary to his solemn Oath to the Earl of *Leicester* and the *united States*, betrayd the strong City of [e] *Daventer* to the *Spaniards*, (and lived many years after in a [f] neglected, forlorn condition) one so faithlesse in his deeds, may be presumed false in his words, and the whole credit of the relation may justly at least be suspected.

e *Camden Eliz. in anno* 1587. *page* 507.
f *Idem. ibidem.*

Some Covents on examination appearing very vertuous.

Some Covents retaining their primitive piety.
g Lord *Herbert* in *Henry* 8. page 399.

IT is confessed by unpartial people, that some *Monasteries* of both *sexes*, being put to the *test*, appeared very commendable in their behaviour, so that the least aspersion could not justly be cast upon them. I read in one [g] Author, *that some Societies behaved themselves so well, that their lives were not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestowed in writing books, painting, carvil, engraving; so that their* Visiters *became* Intercessours *for them.* Amongst these, the *Nunnery* of *Godstow* neer *Oxford* must not be forgotten, which as it hath a good name, (being a *Bethel*, that is, *Gods house* or *habitation*) well answered thereunto, in the conditions of the people living therein.

But too few to preserve the rest.
b Gen. 18.

2. But there were few such *black swans*, and these *innocent Covents* being inconsiderable in number, could not preserve the rest from ruine. *Eight*, and *one*, pious persons, are insufficient to save *Sodome* from destruction, [b] if *ten* be the lowest number to which *Divine Mercy* will descend.

The generallity of Monasteries notoriously vitious.

Charitable premisses.
i Gen: 7. 7.
k Gen. 4. 1.
l Jam. 3. 2.

I Say the *generallity*, otherwise take any numerous Society, and where there be *many people* there will be *many offenders*; there being a [i] *Cham* amongst the *Eight* in the *Ark*; yea, a [k] *Cain* amongst the *four primitive persons in the beginning of the world.* I adde, also *notoriously vitious*, [l] for, *In many things we offend all.* Yea, if the *Visiters* had been *visited*, they were conscious to themselves of many failings, which might make them more favourably to reflect on the infirmities of others.

Read, and blush, and sigh.
m *Joh. Speeds* Hist. of Great Brit. p. 791. Col. 1.

2. Here I shall present the Reader with a *black Bill* of some eminent *Malefactors*, as I finde them in my [m] Author in the same nature.

In *Battle*-Abbey.

John Abbot	*Gregory Champion*	*John Hamfield*	Sodomites.
Richard Salchurst	*Clement Westfield*	*John Jherom*	
Thomas Cuthbert	*John Crosse*	*Clement Grigge*	
William March	*Thomas Erambrook*	*Richard Tovey*	
John Hasting	*Thomas Bayll*	*John Austine*	

In *Canterbury*.

Richard Gomersham	*Nicholas Clement*	*Thomas Farley*	Sodomites.
William Liechfield	*William Cawston*	*Thomas Morton*	
John Goldingston	*John Ambrose*	*Christoph: James* kept 3 married Whores.	

In St. *Auguſtine*.

Thomas Barham a Whoremonger and a Sodomite.

In *Chicheſter*

John Champion, and *Roger Barham*, both of them natural Sodomites.

In *Cathedrall Church*

John Hill had no leſſe than thirteen Whores.

In *Windſor*-Caſtle
Nicholas Whyden had 4
George Whitehorn kept 5
Nicholas Speter kept 5 Whores.
Robert Hunne had 5
Robert Danyſon kept 6

In *Shulbred* Monaſtery
George Walden Prior of *Shulbred*, had 7
John Standney had at his command 7
Nich: Duke to ſupply his Venery had 5
} Whores.

In *Briſtow*

William, Abbot of *Briſtow*, kept 4 Whores.

In *Mayden-Bradley*

Richard, Prior of *Mayden-Bradley*, kept 5 Whores.

In *Bath* Monaſtery

Richard Lincombe had 7 Whores, and was alſo a Sodomite.

In *Abingdon* Monaſtery

Thomas, Abbot of *Abingdon* kept 3 whores, and had 2 children by his own Siſter.

In *Bermondſey* Abbey

John White, Prior, or rather *Bull* of *Bermondſey* had 20 Whores.

I finde this *Catalogue* only in the third *Edition* of *Speed*, proving it a *poſthume-addition* after the Authors death, atteſted in the margine with the authority of [n] *Henry Steven* his *Apologie* for *Herodotus*, who took the ſame out of an Engliſh Book, containing the *Vileneſſe diſcovered at the Viſitation of Monaſteries*. Thus this being but the report of a forrainer, and the Original at home not appearing, many juſtly abate in their belief of the full latitude of this report. Indeed, *tradition* is the onely Author of many ſtories in this nature, amongſt which the inſuing ſtory intituleth it ſelf to as much probability as any other.

n *Cap.* 21. *fol.* 183.

3. One Sir *Henry Colt* of *Neither-Hall* in *Eſſex*, much in favour with K. *Henry the eighth* for his merry conceits, ſuddenly took his leave of Him *late* at *night*, promiſing to wait on *His Grace early* the next *morning*. Hence he haſtned to *Waltham*-Abbey, being informed by his *ſetters*, that the *Monks* thereof would return in the night from *Cheſhunt*-Nunnery, where they had ſecretly *quartered* themſelves: Sir *Henry* pitcht a Buckſtall (wherewith he uſed to take Deer in the Foreſt) in the narroweſt place of the Marſh where they were to paſſe over, leaving ſome of his Confederates to manage the ſame.

A coltiſh trick ſerved upon the Monks of *Waltham*.

4. The *Monks*, coming out of the *Nunnery*, hearing a great noiſe made behind them, and ſuſpecting to be diſcovered, put out the *light* they had with them, whoſe *feet* without *eyes* could finde the way home in ſo uſed a pathe. Making more haſt than good ſpeed, they ran themſelves all into the Net. The next morning Sir *H. Colt* brought, and preſented them to King *Henry*, who had *often* ſeen *ſweeter*, but *never fatter* Veniſon.

5. Here I cannot believe what is commonly told of under-ground Vaults leading from *Fryeries* to *Nunneries*, confuted by the ſcituation of the place, through Rocks *improbably*, and under Rivers *impoſſible* to be conveyed. Surely had *Waltham Monks* had any ſuch *ſubterraneau* contrivances, they would never have made uſe of ſo open a paſſage; and ſuch Vaults extant at this day in many *Abbeys* extend but a few paces, generally uſed for the conveyance of water, or *ſewers* to carry away the filth of the Covent.

More talk than truth of under-ground Vaults.

6. More improbable it is, (what is generally reported) that *Abbots* made proviſion

Proviſion made for their luſt.

sion for their *lusts* on their *Leases*, enjoyning their *Tenents* to furnish them, (as with *wood* and *coles*, so) with *fewel* for their *wantonness*. A° Reverend Divine hath informed me, that he hath seen such a passage on a Lease of the Abbey of *Essex*, where the *Lessee* was enjoyned yearly to provide, *Unam claram & lepidam puellam, ad purgandos renes, Domini Abbatis.*

° Mr. *Steven Marshall.*

Charity best in doubtfull evidence.

7. It was never my hap to behold any *Instrument* with such a *lustfull clause*, or *wanton reservation* therein, and shall hardly be induced to believe it: First, because such *turpis conditio* was null in the very making thereof. Secondly, because it was contrary to the *Charta magna*, as I may call it, of *Monasticall* practise, *Si non caste, tamen caute*; wherefore what private compact soever was by word of mouth made betwixt them upon their *Leases parole*, sure all *Abbots* were, (if not so honest) so discreet, that no act *in scriptis* should remain, which on occasion might publickly be produced against them.

A *Salome* in *Sion* Nunnery.

8. As for the instances of their private incontinence, they are innumerable. I will insist but in *one* hapning just at this juncture of time; and which may be presumed very operative to the ruine of such Religious Houses.

A Lettore certefying the incontynensye of the Nuns *of* Syon, *with the* Friores, *and afore the acte done, the* Friores *reconsile them to* God.

Endorsed,

To the Right Honourable, Master *Thomas Cromwell*, chief Secretary to the Kings Highnesse.

IT maye pleasse your goodnesse to understand that ? Bushope *this day preched, and declared the Kynges tytelle very well, and hade a grete Audyense, the Chorche full of people, one of the* * *Focaces in his said declaration, only called him false knave, with other fooliſh words; it was the fooliſh fellow, with the corled head that kneeled in your waye when you came forth of the Confessores Chamber. I can no lesse doe, but set him in prisone,* ut pœna ejus sit metus aliorum: *yesterday I learned many enormous thinges against* Bushope, *in the examination of the lay Brederen, first that* Bushope *perswaded towe of the Brederene to have gone theire wayes by night, and he himselfe with them, and to the accomplishment of that, they lacked but money to buy them seculere apparell. Further, that* Bushope *would have perswaded one of his lay-Brederen a Smithe, to have made a keay for the doare, to have in the night time received in Wenches for him and his fellowes, and especially a Wiffe of* Uxebridge, *now dwelling not farre from the old Lady* Derby, *nigh* Uxebridge: *which Wiffe his old customer hath byne many times here at the grates communing with the said, and he was desirous to have her convoyed in to him. The said* Bushope *also perswaded a Nunne, to whom he was Confessour,* ad libidinem corporis perimplendam. *And thus he perswaded her in Confession, making her believe, that whensoever, and as ofte as they shold medle together, if she were, immediately after, confessed by him, and tooke of him absolution, she shold be cleere forgeven of God, and it shold be none offence unto her before God. And she writte diveres and sundrye Lettores unto him of such their fooliſhnesse and unthriftynesse, and wold have had his Broden the Smithe to have polled out a barre of iron of the window, whereas the examyned the Ladye Abbas, that he might have gone in to her by night.* q *And that same window was their commoning place by night. He perswaded the Sextene that he would be in his contemplacion in the Chorche by night, and by that meanes was many nightes in the Chorche talking with her at the saide gate of the Nunnes Quire, and there was their meeting place by night besides their day communications, as in confession: It were too long to declare all thinges of him that I have heard, which I suppos it true. This afternoone I intend to make forder serche, both of some of the Brederen, and some also of the Sisters of such like matteres; if I synde any thing apparent to be true, I shall God willing thereof sertefy your Maistorshipe to morow, by* vij *in the mornyng. And after this daye I suppos there will be no other thinges to be knowne as yet here; for I have already*

? He was one of Fryers who (according to the constitution of your Order) lived here with the Brigitian Nuns.

* I conceive this two proper names.

q This Copie was taken out of the MS. Letters in the Lib. of Sir *Simon Dewes.*

already examined all the Brederen, and many of them wold gladly departe hense, and be ryghte weary of their habbyte; such Religion, and fained sanctetye, God save me frot. If Master Bedle *had byne here a Frior, and of* Bushopes *counsell, he wold right welle have helped him to have breghte his mattores to passe, without brekyng uppe of any grate, or yet counterfetting of keayes, such capassetye God hath sent him.*

From *Syone* this Sondaye xij. *Decembere.* By the speedy hand of your assured poor Priest, *Richard* Layton.*

* This was one of the prime Visitors afore-mentioned.

We will conclude this discourse with one observation, how through ignorance the true meaning of that word [*Recluse*] was in that *Age* abused: For, in *pure Latine* it signifieth, *one set open*, or *let loose to their own liberty*;

* *Quid non ebrietas designat, operta recludit?*

* *Hor. lib. 1. Epist. 5.*

whereas *Recluse* was taken in that Age for *one close shut up*: so that many *Monks* and *Fryers* were *Recluses* indeed, not in the *common acception*, but true *notation* of that name.

Abbots willingly unwilling resigned their Monasteries to the King.

Sanders saith, that King *Henry* sent a large Instrument to every *Monastery*, fairly ingrossed in Parchment, enjoyning them all to subscribe, signe, and seal the same, with their *seale conventual*, upon the pain of His displeasure. It is not probable that such a formal Writing was sent unto them, drawn up before-hand by the *Kings Officers*; but most certain it is (which amounts almost to as much in effect) a generall intimation was given to all Houses, how acceptable such an act would be to the *King*. It was also pressed upon the said *Monks*, *Fryers*, and *Nuns*, that they (through their vitiousnesse) being obnoxious to the *Kings* anger, this *might*, and *would* be done without their consent; so that it was better for them, *rebus sic stantibus*, to make a *vertue* of *necessity*; the rather, because this *complement* conduced nothing to the *Kings* right, (on whom the *Parliament* had already bestowed those *Abbey lands*) but might adde much to their own advantage, as being the way whereby their *Pensions* might the more *easily* be procured, *largely* allotted, and *surely* satisfied unto them.

Monks perswaded into a resignation.

2. The premisses made such impression on the parties concerned therein, that fearing the *Lagge* would be looked on with bad eyes, they *ran*, as it were, *a race*, in their *resignations*, who should be *first* and *foremost* therein. However they used *severall forms* therein, some onely *condemning* their lives for *superstitious*, but not *confessing* themselves personally *vitious*, as by the following Instrument may appear.

Strive who should be the foremost.

The ‡ *surrender* of the *Warden* and *Fryers* of S. *Francis* in *Stanford*.

‡ Out of the Records of the Court of Augmentation.

For as moche as we, the Warden, and Freers, of the Howse of Sayne Frances *in* Stanforde, *comenly callyd the gray Freers in* Stanforde, *in the Countey of* Lincolne, *doo profoundly consider that the perfeccion of Christian lyving dothe not conciste in the dome ceremonies, weryng of the grey coote, disgeasing our selffe after straunge fashions, dokyng, and beckyng, in gurding owr selffes wyth a gurdle full of knots, and other like rapisticall ceremonies, wherein we have byn moost principally practlysed, and misselyd in tymes past; but the very tru waye to please God, and to live a tru Christian man, wythe owte all ypocrasie, and fayned dissimulation, is sinceerly declaryd unto us by owr Master Christe, his Evangelists, and Apostles. Being mindyd hereafter to folowe the same, conformyng owr selffe unto the will and pleasure of owr supreme hedde undre God in erthe the Kinges Majestye; and not to follow hensforth the superstitious tradicions of ony forincycall potentate, or poore, withe mutuall assent,*

*aſſent, and conſent, doo ſubmyt owr ſelffes unto the mercye of owr ſaid ſoverayngne Lorde. And withe like mutuall aſſent, and conſent, doo ſurrender, and yelde upe unto, the hands of the ſame, all owr ſaide howſe of Sayn*t Frances *in* Stanforde, *comenly callyd the grey Freers in* Stanforde, *withe all Landꝭ, tenementꝭ, gardenꝭ, medowes, waters, pondyards, feedings, paſtures, comens, rentes, reverſions, and all other our intereſt, ryghtes, or tytles, aperteying unto the ſame; mooſte humbly beſeechyng His mooſte Noble grace, to diſſpoſe of us, and of the ſame as beſt ſchall ſtonde withe His mooſte gracious pleaſure. And farther, freely to graunt unto every one of us His licens undre wretyng and ſeall, to change our abites into ſeculer faſhion, and to receive ſuch maner of livyngs, as other ſeculer Prieſtes comenly be preferryd unto. And we all faythfully ſchall pray unto Almighty God long to preſerve His mooſt noble grace, wyth encreaſe of moche felicitie and honor.*

And in witnes of all and ſinguler the premiſſes, we the ſaide Warden, and Covent of the grey Freers in *Stanforde*, to theſe preſents have put owr Covent Sceall the yeght day of *Octobre*, in the thyrtythe yere of the Raygne of owr mooſt Soverayne King *Henry* the yeght.

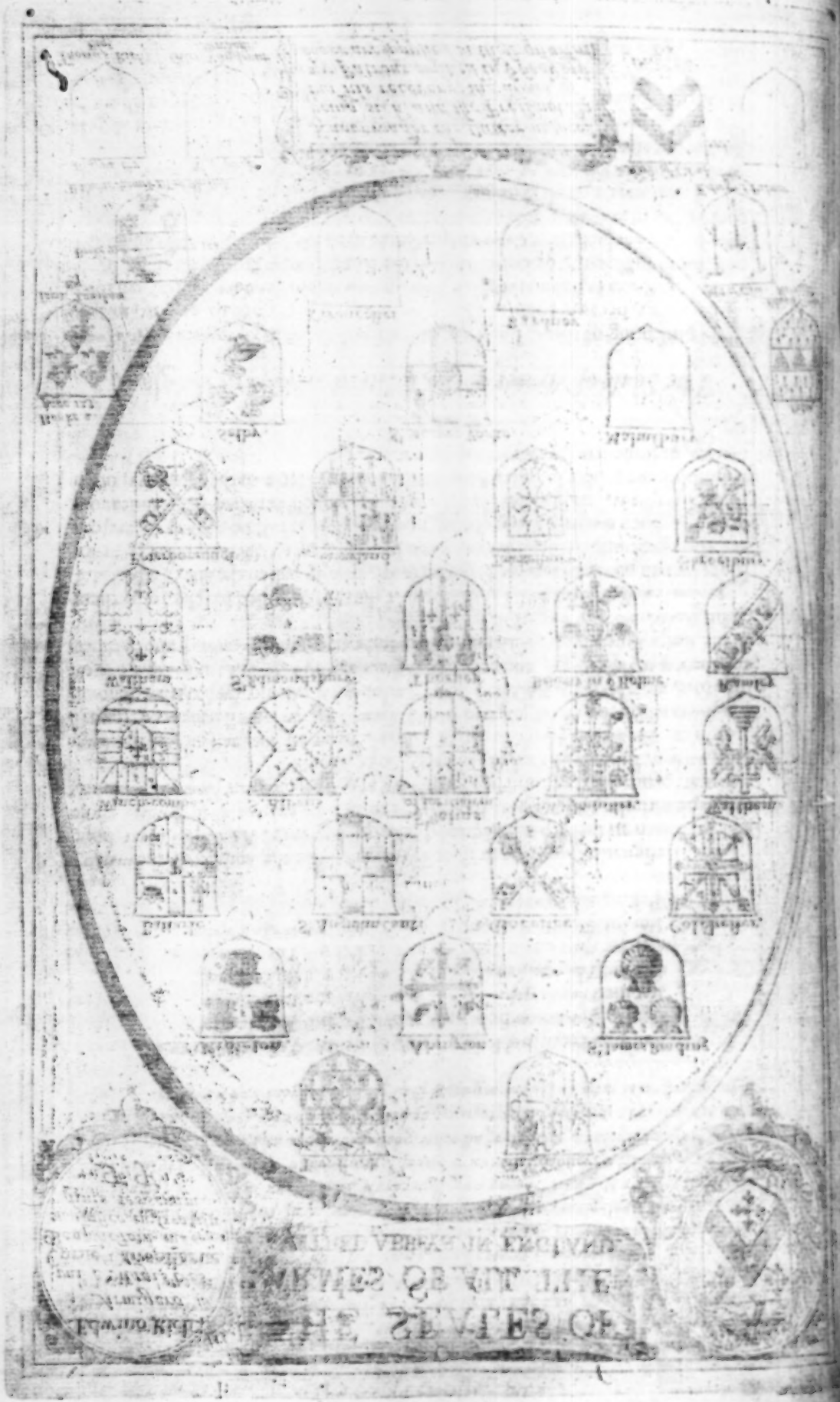
Factum Johannis Schemy *Gardian.*
Per me Fratrem Johannem Robards.
Per me Fratrem Johan. Chadwhort.
Per me Fratrem Ricardum Pye.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Clarke.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Quoyte.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Jarman.
Per me Fratrem Johannẽ Yong.
Per me Fratrem Johannem Lovell.
Per me Fratrem Willielmum Tomſon.

A more humble form of ſurrender.

3. Other Reſignations were far more humble and ſubmiſſive, with an acknowledgment of their vitious and voluptuous lives; ſuch was the *ſurrender* made by the Prior and Covent of S. *Andrews* in *Northampton*, which becauſe very tedious, we ſhall onely tranſcribe ſo much thereof as concerneth our preſent purpoſe.

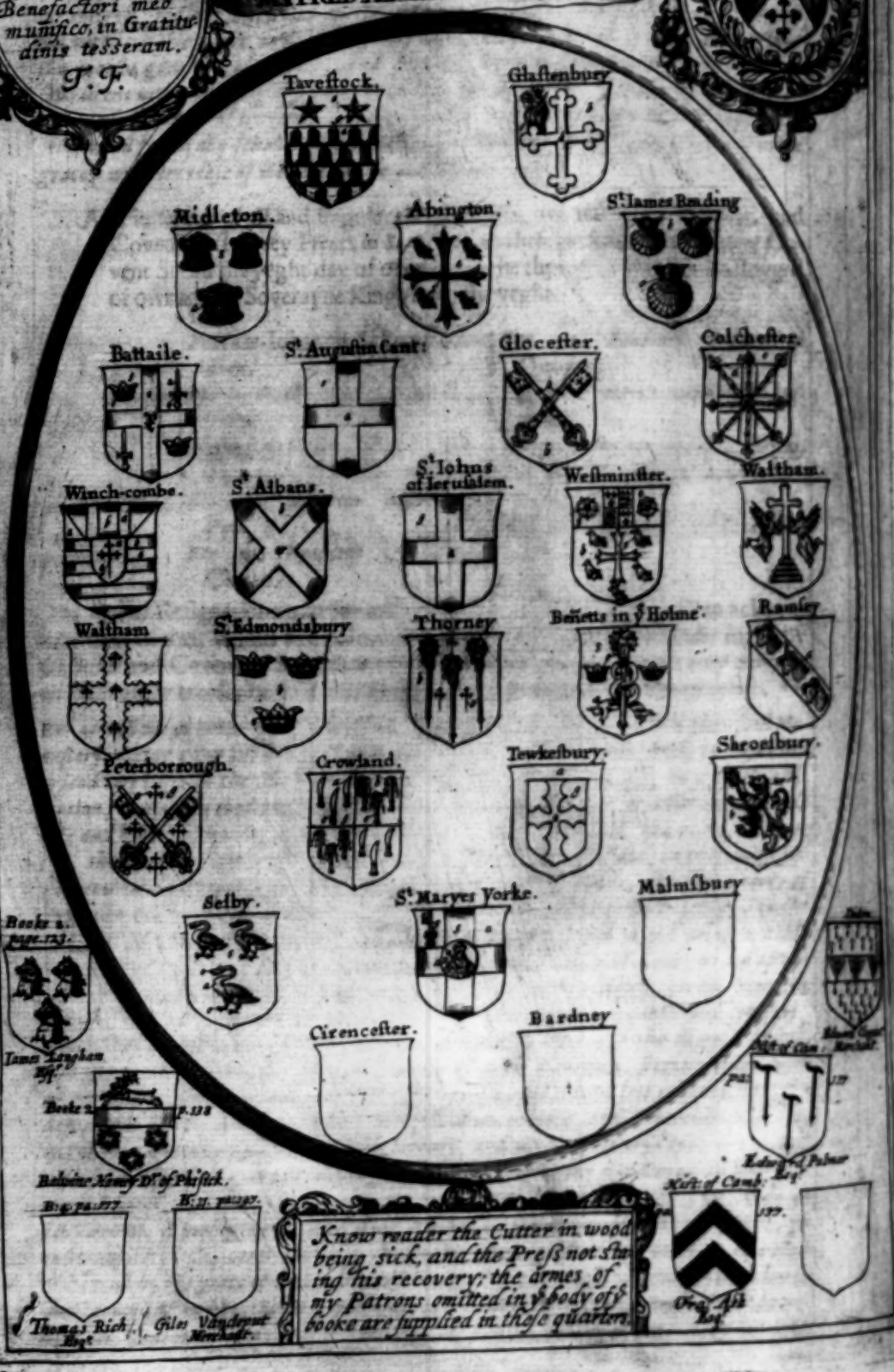
But as well we as others our predeceſſors, called religiouſe perſons within yowr ſaid Monaſtery, taking on us the habite of owtward veſture of the ſaid rule, onely to the intent to lead owr liffes in the ydle quyetneſſe, and not in vertuoſe exercyſe, in a ſtately eſtimation, and not in obedient humylyte, have undre the ſhadowe, or color of the ſaide rule and habite, vaynely, deteſtably, and alſo ungodly, employed, yea rather devowred, the yerely revennes yſſuing and comyng of the ſaide poſſeſſions, in continuall ingurgitations and farcyngs of owr carayne bodyes, and of others, the ſupportares of owr voluptuoſe and carnal appetyte, with other vayne and ungodly expenſys; to the manyfeſt ſubvertion of devocion, and clennes of lyvyng; and to the mooſt notable ſlaunder of Chriſts holy Evangely, which in the forme of owr profeſſyon, we did oſtentate, and openly devaunt to kepe mooſt exactly: withdrawyng thereby from the ſymple, and pure myndys of yowr graces ſubjectes, the onely truth and comfort, which they oughte to have by the true faith of Chriſte. And alſo the dewyne honor, and glory, onely due to the glorious Majeſty of God Almyghty, ſteryng them with all perſwaſions, ingynꝭ, and polycye, to dedd Images, and counterfeit reliques, for owr dampnable lucre. Which our mooſt horryble abominacions, and execrable perſuacions of yowr graces people, to deteſtable errours, and our long coveryd Ipocryſie cloked with fayned ſanctite; We revolving dayly, and continually ponderyng in owr ſorrowfull harts, and therby perſeyving the botomleſs gulf of everlaſting fyre, redy to devowre us, if perſyſting in this ſtate of lyving, we ſhulde depart from this uncertayn and tranſytory liffe, conſtrayned, by the intollerable anguyſh of owr conſcience, callyd us we truſt by the grace of God, who wold have no man to peryſh in ſynne: with harts mooſt contrite, and repentante, proſtrate at the noble feet of yowr mooſt royall Majeſtye, moſt lamentably doo crave of yowr highnes, of yowr abundant mercy, to grant unto

us



Edwino Rich
Armigero
ini è Magistris
Curiæ Cancellariæ,
Benefactori meo
munifico, in Gratitu-
dinis tesseram.
T. F.

THE SEALES OF ARMES OF ALL THE MITRED ABBEYS IN ENGLAND



Know reader the Cutter in wood being sick, and the Preß not stirring his recovery; the armes of my Patrons omitted in ye body of ye booke are supplied in these quarters.

us moost greevous against God, and yowr Highnes, your moſt gracious perdon, for owr ſaide ſondry offences, omyſſyons, and negligences, comytted as before by us is confeſſed agaynſt yowr Higones, and yowr moſt noble Progenitors. And where yowr Hyghnes, being Supreme hedd, immedately aftre Chriſt, of his Church, in this yowr Roialme of England, *ſo conſequently generall and onely Reformator of all religious perſons, there, have full authority to correct or dyſſolve at yowr Graces pleaſure, and libertye, all Covents and religious companyes abuſing the Rewles of their profeſſion. And moreover to yowr Highnes, being owr ſoveraygn Lord, and undoubted fownder of yowr ſaid Monaſtery, by diſſolucion whereof apperteyneth onely the Oryginall title, and propre inherytance, as well of all other goods moveable and unmoveable, to the ſaid Monaſtery in any wyſe apperteyning or belonging, to be diſpoſed, and imployed, as to yowr graces moſt excellent wyſdeme ſhall ſeme expedyent and neceſſary.*

Per me *Franciſcum* Priorem.	Per me *Johannem Pette*.
Per me *Johannem* Sub-Priorem.	Per me *Jo: Harrold.*
Per me *Tho: Smyth.*	Per me *Tho: Barly.*
Per me *Tho: Golſton.*	Per me *Will: Ward.*
Per me *Rob: Martin.*	Per me *Tho: Atterbury.*
Per me *Jacob: Hopkins.*	Per me *Will: Fowler.*
Per me *Ric: Bunbery.*	

Other Reſignations *varying* in their *words* met (for the *maine*) in the *matter*, and were with all ſpeed preſented to the Kings *Viſitors*: As *School-boyes* hope to eſcape with the *fewer ſtripes* for being the firſt in *untying their points*, thoſe *Convents* promiſed to themſelves the *kindeſt uſage*, which were *forwardeſt* in their *Reſignations*, though all (on the matter) *fared alike*.

4. Yea, *John de Warboiſe* ſo called from the place of his *nativity* in *Huntingdan ſhire* (where my worthy friend Mr. *William Johnſon* is well beneficed) though the firſt, with his ſixty *Benedicti Monks*, who with ſolemn *ſubſcription* renounced the *Popes Supremacy*, and now as officious as any in *ſurrendring* his *Convent* to the *Kings Viſitors*, met with no *peculiar* and *extraordinary* civility above others of his *Ordir*. Betwixt firſt and laſt no great difference. a *Spted* in his deſcription of *Huntingdon-ſhire*.

5. Such *Reſignations ſeal'd* and *deliver'd*, the *Viſitors* called for the *Seales* themſelves (which now had ſurvived their own *uſe*, having paſſed the laſt *effectual Act*) and theſe generally made of *ſilver*, were by the *Kings Officers* preſently *broken in pieces*. Such *material Stamps* being now *aboliſhed*, it will be *charity* to *preſerve* their *Impreſſions*, and *exhibit* them to *poſterity*, which here we ſhall endeavour, rendring ſome probable *reaſon* how moſt of them referre to the *Founders*, or *ſcituation*, or ſome remarkable *action* therein.

The Seale of Armes of the Mitred Abbeys in England.

IN preſenting of them, I will not be confined to the ſtrict termes of *Blazonry*, the rather, becauſe ſome of their *Armes* may be preſumed ſo antient, as fitter to give Rules *to*, than take them *from* our *moderne Heraldry*: And what my pen cannot ſufficiently deſcribe, therein the Reader may ſatisfie himſelfe by his own eye: To which theſe *Cotes* are preſented in the *laſt ſheet* of this Volume after the Hiſtory of *Waltham Abbey*. The deſigne of the work.

1. I will make a method of my own beginning (where the Sun ends) in the Weſt: *Taveſtock* in *Devon ſhire* gave *Varrey Or* and *Azure*, on a *Chiefe Or*, two *Mullets*, *Gules*. The Armes of *Taveſtocke*.

2. *Glaſſenbury* gave *Vert* (as I conjecture the Colour) a *Croſſe Bottone Argent*. In the firſt Quarter the Woman with a *Glory* holding a Babe (radiated about his head) in her Armes, becauſe [forſooth] by the direction of the Angel * *Gabriel* their Church was firſt dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*. Of *Glaſſenbury*.

* See the firſt Cent. Parag. 11.

Of Middleton.

3. *Middleton* in *Glouceſter-ſhire* gave *Sable*, three *Baskets Argent* repleniſhed with Loaves of Bread, *Gules*. Had the number of the *Baskets* been either *Seven* or *Twelve*, ſome would interpret therein a reference to the *Reverſions* preſerved by Chriſt his command of the Loaves miraculouſly multiplied: whereas now they denote the Bounty of that Abbey in relieving the poor.

Of Malmsbury

4. What *Malmesbury* in *Wiltſhire* gave I cannot yet attain.

Of Abingdon.

5. *Abingdon* gave a Croſſe *flurt* betwixt *Martelletts Sable*, much alluding to the Armes of our Engliſh Kings before the Conqueſt, who, it ſeems were great Benefactors thereunto.

Of Reading.

6. The Abbey of S. *James* in *Reading*, gave *Azure three Scallop Shells Or*. Here I know not what ſecret ſympathy there is between S. *James* and *Shells*, but ſure I am that all Pilgrims that viſit St. *James* of *Compos-Stella* in *Spaine* (the Paramount Shrine of that Saint) returned thence *obſiti* conchis*, *all beſhell'd about* on their clothes, as a religious Donative there beſtowed upon them.

* Erasmus in his Dialogue, called *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*.

Of Hide.

7. The Abbey of *Hide*, *juxta Winton*. gave *Argent* a *Lyon rampant Sable*, on a *cheiff* of the ſecond, four *Keyes Argent*.

Of Battaile.

8. *Battaile*-Abbey in *Suſſex* gave *Gules* a *Croſſe* betwixt a *Crown Or*, in the firſt and third Quarter. A *Sword* (*bladed Argent*, *hilted Or*) in the ſecond and fourth Quarter thereof. Here the *Armes* relate to the *Name*, and both *Armes* and *Name* to the *fierce Fight* hard by, whereby Duke *William* gained the *Engliſh-Crown* by *Conqueſt*, and founded this Abbey. Nor muſt it be forgotten, that a Text ℣ pierced through with a *daſh*, is fixed in the navill of the *Croſſe*. Now, though I have read, * *Letters* to be little honourable in *Armes*, this cannot be diſgracefull, partly becauſe *Church-Heraldrie* moveth in a *ſphere* by it ſelf, partly becauſe this was the *Letter of Letters*, as the received character to ſignifie *Chriſtus*.

* Accidence of Armes.

Of S. Auguſtine.

9. S. *Auguſtines* in *Canterbury* gave *Sable* a *Croſs-Argent*.

Of Glouceſter.

10. Croſſe we now the *Thames*, where Weſtward we firſt fall on S. *Peters* in *Glouceſter*, whoſe Dedication to that *Apoſtle* ſufficiently rendreth a reaſon for the Armes thereof, *viz: Azure* two *Croſſe Keyes* (or two *Keyes Saltire*) *Or*.

Of Tewxbury.

11. *Tewxbury* gave *Gules*, a *Croſs* of an antick form *Or*, a border *Argent*.

Of Winchcomb.

12. I will not adventure on the blazoning of the *Armes* of *Winchcombe* (having much conformity therein with *Mortimers Coat*) but leave the Reader to ſatisfie his own eyes in the inſpection thereof.

Of Cirencester.

13. I ſhould be thankfull to him who would inform me of the *Armes* of *Ciranceſter*, which hitherto I cannot procure.

Of S. Albans.

14. * St. *Albans* gave *Azure* a *Croſs Saltire Or*.

* S. Mary's in *Coventry* had no Armes in their Seale, as my good friend Mr. *Dugdale* informed me.

15. *Weſtminſter*-Abbey gave *Azure* a *Croſs flurt* betwixt five *Martelletts Or*, and this I humbly conceive were antiently the entire Armes of that Abbey being in effect the ſame with thoſe of King *Edward the Confeſſour* the firſt Founder thereof: But afterwards their Conventuall Seale was augmented with the *Armes* of *France* and *England* on a *Chiefe Or* betwixt two *Roſes Gules*, plainly relating to King *Henry the ſeventh*, enlarging their Church with his Chappell.

Of S. John of Jeruſalem.

16. The Prior of St. *John of Jeruſalem* gave *Gules* a *Croſs Argent*, which the Lord Prior ſometimes [a] *impayled* with (but before) his own Coate, and [b] ſometimes bare it in a *Chiefe* about it.

[a] Thus Sir Tho. Treſſam.

[b] Thus Sir Tho. Duckwray.

Of Waltham.

17. The *Armes* of *Waltham*-Abbey in *Eſſex*, appear at this day neither in glaſs, wood, nor ſtone, in, or about the Town or Church thereof. At laſt we have recovered them (*Unus homo nobis*) out of a faire Deed of *Robert Fullers*, the laſt Abbot, though not certain of the mettall and colours, viz: *Gules*, (as I conjecture) two *Angels* (can they be leſſe than *Or*?) with their hands (ſuch we finde of them in [c] Scripture) holding betwixt them a *Croſs Argent*, brought hither (ſaith our [d] Antiquary) by miracle out of the *Weſt*, whence *Waltham* hath the addition of *Holy-Croſs*.

[c] Mat. 4. 6.

[d] Camd. Brit in Eſſex.

Of Colcheſter.

18. The Arms of S. *Johns* in *Colcheſter*, I leave to the eye of the Reader.

Of Bury.

19. *Burie* gave *Azure* three *Crowns Or*, The Armes of the *Kings* of the *Eaſt-Angles*, aſſumed in the memory of King *Edmund* (to whom this Abbey was dedicated)

dicated) martyred by the *Danes*, when his *Crown of Gold*, thorough a *Crown of Thorns* (or *Arrows* rather) was turned into a *Crown of Glory*.

Of S. Benets.

20. St. *Benet's* in the *Holme*, in *Norfolke*, gave *Sable*, a *Pastorall-Staffe Argent*, *picked* below, and *reflexed* above, (intimating the Abbots Episcopal Jurisdiction in his own precincts) betwixt two *Crowns-Or*, pointing at *England* and *Norway*, the two Kingdomes of *Canutus*, the Founder thereof. The aforesaid *Staffe* was *insulated*, that is, adorned with an holy Lace or Label, carelesly hanging down, or cast a crosse, such with which their Mitres used formerly to be fastned.

Of Thorny.

21. *Thorney-Abbey* in *Cambridge shire* gave *Azure three Crosses crossed fitchee*, betwixt three *Pastoral Staves Or*.

Of Ramsey.

22. *Ramsey* in *Huntingdon-shire* gave *Or* three *Rams Heads couped Argent*, on a *Bend Azure*: The rest of the *Rams* must be supposed in the *blue Sea*, the Fennes, appearing such when overflown. Besides, such changes were common here, whereof *Melibaus* complaineth in the Marishes * of *Mantua*.

* *Virgil. Ecl.* 9.

Non bene ripæ
Creditur, ipse Aries etiam nunc vellera siccat.
There is no trusting to the foundring bank.
The *Ramme* still dries his fleece so lately dank.

But, since the draining of the Fennes hath (I hope) secured their Cattell from casualties.

Of Peterborough.

23. The very name of *Peterborough* unlocks the reason why that *Abbey* gave *Gules*, two *crosse Keyes* betwixt four *Crosses crossed fitchee*, *Or*.

Of Crowland.

24. *Crowland Abbey* gave quarterly three (call them long *Knives*, or short) *Swords bladed Argent hafted* or *pomelled Or*, *Azure three Whips stringed and knotted Or*, the *second* like the *third*, the *fourth* like the *first*. Instruments of cruelty relating to their *Monks* massacred by the *Danes*, *Anno* 870. whereof their Historian gives us this account, That first they were *examinati*, *tortured*, see there the *Whips*; and then *exanimati*, *killed*, see there the *Swords*. But if any will have those *Whips* to relate to the *Whip of S. Bartholomew*, the most remarkable Relique of that Monastery, I will not appose.

Ingulphus, pag. 866.

Of Evesham.

25. The Armes of *Evesham-Abbey* in *Worcester-shire*, I cannot recover, but possibly may before the conclusion of this Work.

Of Shrewsbury.

26. *Shrewsbury* gave *Azure*, a *Lyon Rampant* over a *Pastorall-staffe Bendwayes*, so that both the ends thereof are plainly discovered.

Of Selby.

27. Crosse we now North of *Trent*, where onely two remain: *Selby* (founded by *William the Conquerour*) which gave *Sable*, *three Swans Argent*, *membred Or*, alluding, as I believe, to the depressed scituation of the place, where the neighbouring River of *Ouse* affordeth such Birds in abundance.

Of Yorke.

28. St. *Maryes* in *Yorke* gave *Argent* a *Crosse*, *Gules*, and a *Key*, in the first Quarter of the same. In the midst of the *Crosse* a *King* in a *circle* in his *Robes* of *state*, with his *Scepter* and *Mound*: Yet hath he onely a *ducall Cap* (and no *Crown*) on his *head*. I humbly conceive (under favour of better judgments) this *King-Dukes* picture to relate partly to King *William Rufus*, partly to *Alan* Duke of *Britain* and *Richmond*, the principall Co-Founders of that Monastery.

The Lord Darcy *his Extraction justly vindicated.*

A causelesse aspersion grounded on passion.

AMongst the *principal persons* who suffred for their zeale in defending of Abbeys was the lately mentioned *Thomas* Lord [a] *Darcy*, whose extraction I finde foully aspersed by the pen of that passionate Prince, K. *Henry the eighth*: for when the *Rebels* boasted of the *many Noblemen* who sided with them, in confutation thereof, King *Henry* returned a Letter to them, interlined with His own hand, wherein this passage, [b *Others, as the Lord* Marney *and* Darcy *are but mean, scarce well-born Gentlemen, and yet of no great Lands till they were promoted by Us, and so made Knights.*] It cannot be denied but that K. *Henry*

[a] *ide supra*, pag. 313. parag. 1.

[b] *Speeds* Ch. 6. in his 1 Edit. pag. 776.

too much consulted His *choller* (now swelling high, because opposed by the *Rebels*) more than His *judgment* in this His expression; and seeing an Historian should, *suum cuique tribuere*, give me leave a little to enlarge in this subject.

What the Lord *Marney* was.

2. Of the Lord *Marney*, I can say but little, finding him whilst as yet but a *Knight*, Sir *Henry*, Servant, and one of the Executors to the Lady *Margaret*, Countesse of *Darby*: at which time, he was Chancellour of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*. It seemeth he rose by the Law, being the first and last *Baron* of his name, whose sole *Daughter* was married to *Thomas Howard* Vicount *Bindon*.

Three noble Branches of the *Darcyes* in the North.

3. Longer must we insist on the *Parentage*, *performances*, and *posterity* of *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, finding in the *North* three distinct branches thereof, whereof the first was

Begun	Continued	Extinguished
In *Norman de Adrecy* or *Darcy* possessed under K. *Will: the Conquerour*, of many Manours in *Yorkeshire* and * *Lincoln shire*, where *Normanbye* His prime seat seemeth so named by him.	For ten Generations, most of them buried in *Noketon* Priory in *Lincoln sh.* by them founded, and indowed, *viz.*: 1. *Robert.* 2. *Thomas.* 3. *Thomas.* 4. *Norman.* 5. *Norman.* 6. *Philip.* 7. *Norman.* 8. *Philip.* 9. *Norman.* 10. *Philip.*	In *Philip Darcy* dying issue-less, whose two Sisters and Co-heires were married, the one to *Roger Pedwardine*; the other, to *Peter* of *Limbergh*.

* Dooms-day book, chap. 31. in *Lincoln shire*.

4. The first *Male Line* of the *Darcyes* being thus determined, a *second Race* succeeded, derived from *Norman Darcy* the *Pennultim* Lord in the last Pedigree.

Begun	Continued	Extinguished
In *John Darcy* (Son to the aforesaid *Norman*) Steward to the King's Household, Justice of *Ireland*.	For five descents, being Barons of *Knaith* & *Maynill*. 1. *John.* 2. *John.* 3. *Philip.* 4. *John.* 5 *Philip.*	In *Philip* the fifth Baron, who (though dying under age) left two Daughters, *Elizabeth* married to Sir *James Strangeways* of *Hartley* Castle, and *Margaret* to Sir *John Coigniers* of *Hornbey*-Castle.

5. Thus expired the *second Male stem* of the *Darcyes*, styled Barons of *Knaith*, long since alienated from their Family, and for this last hundred years the habitation of the Lord *Willoughby of Parham*. Come we now to the *third Stemme*, which was

Begun	Continued	Extinguished
In Sir *John Darcy* of *Torxay*, second Son to the last Lord *John Darcy* of *Knaith*.	Through seven Generations, 1. *Richard.* 2. *William.* 3. *Thomas.* 4. *George.* 5. *John.* 6. *Michael.* 7. *John.*	In *John* Lord *Darcy* of *Ashton*, dying issue-lesse, (though hee had foure Wives) in the Reigne of King *Charles*.

6. The

6. *Thomas Darcy* here named is the perſon, the ſubject of this diſcourſe, of whom four things are memorable:

1. He was Knighted by K. *Henry the ſeventh*, who made him Captain of the Town and Caſtle of *Barwick*, * and Commander of the Eaſt and Middle *Marches*.

* *primus Miles de anno 14 Henrici 7.*

2. K. *Henry the eighth*, in the firſt year of his Reign, made him *Juſtice in Eyre* of the Foreſts beyond *Trent*, ſummoned him the ſame yeare as a *Baron to Parliament*, imployed him with a Navie, *An.* 1511. to aſſiſt *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* againſt the *Moores*, and made him Knight of the Garter.

3. Though the Anceſtours of this *Thomas Darcy* (ſince the ſecond Branch was expired) were ſtyled *Lords* in ſome Deeds (whether by the courteſie of the Countrey, or becauſe the right of a *Barony* lay in them) yet this *Thomas* was the firſt ſummoned *Baron* to Parliament, in the firſt of King *Henry the eighth*, and his Succeſſours took their place accordingly.

4. Though the Revenue of this *Thomas* Lord *Darcy* was not great at the beginning of King *Henry the eighth*, (becauſe the Heires Generall of the Lord *Darcyes of Knaith* carried away the maine of the Inheritance) yet he had a conſiderable Eſtate, augmented by his Match with *Donſabella* the Daughter and Heire of Sir *Richard Tempeſt*.

The reſult of all is this, This Lord was moſt Honourably deſcended, and his Nobility augmented; not firſt founded by K. *Henry the eighth*, as his words did intimate. Let therefore paſſionate Princes ſpeak what they pleaſe, their patient Subjects will believe but their juſt proportion. And although the *Foxes eares* muſt be reputed *horns* whilſt the *Lyon* in preſence is pleaſed ſo to term them; yet they never alter their nature, and quickly recover the name after the *Lyons* departure. This I thought fit to write in vindication of the Lord *Darcy*, who though he owed his *life* to the *Law*, it is cruelty he ſhould loſe both *it* and the *juſt honour* of his *Extraction*.

7. As for the preſent *Coigniers* Lord *Darcy*, he is not onely deſcended from the foreſaid Lord *Thomas*, but alſo from the *Heire Generall* of the *ſecond Stem* of the Lord *Darcyes of Knaith*, and was by King *Charles* accordingly reſtored to take his place in Parliament.

The antient Engliſh Nobility great Loſers by the Diſſolution of Abbeys.

Antient Nobility loſers.

ALthough many Modern Families have been great Gainers by the deſtruction of Monaſteries, yet the Antient Nobility (when caſting up their *Audits*) found themſelves much impaired thereby both in power and profit, commodity and command: I mean ſuch, whoſe Anceſtours had been Founders of Abbeys, or great Benefactours unto them. Theſe reſerved to themſelves and their Heirs many Annual Rents and Services, Reliefs, Eſcuage, as alſo that ſuch Abbots and their Succeſſours ſhould doe Fealty and Homage to their Heirs for ſuch Lands as they held of them in Knights Service.

Good rents ill paid.

2. Now although order was taken at the diſſolution to preſerve ſuch Rents to the Founders Heires (payable unto them by the Kings Officers out of the Exchequer) yet ſuch ſummes after long attendance were recovered with ſo much difficulty that they were loſt in effect. Thus, when the few *ſheaves* of the *Subject* are promiſcuouſly made up in the *Kings mowe*, it is hard to *finde* them *there*, and harder to *fetch* them *thence*.

Services wholly loſt.

3. As for the foreſaid *Services* reſerved (either at *money*, or *money-worth*) to them

them and their Heires, they were *totally* and *finally* extinguished: for formerly such Abbeys used

1. To send men on their own Charges in Voyages to Warre to aid and attend such of their Founders and Benefactors Heires, of whom they held Land in *Knights service*.
2. They bountifully contributed a Portion to the Marriage of their *eldest Daughters*.
3. They bear the Costs and charges to accoutre their *eldest Sonnes* in a *gentile* military equipage when Knighted by the King.

But now the Tree being pluckt up by the roots, no such fruit could afterwards be expected.

With the commodity of Corrodies.

4. Not must we forget the benefit of *Corrodies*, so called *à conradendo*, from *eating together*: for, the Heires of the foresaid Founders (not by *courtesie*, but *composition* for their former favours) had a priviledge to send a set number of their poor Servants to Abbeys to diet therein: Thus many aged Servants past *working* not *feeding* (*costly* to *keep*, and *cruell* to *cast off*) were sent by their Masters to such Abbeys where they had plentifull food during their lives. Now though some of those *Corrodies* (where the property was altered into a set summe of money) was solvable out of the Exchequer after the dissolution of Abbeys; yet such which *continued in kinde* was totally extinct, and no such Diet hereafter given where both *Table* and *House* were *overturned*.

The Premisses proved by instance in the Family of the Berkeleys.

THe Noble Family of the *Berkeleys* may well give an *Abbots Mitre* for the Crest of their Armes, because *so loving their Nation*, and *building them so many Synagogues*. Hence it was, that partly in right of their *Auncestors*, partly by their Matches with the Co-heirs of the Lord *Mowbray* and *Seagrave*, in the Vacancies they had a *right of Nomination* of an Abbot, in following Foundations.

Place.	Founder.	Order.	Value. L. s. d. ob. q.
1. S. *Augustines* in *Bristoll*.	1. *Robert Fitz-Harding*, whose posterity assumed the name of *Berkeley*.	1. *Black Canons* of the Order of S. *Victor*.	—767-15-3-00
2. *Burton Lane* in *Leicester shire*.	2. The Lord *Mowbray* in the Reign of K. *Henry* the first.	2. Leprous people professing the Order of S. *Augustine*.	
3. *Byland*, or *Bella-Launda*, in *York sh.*	3. *Robert de Mowbray*, & *Gunnora* his Mother.		
4. *Chancomb* in *Northampton shire*.	4. *Hugh de Anaf.* Knt, in the time of the Conq. whose Son *Robert* took the name of *Chancomb*, & *Annabilia* his daughter was married to *Gilbert* Lord *Seagrave*.		
5. *Combe* in *Warwick shire*.			
6. *Croxton* in *Leicester shire*.		6. *Premonstratentian Monks*.	—458-19-11-1-1
7. *Ebworth* in the Isle of *Axholme* in *Lincoln shire*.	7. *Tho: Mowbray* Earl of *Notingham* in the Reign of K. *Rich.* the 2. to which the *Mowbrays* were grand Benefactors.	7. *Carthusians*.	—290-14—
8. *Fountains*.			
9. *Kirkby* in *Leicester-shire*.	9. *Roger de Beller*, who held this Manour of the Lord *Mowbray*.	9. *Canons Regular* of S. *Augustine*.	—178-7-10 0 1·
10. *Newburge* in *York-shire*.			

What shall I speak of the small Houses of *Longbridge* and *Tintern* in *Glocestershire*, not (mentioned in *Speed*) the Hospitals of S. *Katharine* and *Mary Maudlins* neer *Bristol*, the well endowed *Schoole* of *Wotton Underhedge* in *Glocester shire*, besides *forty Chanteries* founded by the *Berkeleys*: yea, I have read in a *Manuscript* belonging unto them, no lesse judiciously than industriously composed by Mr. *John Smith* (who *did*, and *received* many good offices *to*, and *from* that *Family*, as is mutually confessed) that the forenamed Abbeys and others, held of the Lord *Berkeley* at the dissolution, no fewer than *eighty Knights fees*, and payed *services* unto them accordingly, all which are now lost to the value of *ten thousand pounds* within the compasse of few years.

2. Nor will it be amisse to insert, that *Robert Derby* the last Abbot of *Croxton*, was presented thereunto, *April* 22. the 26 of King *Henry the eighth*, by *Thomas* (the sixt of that name) Lord *Berkeley*, (the place being void by the death of one *Atter cliffe*) belonging to his *possession* by *inheritance*. And in the *Record*, he commandeth the *Prior* and *Convent* to receive and obey him as *Abbot*. *Rob. Derby* last Abbot of *Croxton*.

Ingratitude to their Founders, a grand fault in many Abbeys.

INgratitude is the *abridgement* of all baseneſſe, a fault never found unattended with other vitiousness. This is justly charged on the account of many Abbeys, whose stately *structures* grew so proud as to forget *the Rock whence they were Hewen, and the Hole of the Pit whence they were digged*: unthankfull to such Founders who under God had bestowed their *maintenance* upon them. If unthankfull all bad.

2. One instance of many. Vast was the liberality of the Lord *Berkeleys* to S. *Austins* in *Bristoll*, leaving themselves in that their large Estate not one *Rectory* to which they might present a *Chaplaine*: all the *Benefices* in their numerous *Manours* being appropriated to this and other *Monasteries*: Now see the Requitall. Great bounty.

3. *Maurice*, the first of that name, Lord *Berkeley*, having occasion to make the *ditch* about his Castle the *broader* (for the better fortifying thereof) took in some few feet of ground out of *Berkeley* Church-yard, which Church with the Tithes thereof, his Ancestors had conferred on the aforesaid Monastery. The Abbot beholding this as a *great trespasse*, or rather, as a *little sacriledge*, so prosecuted the aforesaid Lord with Church censures, that he made him in a manner *cast the dirt of the ditch in his own face*, inforcing him to a publick confession of his fault, and to give Five shillings rent for ever, with some Tithes and Pasture for as many Oxen as would till a Plow-land, by the words of his Will, *Pro emendatione culpæ meæ de fossato quod feci de Cœmiterio de* Berkeley *circa castellum meum*. Ill requited.

4. I know it will be pleaded for the *Abbot* that there is as much right in an *inch* as in an *ell*, that he was a *Fiduciary* intrusted to defend the *rights* of his *Covent*, that *Founders Heirs* are not priviledged to doe injuries; yea, they of all persons most improper to take back what their *Ancestors* have given. However, the *Lords* incroachment on the Church-yard being in a manner done *in his own defence*, the thing in it self so *small*, and the merit of his *Ancestors* so *great* to that *Abbey*, might have met with that meekneſſe which should be in the brests of all Spirituall persons to abate his rigorous prosecution againſt him. *Summum jus.*

5. *Thomas* the first Lord *Berkeley* of that name, found little better usage from the Abbot of S. *Austines*, though he had formerly (besides *confirmation* of many Lands) conferred on that *Convent* pasture for Twenty four Oxen; discharging also their Lands (lying within certain of his Manours) from all Services and Earthly demands, onely to remember him and his in their prayers; yet did that Abbot and Convent implead him before the Popes Delegates for Tythes of Paunage of his Woods, for Tythes of his Fishing and of his Mills. The Lord removed the Suit to Common Law, (as challenging the sole power to regulate *Modum Dicimandi*:) And now when all was ready for a Tryall before the Judge itinerant Another instance of ingratitude.

itinerant at *Glouceſter*, it was compounded by Friends on ſuch Terms as the Abbot in effect gained his deſire.

A cauſe of their ruine. * For the diſſolution of Chanteries & Colledges, 37 of *Hen.* 8. cap. 4.

6. Indeed, ſo odious and obvious was the unthankfulneſſe of ſome Convents, that it is reputed by ſome, the moſt meritorious Cauſe of their Diſſolution, and their doing things without and againſt the Will of their Founders is inſtanced in the * Statute as a main Motive to take them away.

An overwiſe conceit

7. Some who pretend to a *Prometheus wit*, fondly conceive that the Founders of Abbeys might politickly have prevented their diſſolution had they inſerted a *proviſion* in their Foundations, That in caſe Abbey Lands ſhould be alienated to other uſes againſt or beſides the Owners intents, then ſuch Lands ſhould revert to the true Heirs of the ſaid Founders, if then in beeing.

Eaſily confuted.

8. But ſuch conſider not that ſuch a Reſervation would have ſavoured more of *wildneſſe* than *wiſdome* in that Age: as well might one have ſought to ſecure himſelf with a ſhelter againſt tha *falling of the skies* as equally probable as the diverting of Abbey-Lands to other intentions. Beſides, ſuch a jealous clauſe might be interpreted *hereticall* to put into peoples fancies a ſeizability of ſuch alterations: Yea, I have heard it queſtioned by the Learned in the Law, whether ſuch a conditionall ſettlement with ſuch a clauſe were Legall or no, many maintaining that ſuch Donations muſt be abſolute. But ſuppoſe ſuch a Clauſe in their Foundations, it had not much befriended them at this time, ſeeing Cables are as eaſily cut off as Twine-threads by power of Parliament, when diſpoſed to make ſuch a diſſolution.

Strong faith to believe ſo much of King *Henry*'s charity

9. Now ſome conceived it juſt *Abbey-Lands* ſhould have been reſtored to the *Heirs* of their *Founders*; but ſeeing the moſt and greateſt *Abbeys* were built and endowed before the Conqueſt, it was hard to finde out their Heirs, if extant. Beſides this would miniſter matter of much litigiouſneſſe equally to ſhare them amongſt their many *Benefactors*. Wherefore the *King* the *Founder Generall* of them all, mediately or immediatly in *himſelf* or in His Subjects, as who in His *perſon* or *Anceſtors* confirmed, conſented, or at leaſt connived at their *Foundations*, may charitably be preſumed to ſeize them all into His own hands; ſo to cut off the occaſion of dangerous diviſion amongſt His *ſubjects* about the *partition* of thoſe *Eſtates*.

SECT.

SECTION V.

To the Right Honourable,

The Lady ELIZABETH POWLET of St. *George-Hinton.*

MADAM,

THere *be* three degrees *of* gratitude *according to mens ſeverall* abilities: *The firſt is to* requite, *the ſecond to* deſerve, *the third to* confeſſe *a benefit received. He is a* happy man, that can *doe* the firſt, *no* honeſt man *that* would not doe *the* ſecond, *a* diſhoneſt man who doth not *the* third.

I muſt be content (*in reference to your favours on me*) *to ſit down in the* laſt Form *of* thankfulneſſe, *it being better to be a* Lagge, *in that* Schoöl, *than a* Trewant, *not at all appearing therein. Yea, according to our* Saviours counſell *and* comfort, *the* loweſt place *is no hindrance to a* * higher, *when the* Maſter of the houſhold *ſhall be pleaſed to* call him up. *When this is done, and* God *ſhall ever enable me with more might, my* gratitude *ſhall wait on your* Lady-ſhip *in a* greater proportion.

Mean time, this Preſent (*having otherwiſe little of* worth) *may plead ſomthing of* properneſſe *therein, ſeeing* Somerſet-ſhire *is the chief ſubject of this* Section, *the ſame* County, *which receiveth* honour *from You by Your* Birth, *and returneth it to You by Your* Baronry *therein. God bleſſe You in all Your relations, and make Your* afflictions, *which are* briers *and* thiſtles *in themſelves, become* ſweet-brier, *and* holy-thiſtle *by ſanctifying them unto You.*

* Luke 14.10.

Of Miracles in generall, to which Monaſteries did much pretend.

RIGHT *is the Rule of what is So*, and what is *otherwiſe*. We will therefore premiſe the deſcription of a true Miracle. *A Miracle is a work of God, paſſing the power of nature done for the confirmation of Faith on the Miſſion generally of a new Miniſtry.*

A true Miracle deſcribed.

1. *Worke of God*] [a] *who onely doth wondrous things.* For though *He* ſometimes uſeth men as *Morall* inſtruments whereby, yet never as *Naturall* cauſes to effect Miracles.

[a] Pſalm 72.18.

2. *Paſſing the power of Nature.*] Hence it is, that it is not done *by leiſure*, but *preſently*; not by *degrees*, but *perfectly*. God's *Cures* are never ſubject to *Relapſe*, once healed and ever healed, except the party run on the ſcore of a new guilt, *Thou art* [b] *made whole, ſinne no more, leſt a worſe thing befall thee.*

[b] John 5. 14.

3. *Done for the confirmation of faith.*] God will not make his works cheap by prostituting them meerly for the satisfaction of mans curiosity.

4. *On the Mission generally of a new Ministery.*] For, although some sprinkling of Miracles on other occasions; yet their main body was done by *Moses*, a new *Law-giver* to the *Jewes*; by *Elias*, and *Elisha*, two *grand Restorers* (adequate almost to a *Giver*) of the *Law*, in a generall-visible defection to *Idolatry*, by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, as the *first Preachers* of the *Gospel*.

In this our *description*, no *mention* of the *rarity of Miracles*, because the same resulteth from the premises, frequencie abating from the due wonder thereof.

Miracles long since ceased.

2. Now that such Miracles long since are ceased, appears by the confession of antient Fathers, and most ingenious Romanists: S. *Chrysost:* 23 *Hom:* on S. *John*, thus expresseth himselfe, Καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσὶ οἱ ζητοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ νῦν σημεῖα γίνονται; Εἰ γὰρ πιστὸς εἶ, ὡς εἶναι χρή, καὶ φίλος ὡς χρεὼν, ὡς φιλῶν δῆ, οὐ χρείαν ἔχεις σημείων. Ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς ἀπίστοις δίδοται. *For even now there be Seekers and Sayers, wherefore also now are not Miracles done? for if thou beest a Believer, as thou oughtest to be, and dost love Christ as thou oughtest to love him, thou hast no need of Miracles. For Miracles are given to unbelievers.*

By Saint *Augustine's* confession.
c *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. 16.

3. S. *Augustine* passing his Censure on the *Miracles of his Age*, had so low an opinion of their *truth*, that he ranked them under two [c] heads:

1. *Figmenta mendacium hominum*, Forgeries of lying men.
2. *Portenta fallacium spirituum*, Prodigies of deceitfull Devils.

d *De Captivitate Babylonica*, cap. 11.

4. Bishop *Fisher* himself writing against [d] *Luther*, and occasionally treating of the *power of Miracles*, Cujus effectum nunc nullum cernimus, *of which* (saith he) *we now see no effect*; which addeth to the wonder, that so wise a man should engage in the foolish wonder of the *holy Maid of Kent*.

Why Miracles ceased.

5. The true cause of the ceasing of Miracles is not any want of Divine power to effect them, as if that infinitencsse could ever, like *Naomi*, be *superannuated* and *effæte* to have no more true wonders in the *womb* thereof, but because *Miracles are the swadling cloathes of infant-Churches*. And when *Doctrines* are once established and received in a Church, *Miracles* are impertinent: yea, it is no better than a tempting of God, after such assurance given long since to the *Truth*, still to expect a *miraculous* confirmation thereof.

The Magazine of Protestant Miracles.

6. Wherefore when the importunity of Papists presseth us to produce Miracles to attest our Religion, we return unto them, That ours is an old Faith founded long since on the Scriptures, and we may justly lay claim to all the Miracles in the New Testament to be ours, because done in demonstration of that Doctrine, which we at this day doe defend, and are the Seals of that Instrument, the *writing* wherein we desire and endeavour to *maintain* and *practice*.

Counterfeiting Miracles, a heinous offence.
e Statute 33 of *Henry* 8.
f Statute 1 *Mar.*

7. Such forgery must needs be an high and heinous offence. If the counterfeiting of the *Mark*, *Tokens*, and *Letters* of others, so as to *gain any money into their hands* thereby, be punishable by Pillory, [e] Imprisonment, or any other corporall penalty under death, at the discretion of the Judge; yea, if it be Treason for any to forge the King's *Signe Manual*, *Privy Signet*, [f] or Privy Seale, How great a guilt doe they contract, who *falsifie the Signature of the high God of Heaven? Miracles* being of that nature whereby he immediately impresseth his own *Power* and *Presence* on that, which is so supernaturally brought to passe.

The forgers Plea.

8. I know what such Forgers plead for themselves, *viz:* That *they have a good intent therein to beget, continue, or increase a reverence to Religion, and veneration to the Saints and Servants of God, so to raise up vulgar fancies to the highest pitch of piety*. Wherefore, as *Lycurgus* made a Law, not that *Theft* should be *death*, but *death to be caught in their Thieving*; so these conclude, *counterfeiting Miracles* no *fault*, but when done so *bunglingly*, that it is detected, conceiving otherwise the glory accreweth to God by their hypocrisie.

Confuted.
* Job 13. 7.

9. But, what saith the Holy Spirit? * *Will you speak wickedly* For God, *and talk*

talk deceitfully For Him? *will you accept his Person, will you yet contend for God? Doe you so mock him, shall not his Excellency make you affraid?* Yea, so farre is such fraud from adding repute to Religion, that being found out, it disposeth men to Atheisme, and to a suspition of the truth, even of the reall Miracles in Scripture.

10. The pretended causes of which Miracles are generally reduceable to these two heads:

1. *Saints Relicts.*
2. *Saints Images.*

The forgery in Relicts, and the Cross especially.

How much forgery there is in the first of these is generally known; So many pieces being pretended of *Christ's Crosse* as would load a great Ship, but amongst all of them, commend me to the Crosse at the Priory of Benedictines at *Bromeholme* in *Northfolke*, the Legend whereof deserveth to be inserted: Queen *Hellen*, they say, finding the *CROSSE* of Christ at *Jerusalem*, divided it into *nine parts*, according to the *nine Orders of Angels*, of *one* of these (most besprinkled with Christ's *blood*) she made a *little Crosse*, and putting it into a *box*, adorned with pretious stones, bestowed it on *Constantine* her Son. This Relict was kept by his Successours untill *Baldwin* Emperour of *Greece*, (fortunate so long as he carried it about him, but) slain in fight when forgetting the same; after whose death, *Hugh* his Chaplain, (born in *Northfolke*, and who constantly said Prayers before the Crosse) stole it away, Box and all, brought it into *England* and bestowed it on *Brome-holme* in *Northfolke*. It seems there is no felony in such wares, but *catch who catch may*; yea, such sacriledge is supererogation. By this Crosse *thirty nine* dead men are said to be raised to life, and *nineteen* blinde men restored to their sight. It seems such Merchants trade much in *odde numbers* which best fastneth the fancies of folk, whilst the smoothnesse of *even numbers* makes them slip the sooner out of mens memories.

g Joh. Capgrave in the Life of K. Edmund.

11. *Chemnitius*[b] affirmeth from the mouth of a grave Author, That the *teeth* of Saint *Apollonia* being conceived effectuall to cure the Tooth-ach, in the Reign of King *Edward the sixt*, (when many ignorant people in *England* relied on that receit to carry one of her teeth about them) the King gave command in extirpation of superstition, That all her teeth should be brought in to a publick Officer deputed for that purpose, and they filled a *Tun* therewith. Were her stomack proportionable to her teeth, a County would scarce afford her a meals meat.

False teeth of *Apollonia*.
b In his Exam. Con. wid. cap. de imag. pag. 1.

12. The *English* Nuns[i] at *Lisbon* doe pretend, That they have both the Arms of *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and yet Pope *Paul the third* in a publick Bull, set down by *Sanders*,[k] doth pitifully complain of the *cruelty* of King *Henry the eighth*, for causing the bones of *Becket* to be burnt, and the ashes scattered in the winde: the solemnity whereof is recorded in our Chronicles, and how his *Armes* should escape that *Bonfire* is to me incredible.

False Arms of *Tho. Becket*.
i Anatomie of the Nuns of *Lisbon*.
k De schis. Angl. lib. 1. pag. 171.

13. The late mentioning of *Apollonia* curing the Tooth-ach, mindeth me of the Popish designing of Saints, some to be Physicians of *diseases*, and others Patrons of *occupations*.

Saints, their severall imployments.

S. *Sebastian*, cureth the *Plague*.	S. *Peland*, protects *Neatherds*.
S. *Petronel*, the *Fever*.	S. *Anthony*, the *Swineherds*.
S. *Macurine*, the *Frensie*.	S. *Gertrude*, the *Rat-catchers*.
S. *Maine*, the *Scab*.	S. *Honor*, the *Bakers*.
S. *Genow*, the *Gout*.	S. *Eloy*, the *Smiths*.
S. *Clare*, the *Sore-eyes*.	S. *Luke*, the *Painters*.
S. *Crepin*, protects *Shoomakers*	S. *Nicholas*, the *Marriners*.
S. *Roch*, the *Coblers*.	S. *Hubert*, the *Hunters*.
S. *Wendelin*, the *Shepherds*.	S. *Ive*, the *Lawyers*.

Not to speak of S. *Anne*, proper to help people to *lost goods*: S. *Leonard* said to *open the doors of Goales*, and *make Prisoners fetters fall off*; and pity it is, that he

he should shew *a cast of his office* to any save to *honest Persons in durance*. Expect not from me a reason why such Saints are Patrons to such Professions, superstitious fancy being all the Authour thereof. Otherwise were Judgment consulted with, *Luke* should be Tutelar to *Physicians* as his proper calling, though perchance he entertained *Painting* also as a quality for delight and accomplishment.

Miracles why most in Covents.

14. Now most Miracles may be called Conventual, Monks being more dexterous thereat than Secular Priests, because their Covents afforded greatest conveniency of contrivance, with more heads and hands to plot and practice therein. And this may be conceived one main cause, which justly incensed Divine jealousie against them, and in due time advanced the destruction of Monasteries, because fathering the issue of *earth* or *Hell* to be the *off-spring of Heaven*, intituling their *monstrous delusions* to be *miraculous operations*.

Of false Miracles, many broods whereof were hatched in Monasteries.

A Dichotomy of Miracles.

SUch false Miracles are reducible to two Ranks:

1. *Reported, but never done.*
2. *Done, but not true Miracles, as either the Product of Nature, Art, or Satanicall Machination.*

Reported not done.

2. Of the former, whose being is onely in report, were many thousands, whose Scene, for the better countenancing thereof, is commonly laid at distance both of Time and Place. These, like the stuffe called *Stand farre-off*, must not have the beholder too near, lest the coursnesse thereof doth appeare. Thus any reddish liquor (especially if neer the eyes of the Image of a *Saint*) is reported blood, any whitish moisture, (especially if neat the breast of the Image of a she-Saint) is related to be milk. Though both of them neither more nor lesse true, than what *William of Naborough* writes of the place neer *Battail-Abbey* in *Sussex*, where the fight was fought between the *Normans* and *English*, that on every showre fresh blood springeth out of the earth, as crying to God for vengeance; being nothing else than a naturall tincture of the earth, which doth dye the rain red, as in *Rutland*, and in other places.

a *Cambd. Brit.* in *Sussex.*

Done by Nature.

3. Of pretended Miracles which are really done, let precedency be allowed to those which proceed from Naturall causes, and here we will instance in one out of many thousands. St. *Nuns* Pool in *Cornwell*, was formerly famous for curing Mad folk, and this the manner thereof:

5. *Nuns* cure of mad men.

b *Carew* in his Survey of *Cornwall*, p. 123.

4. The Water running from St. *Nuns* Well, b fell into a square and close walled Plot, which might be filled to what depth they listed. Upon the Wall was the Frantick person set, his back being towards the Pool, and from thence with a suddain blow on the breast tumbled head-long into the Pond: where a strong fellow (provided for the nonce) took him and tossed him up and down along and athwart the water, untill the Patient forgoing his strength had somewhat forgot his fury. Then was he conveyed to the Church, and certain Masses said over him, and St. *Nun* had the thanks of his recovery. Amidst all this Water there was not one drop of Miracle, but meer naturall causes artificially managed, and that not curing the frensie, but abating the Fit for the present.

Occult qualities no miracles.

5. But other seeming Miracles, done by Nature and the concurrence of Art, were spun with a finer thread, especially when they made advantage of *occult qualities*, the certain reason whereof no Philosopher can render. Such casualties happen in some times and places, which properly are not Miracles, though they puzzell all men to assign the cause whereby they are effected. One of which kinde I here transmit to posterity, invested with all the circumstances thereof, which I have carefully (not to say curiously) inquired into.

6. In

6. In the year of our Lord 1646, on the 16 of *February*, this hapned in the Parish Church S. *Leonard's* Eastcheap, whilst Mr. *Henry Roughborough* was Minister, and Mr. *John Taylor* upper Church Warden thereof. *Thomas Hill* the Sexton of that Parish, making a Grave in the Night-time for *George Streaton* in the South-side in the passage into the Chancell, and under the first Stone opened a Grave wherein he found two Skulls, and (as he conceived) the proportionable Bones of Bodies belonging unto them; under all these, he light on a Corps, whose Coffin above was consumed, but the Body, which he brought out of the Grave, compleat and intire, save that the Nose thereof flatted with his Spade, as the Sexton believed: The Flesh thereof, both for Colour and Hardnesse like Scalded Bacon dried: His Hair and Nails compleat with his Eyes, (but sunk into his Head) and all his Entrails entire (for a young Chirurgeon did open him) save that shrunk very much within his Body. A wonder akin to a miracle in *London*.

7. Some said it was the Corps of Mr. *Pountney* in *Soper-lane*, a Merchant, buried Thirty four years before; others, of one *Paul*, a wealthy Butcher in *Eastcheap*, (which was averred both by his principal Apprentice, as also by *William Haile* the old surviving Sexton) interred Four and twenty years agoe. I read a Memoriall hereof entred in their Parish Register, and thousands of people are alive to attest the truth thereof. Had this hapned in the time of Popery, what a Stock had here been to graft a Miracle on, the *branches* of the *fame* whereof would have spread all over Christendome. A Corps unconsumed.

8. Such false Miracles succeed which are effected by Art alone, whereof several kindes, first such as are done by *confederacy*, wherein if but five complete together, they may easily deceive five thousand. Thus the holy Maid of *Kent* was admired for telling mens *secret sins*, by keeping correspondency with the Friers that formerly had *heard their confessions*: others, done by *Leger-de-maine*. Thus there was a *Rode* at *Roxly* in *Kent* made with devices to *move* the *eyes* and *lips*, (but not to *see* and *speak*) which in the year 1538, *c* was publickly shewed at S. *Paul's* by the Preacher (then Bishop of *Rochester*) and there broken in pieces, the people *laughing* at that which they *adored* but an hour before. Such imposture was also used at *Hailes-Abbey* in *Glocester shire*, where the *blood* of a *Duck* (for such it appeared at the dissolving of the House) was so cunningly conveyed, that it strangely *spirted* or *sprang up*, to the great amazement of common people, accounting it the *blood of our Saviour*. Seeming miracles done by Art. *c Stowes* Chron. in that year.

9. Thirdly, strange things are done by *Ventriloqui*, which is a mysterious manner of uttering words, not out of the porch of the mouth & entry of the throat (the common places of speech) but out of the inward-room or rather arched-cellar of the belly, yet so that the hollownes thereof seemingly fixeth the sound at a distance, which (no doubt) hath been mistook for the voice of Images. Mysterious *Ventriloqui*.

10. Lastly, such as are done by the power of Satan, who hath a high Title and large Territory, as termed *Prince of the power of the aire*. Now the aire being Satan's shop, he hath therein many tools to work with, and much matter to work on. It is the Magazine of *Meteors*, Lightning, Thunder, Snow, Hail, Winde, Rain, Comets, &c. wherewith many wonders may be archieved, and it is observable that Aire is required to those two Senses, *sight* and *hearing*, which usher in most outward objects into the soul. *False lights* are of great advantage to such as vent *bad wares*: Satan's power must needs be great in presenting *shewes* and *sounds*, who can order the *aire*, and make it *dark* or *light*, or *thick* or *thin*, at pleasure. *d* Ephes. 2. 2.

11. We will conclude with one particular kinde of Miracles, wherein Monks by the Devil's help did drive a great trade: namely, *Predictions*, or pretended *Prophecies*. Of these some were *Post-nate* cunningly made after the thing came to passe, and that made the invention of *Prometheus*, which was the act of *Epemetheus*. Others were languaged in such doubtfull Expressions, that they bare a *double sense*, and commonly came to passe contrary to the ordinary acceptance of them. However, hereby Satan saved his credit (who loves to *tell lies*, but loaths Plenty of false prophecies.

to be *taken in them*) and we will onely instance in two or three, which we may write and hear with the more patience, because the last in this kinde, which at the dissolution of Abbeys, brought up the rest of Monasticall Prophecies.

A *Forrest*-burning Image.

12. There was in *Wales* a great and Loobily Image, called *DARVELL GATHERNE*, of which an old Prophecie went, That *it should burn a Forrest*, and on that account was beheld by the Ignorant with much Veneration. Now at the dissolution of Abbeys it was brought up to *London*, and burnt at the Gallows in *Smithfield*, with Fryer *Forrest*, executed for a Traytor.

Hart Delphin in nimis.

13. A Prophecie was current in the Abbey of *Glassenborough*, That *a Whiting should swim on the top of the Torr thereof*, (which is a steep hill hard by, and the credulous Countrey-people understood it of an eruption of the Sea, which they suspected accordingly. It happened that Abbot *Whiting* (the last of *Glassenbury*) was hanged thereon for his Recusancy to Surrender the Abbey, and denying the King's Supremacy, so swimming in aire and not water, and waved with the winde in the place.

Propheticall Mottoes inscribed in *Gloucester* Church.

14. We will close all with the Propheticall Mottoes (at leastwise as men since have expounded them) of the *three* last successive Abbots of *Gloucester*, because much of *modesty*, and something of *piety* contained therein.

1. Abbot *Boulers*, *Memento, memento*, that is, (as some will have it) *Remember, remember this Abbey must be dissolved.*
2. Abbot *Sebruck*, *Fiat voluntas Domini*, that is, if it must be dissolved, *the will of the Lord be done.*
3. Abbot *Manborn*, *Mersos reatu suscita*, *Raise up those which are drowned in guiltiness.*

Which some say was accomplished, when this Abbey found that favour from King *Henry the eighth*, to be raised into a Bishoprick. But, I like the Text better than the Coment, and there is more *humility* in their *Mottoes*, than *solidity* in the *Interpretations.*

That many precious Books were embezeled at the dissolution of Abbeys, to the irreparable losse of learning.

English Libraries excellently furnished.

THe *English* Monks were bookish of themselves, and much inclined to hoord up monuments of learning. *Britain*, (we know) is styled *Another world*, and in this contradistinction (though incomparably lesse in quantity) acquits it self well in proportion of famous Writers, producing almost as many Classical School-men for her Natives, as all *Europe* besides. Other excellent Books of forraign Authors were brought hither, purchased at dear rates; if we consider that the Presse (which now runs so incredibly fast) was in that Age in her infancie, newly able to goe alone, there being then few Printed Books, in comparison of the many Manuscripts. These, if carefully collected and methodically compiled, would have amounted to a Librarie, exceeding that of *Ptolomie's*, for plenty; or many *Vaticans*, for choiceness, and rarity. Yea, had they been transported beyond the seas, sent over, and sold entire to such who knew their value, and would preserve them, *England's* losse had been *Europe's* gain, and the detriment the lesse to Learning in generall. Yea, many years after the *English* might have repurchased for pounds, what their Grand-fathers sold for fewer pence into forraign parts.

The miserable martyrdome of innocent Books.

2. But alas! those Abbeys were now sold to such Chap-men, in whom it was questionable, whether their *ignorance*, or *avarice* were greater, and they made havock, and destruction of all. As Broakers in *Long-lane*, when they buy an old suit, buy the lineings together with the out-side: so it was conceived meet, that such as purchased the buildings of Monasteries, should in the same grant have

have the Libraries (the ſtuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now theſe ignorant owners, ſo long as they might keep a *Lieger-book*, or *Terrier*, by direction thereof to finde ſuch ſtragling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preſerve any other Monuments. The covers of books, with curious braſſe boſſes, and claſpes, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetouſneſs. And ſo, many excellent Authors, ſtripp'd out of their caſes, were left naked, to be burnt, or thrown away. Thus *Eſop's* cock, caſually lighting on a pearl, preferr'd a grain before it; yet he left it as he found it; and, as he reaped no profit by the pearl, it received no damage by him. Whereas theſe cruell Cormorants, with their barbarous beaks, and greedy claws, rent, tore, and tatter'd theſe ineſtimable pieces of Antiquity. Who would think, that the Fathers ſhould be condemn'd to ſuch ſervile employment, as to be Scavengers, to make clean the fouleſt ſink in mens bodies? Yea, which is worſe, many an antient manuſcript Bible cut in pieces, to cover filthy Pamphlets: ſo that a caſe of Diamond hath been made to keep dirt within it; yea, the *Wiſemen of Gotham*, bound up in the *Wiſdome of Solomon*.

3. But hear how *John Bale*, a man ſufficiently averſe from the leaſt ſhadow of Popery, hating all Monkery with a perfect hatred, complained hereof to King *Edward* the ſixt. [a] *Covetouſneſſe was at that time ſo buſie about private commodity, that publick Wealth in that moſt neceſſary, and of reſpect, was not any where regarded. A number of them, which purchaſed thoſe ſuperſtitious manſions, reſerved of thoſe Library-books, ſome to ſerve their jakes, ſome to ſcour their candleſticks, and ſome to rub their boots; ſome they ſold to the Grocers, and Sope-ſellers, and ſome they ſent over ſea to the Book binders, not in ſmall number, but at times whole ſhips full. Yea, the Univerſities of this Realme are not all clear in this deteſtable fact. But curſed is that belly, which ſeeketh to be fed with ſo ungodly gains, and ſo deeply ſhameth his naturall Country. I know a Merchant-man (which ſhall at this time be nameleſſe) that bought the contents of two noble Libraries for fourty ſhillings price, a ſhame it is to be ſpoken. This ſtuffe hath he occupied inſtead of gray paper, by the ſpace of more than theſe ten years, and yet he hath ſtore enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men, which love their Nations, as they ſhould doe. Yea what may bring our Realm to more ſhame, and rebuke, than to have it noiſed abroad, that we are deſpiſers of learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heavineſſe, that neither the Britains, under the Romans, and Saxons; nor yet the Engliſh people under the Danes, and Normans, had ever ſuch damage of their learned monuments, as we have ſeen in our time. Our poſterity may well curſe thu wicked fact of our Age, this unreaſonable ſpoil of* Englands *moſt noble antiquities.*

John Bale lamentably bemoaneth this maſſacre.

[a] In his Declaration upon *Leland's* Journall, *Anno* 1549.

4. What ſoul can be ſo frozen, as not to melt into anger hereat? What heart, having the leaſt ſpark of ingenuity, is not hot at this indignity offered to literature? I deny not, but that in this heap of Books there was much rubbiſh. Legions of lying *Legends*, good for nothing but fewell, whoſe keeping would have cauſed the loſſe of much pretious time, in reading them. I confeſſe alſo, there were many volumes full fraught with ſuperſtition, which notwithſtanding might be uſefull to learned men; except any will deny Apothecaries the priviledge of keeping poiſon in their ſhops, when they can make antidotes of them. But beſides theſe, what beautifull Bibles? rare Fathers? ſubtile School-men? uſefull Hiſtorians, antient, middle, modern? what painfull Comments were here amongſt them? what monuments of Mathematicks? all maſſacred together; ſeeing every book with a *croſſe* was condemned for Popiſh; with *circles*, for *conjuring*. Yea, I may ſay, that then holy *Divinity* was prophaned; *Phyſick* it ſelf, hurt; and a treſpaſſe, yea, a riot committed on the *Law* it ſelf. And, more particularly, the Hiſtory of former times, then, and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day; and without hope of a perfect cure, muſt go a cripple to the grave.

Learning receiveth an incurable wound by the loſſe of books.

5. Some

No Anabapti-ſticall humour, but down-right ignorance the cauſe thereof.

5. Some would perſwade us, that in all this there was a ſmack, or taſt of Anabaptiſtical fury, which about this time began in *Germany*, where they deſtroyed the ſtately Libraries of *Munſter*, and *Oſnabrude*. Indeed, as the wicked tenants in the Goſpel, thought themſelves not ſafe in, and ſure of the vineyard, till they had killed the heire, that ſo the inheritance might be their own; ſo the Anabaptiſts conceived themſelves not in quiet poſſeſſion of their Anarchie, and ſufficiently eſtabliſhed therein, whilſt any learning did ſurvive (which in proceſſe of time might recover its right againſt them) and therefore they bent their brains to the final extirpation thereof. But I am more charitably inclined to conceive, that ſimple ignorance, not fretted & emboſſed with malice, or affected hatred to learning, cauſed that deſolation of Libraries in *England*: though perchance ſome there were, who conceived theſe books, as the [c] *garment ſpotted with ſin*, had contracted ſuch a guilt, being ſo long in the poſſeſſion of ſuperſtitious owners, that they deſerved as an *anathema*, to be conſigned to a perpetual deſtruction.

[c] Jude v. 23.

Sullen diſpoſitions cauſleſly agrieved.

6. Some will ſay, that herein I diſcover an hankering after the *onions*, and *fleſh-pots* of *Egypt*, and that the bemoaning the loſſe of theſe monuments, is no better than *Lot*'s wives looking back, with a farewell-glance to the filthy City of *Sodome*. To ſuch, I proteſt my ſelf not to have the leaſt inclination to the favour of Monkery. But enough. For, I know, ſome back-friends of learning there be, that take it ill, that we have jogg'd them in this diſcourſe, and therefore we will let them alone to be ſetled quietly on the *lees* of their own ignorance, praying to God, that never good Librarie may lie at the mercy of their diſpoſal; leſt having the ſame advantage, they play the like prank, to the prejudice of Learning and Religion.

Many good bargains, or rather, cheap penny-worths, bought of Abbey-lands.

The profuſe gifts & grants of K. *Henry*.

IF ever the Poets fiction of a *golden ſhoure* rained into *Danae* her lap, found a morall or reall performance, it was now, at the diſſipation of Abbey-lands. And, though we will not give hearing, or belief in full latitude of his ſlanderous pen, that reports, how King *Henry* (when antient and diſeaſed, cholerick and curious in trifles) was wont to rewards ſuch as [d] ordered His *ſkrine*, or *chaire*, in a convenient diſtance *from the fire*, ſo as to pleaſe Him, with the Church of ſome Abbey, or lead of ſome Church. Yet it is certain, that in this Age, ſmall merits of Courtiers met with a prodigious recompenſe for their ſervice. Not onely all the *cooks*, but the meaneſt *turn-broach* in the King's kitchin, did lick his fingers. Yea, the King's ſervants, to the third and fourth degree, taſted of His liberality, it being but proportionable, that where the Maſter got the *Manour in fee*, his man under him ſhould obtain ſome long Leaſe of a *Farme* of conſiderable value.

[d] *Sanders de Schiſ. Angl.*

King *Henry* his engagement to liberality.

2. Indeed K. *Henry* (beſides His own diſpoſition to munificence) was doubly concerned to be bountifull herein. Firſt, in honour; for, ſeeing the Parliament with one breath had blown ſo much profit unto Him, and had with their ſuffrage confer'd *the harveſt* of Abbey-lands on the Crown; it was fitting that ſome (eſpecially the principal Advancers of the buſineſs) ſhould, with [e] *Ruth, glean amongſt the ſheaves*. Secondly, in policie; to make many, and great men, effectually ſenſible of the profit of this diſſolution, and ſo ingaged to defend it. Wherefore, as He took the greater flowers to garniſh His own Crown: ſo He beſtowed the leſſe buds to beautifie His Noble-mens Coronets. But, beſides theſe, He paſſed Abbey-lands in a fourfold nature to perſons of meaner quality.

[e] Ruth 2. 16.

How Mr. *Champernoun* got the Priorie of *Saint Germanes*.

3. Firſt, by *free Gift*. Herein take one ſtory of many. Maſter * *John Champernoun*, Sonne and Heire apparent of Sir *Philip Champernoun*, of *Modbery* in *Devon*, followed the Court, and by his pleaſant conceits wan good grace with the King. It hapned, two or three Gentlemen, the King's ſervants, and

* *Cary's* Survey of *Cornwall*, fol. 109.

and Mr. *Champernoun*'s acquaintance, waited at a door where the King was to passe forth, with purpose to beg of His Highnesse a large parcell of Abbey-lands, specified in their Petition. *Champernoun* was very inquisitive to know their suit, but they would not impart the nature thereof. This while out comes the King, they kneel down, so doth Mr. *Champernoun* (being assured by an implicit faith, that Courtiers would beg nothing hurtfull to themselves) they preferre their Petition; the King grants it; they render Him humble thanks, and so doth Mr. *Champernoun*. Afterwards he requires his share, they deny it; he appeals to the King, the King avows His equall meaning in the *Largesse*. Whereupon, his companions were fain to allot this Gentleman the Priorie of S. *German* in *Cornwall* (valued at [g] two hundred fourty three pound and eight shillings of yearly rent; since, by him, or his heirs, sold to Mr. *Eliot*) for his partage. Here a dumb beggar met with a blinde giver, the one as little knowing what he asked, as the other what He granted. Thus King *Henry* made *cursorie Charters*, and *in transitu* transacted Abbey-lands. I could adde, how He gave a Religious house of some value, to Mistresse [illegible] for presenting Him with a dish of Puddings, which pleased His palate.

[g] *Sped.* But quære, whether he had all the land, or onely the site of the Priory.

4. Secondly, by *Play*. Whereat He lost many a thousand pound *per annum*. Once being at dice, He played with Sir *Miles Patridge*, (staking an hundred pounds against them) for [h] *Jesus Bells*, hanging in a Steeple not farre from S. *Paul*'s in *London*, and as great, and tuneable as any in the City, and lost them at a cast. I will not (with some) heighten the guilt of this act, equal to that which *cast lots on Christ's garments*; but sure it is no sin to say, that such things deserv'd more serious and deliberate dispose.

How Sir *Miles Patridge* got *Jesus* bells.

[h] *Stows* Survey of *London* in *Farringtonward* within

5. Thirdly, by *Exchange*. To make these chops, none were frighted with the *Kings* power, but flattered into them, by the apprehension of their own profit. For, many lands of subjects, either naturally bald, or newly shaven of their woods, were commuted for *Granges* of Abbeys, which like Satyres, or Salvages, were all overgrown *with trees and timber*: besides other disadvantages, both for quantity and quality of ground, as enhaunced for old rent. Oh! here was the *Royall Exchange*.

Glaucus, and *Diomedes* his exchange.

6. Lastly, by *sale at Under-rates*. Indeed, it is beneath a Prince (enough to break His *state*, to stoop to each Virgate and *rod* of ground) Pedlar-like to higgle for a toy by retail; and all Tenants, and Chapmen, which contract with Kings, expect good bargains; yet Officers entrusted to manage the revenue of the Crown, ought not to behold it abused out of all distance, in such under-valuations. Except any will say, He is not deceived who would be deceived, and King *Henry* (for the reason aforesaid) connived at such bargains; wherein rich Meadow was sold for barren Heath, great Oaks for Fewell, and Farms for revenue passed for Cottages in reputation. But for farther instruction, we remit the Reader to that *information* [i] presented to Queen *Elizabeth* by a man in authority (though namelesse) of the severall frauds and deceipts offered the Crown in this kinde. But the motion rather drew *odium* on the Authour, than brought advantage to the Crown: partly, because of the number, and quality of persons concerned therein; and partly, because (after thirty years) the owners of Abbeys were often altered. And, though the chamber be the same, yet if the guests be a new company, it is hard for the host from them to recover his old arrearages. Yea, by this time (when the foresaid information was given in) the present possessors of much Abbey-land were as little allied to those, to whom King *Henry* granted them, as they, to whom the King first passed them, were of kin to the first Founders of those Monasteries.

Unconscionable under-sale of Abbey-lands.

[i] *Weever*'s funerall Mon. pag. 125.

Of the actions of policie, pietie, charitie, and justice, done by King Henry *the eighth, out of the revenues of dissolved Abbeys.*

Good, as well as bad, must be observed in mixt actions.

WE would not willingly be accounted like those called the μωμοσκοποι amongst the *Jewes*, whose office it was, onely to take notice of the blots or blemishes, the defects and deformities in sacrifices. We would not weed King *Henry*'s actions in His dissolving of Abbeys, so as onely to mark the miscarriages, and misdemeanous therein. Come we to consider, what commendable deeds this King did raise on the ruines of Monasteries.

K. *Henry* augmented the Crown-revenues.

2. First, He politickly increased the revenues of the *Crown*, and *Dutchie of Lancaster* (on which He bestowed the rich Abbey of *Furneß* in that County) with annexing much land thereto, and erecting the *Court of Augmentations* (whereof largely hereafter) for the more methodicall managing thereof; though (alas!) what the Crown possessed of Abbey-land, was nothing to what He passed away. Surely, had the revenues of Monasteries been entirely kept, and paid into the Exchequer, there to make an *Ærarium sacrum*, or Publick treasurie, it is questionable, whether the same had been more for the ease of the Subject, or use and honour of the Soveraigne.

Founded five new Bishopricks.

3. Secondly, He piously founded five Bishopricks *de novo* (besides one at *Westminster* which continued not) where none had been before. For, though antiently there had been a Bishops Seat at *Chester* for a short time, yet it was then no better than the *Summer-house* of the Bishop of *Lichfield* (onely during the life of one *Peter* living there) which now was solemnly made a Bishoprick for succession, and four others, namely,

Bishops See.	Diocesse assigned it.	Taken from the Bishoprick of
1. *Oxford.*	1. *Oxford-shire.*	1. *Lincolne.*
2. *Bristoll.*	2. *Dorset*, and some part of *Glocester-shire.*	2. *Sarisbury.*
3. *Peterborough.*	3. *Northampton shire*, and *Rutland.*	3. *Lincolne.*
4. *Glocester.*	4. *Glocester-shire*, the rest.	4. *Worcester.*
5. *Chester.*	5. *Chester*, *Lancaster*, and *Richmond shire.*	5. *Lichfield*, and *York.*

Such who honour *Prelacy* must acknowledge these new Foundations of the King's, for a worthy work. Those also of contrary judgment, will thus farre forth approve His act, because had He otherwise expended these Abbey-lands, and not continued them to our times in these new Bishopricks, they had not been in being, by their late sale, to supply the Common-wealth.

Monks places turned into Prebends.

4. Thirdly, where He found a Prior and Monks belonging to any antient Cathedral-Church, there He converted the same into a Dean and Prebendaries; as in

1. *Canterbury.*	3. *Elie.*	5. *Worcester.*	7. *Duresme.*
2. *Winchester.*	4. *Norwich.*	6. *Rochester.*	8. *Carlile.*

I dare not say, that He entirely assigned (though a good [a] Authour affirmeth it) all, or the most part of those Priorie-lands, to these His new foundations. However the expression of a late [b] Bishop of *Norwich*, is complained of, as uncivil, and untrue, that *King* Henry *took away the sheep from that Cathedral, and did not restore so much as the trotters unto it.*

a *Godwin* in *Henry* the 8. *Anno* 1539. Nothing was taken away.
b Dr. *Montague.*

Grammar-schools founded by Him.

5. Fourthly, He charitably founded many Grammar-schools (great need whereof in that Age in this Land) as in *Canterbury*, *Coventry*, *Worcester*, &c. allowing

lowing liberall salaries to the Masters and Ushers therein, had they been carefully preserved. But sometimes the gifts of a bountifull Master shrink in the passage thorough the hands of a covetous Steward.

Hospitalls by Him conferr'd on *London*.

6. Fiftly, He charitably bestowed *Gray Friers* (now commonly called *Christ-Church*) and the Hospital of S. *Bartholomew* in *London*, on that City, for the relief of the poor thereof. For the death of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, His beloved Brother-in-Law, happ'ning the *July* before, so impressed King *Henry* with a serious apprehension of His own mortality (such the sympathy of tempers, intimacie of converse, and no great disparity of age betwixt them) that He thought it high time to bethink Himself of His end, and to doe some good work in order thereunto. Hereupon on the 13 of *January* following, *Anno* 1546. He bestowed the said Hospitals on the City; a gift afterwards confirmed, and enlarged by King *Edward the sixt*.

c *Stows* Survey of *London*. pag. 417.

7. Sixtly, He built and endowed the magnificent Colledge of *Trinity*, finished *Kings-Colledge Chappell* in *Cambridge*, and founded Professours places for Languages, Physick, Law, and Divinity, in both Universities; as in the proper place thereof shall hereafter largely appear.

Trinity College in *Cambridge*, and Professors places by Him endowed.

8. Seventhly, He employed *John Leland*, a most learned Antiquary, to perambulate, and visit the ruines of all Abbeys, and record the Memorables therein. It seems, though the *buildings* were *destroyed*, King *Henry* would have the *builders preserved*, and their memories transmitted to posterity. This task *Leland* performed with great pains, to his great praise, on the King's purse, who exhibited most bountifully unto him, as himself confesseth in these his Latine verses:

Leland employed by Him to survey, collect, and preserve Antiquities.

Antè suos Phœbus radios ostendere mundo
Desinet, & claras Cynthia pulchra faces:
Ante fluet rapidum tacitis sine piscibus æquor,
Spinifer & nullam sentis habebit avem:
Antè sacræ quercus cessabunt spargere ramos,
Floráq, sollicitâ pingere prata manu:
Quàm, Rex dive, tuum labatur pectore nostro
Nomen, quod studiis, portus, & aura, meis.

The Sun shall sooner cease his shine to show,
And Moon deny her lamp to men below;
The rapid seas shall sooner fishless slide,
And bushes quite forget their birds to hide;
Great okes shall sooner cease to spread their bowers,
And Flora *for to paint the meads with flowers,*
Than Thou, Great King, shalt slip out of my breast,
My studies gentle gale, and quiet rest.

Pity is is, that *Leland*'s worthy Collections were never made publick in print; and some, justly to be praised for care in preserving, may as justly be taxed for envy in ingrossing such monuments of Antiquity. But let us a little trace *Leland*'s *Itineraries*, after he in writing had finished the same. First, his Collections came into the hand of Sir *John Cheek*, School-master, then Secretary to King *Edward the sixt*, leaving the same to *Henry Cheek*, his eldest son, Secretary to the Counsell

Counsell in the *North*. Here our great Antiquary, who afterwards described *Britain*, got a sight, and made a good use thereof, it being most true, *Si Leland. non laborâsset, Camdenus non triumphâsset.* From Mr. *Cheek* (by what transactions I know not) four of *Leland*'s Works came into the possession of *William Burton*, as he confesseth in his Description of [d] *Leicester-shire*, and by him were bestowed on the Publick Library at *Oxford*, where the Original remaineth, and scarce so many Copies of them as properly may be called some, are at this day in private mens possessions.

[d] Pag. 39, & 40.

9. This *Leland*, after the death of King *Henry the eighth*, his bountifull Patron, fell distracted, and so died; uncertain, whether his braines were broken with weight of worke, or want of wages, the latter more likely; because after the death of King *Henry*, his endevours met not with proportionable encouragement. By the way, we may sadly observe, that two of the best Scholars in this King's Reign (loved, and preferred by Him) died both mad, and bereft of their wits; *Richard Pacie*, Dean of S. *Paul's*, and this *Leland*. Which I mark not out of ill will to the dead, to lessen their memory amongst men; but of good will to the living, to greaten their gratitude to God. Especially to Scholars, that God may preserve them in a *sound minde*, both in the Apostles high sense, and in the common acception thereof. The rather, because the finer the *string*, the sooner, if overstrained, is it broken.

Read, and be thankfull. *Godwin* in *Henry the 8. Anno* 1525.

[e] 2 Tim. 1. 7.

10. He maintained many learned youths on great cost and charges, in all forraigne Courts, and Countreys. For, this was the fashion in His Reign, to select yearly one, or moe, of the most promising pregnancies out of both Universities, and to breed them beyond the seas on the King's *exhibitions* unto them. Sir *Thomas* [f] *Smith*, bred in *Queens-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and afterward principal Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, was one of the last, educated in this manner. These young men proved afterwards the pick-locks of the Cabinet-Counsels of forraigne Princes, no King having better intelligence, than King *Henry*, from beyond the seas.

Intelligencers bred by Him beyond the seas.

[f] *Cambd. Eliz.* in *An.* 1577.

11. Lastly, He justly paid a great yearly summe of money to many Monks, and Nuns, during their lives: the manner and condition of which Pensions we will now at large relate.

Of the many and large Pensions constantly paid by King Henry, *to Monks and Nuns, during their lives.*

The good nature of K. *Henry* herein.

IT was in those daies conceived highly injurious, to thrust Monks and Nuns out of *house and home*, without assigning them any allowance for their subsistence. Alas! many of them *dig they could not*, and, *to beg they were ashamed.* Their fingers were, either too stiffe (by reason of their old age) to begin now to bow to a manual trade; or hands too soft (because of their tender breeding) to take pain in a laborious vocation. And, although there wanted not some to perswade the King, to out them without any maintenance (it being but just they should practice reall, who had professed seeming poverty) yet the King, better natur'd herein than some Courtiers, allowed, and duly paid, to some *large*, to most *competent*, to all *certain annuities*.

High injustice to detain promised pensions.

2. Indeed, there cannot be an higher piece of unjustice, than for a King, or State, publickly to promise *pensions* to necessitous persons, and never perform the same; so that poor people shall have some hundreds in common report, and not one peny in reall and effectuall payment. For, first, the *grant* raiseth and erecteth the spirits of such Pensioners for the present, which soon after (tyranny so to torture them) sink, and settle down on the non-performance thereof. Secondly, such expectations often make people proportion their present expences, according

according to those their hopes, to their great damage and detriment, yea, sometimes to their utter undoing. Thirdly, such noise of *pensions* granted, takes off from them the charity of their kinred and friends, as needlesse to persons presumed able to subsist of themselves. Not to speak, how much it lessens the reputation of a State, rendring them justly censurable, either of indiscretion in granting *pensions* where not deserved, or injustice in not paying them when granted.

3. Yet all persons were not promiscuously capable of the King's pensions, but onely those who were qualified accordingly. Namely, first, such as at the dissolution of their Abbeys, were not preferred to any other dignity, or Benefice. By the way, this was a temptation to the King, and Chancellor, oft-times to preferre mean men (which formerly had been Monks, and Friers) to no mean Livings, because (beside the generall want of able Ministers) such Incumbents being so provided for, their *pensions* ceased, and the Exchequer was disburdened from future paying them any *exhibition*.

The first qualification of His Pensioners.

4. These *pensions* of the King were confirmed to the Monks and Nuns by his Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, and Registred in the Court of Augmentations: One Copie whereof we here insert, having seen some hundreds of them, all the same in essentialls, not conceiving it impertinent to translate the same, desiring the Lawyers not to *laugh* at us if we misse the Legall terms, whilst we hit the true meaning thereof:

A Copie of the Kings Letters Patents for Pensions.

HENRICUS *Octavus, Dei gratia* Angliæ *et* Franciæ *Rex fidei defensor Dominus* Hiberniæ *& in terra supremum caput* Anglicanæ *Ecclesiæ. Omnibus ad quos præsentes littera pervenerint Salutem. Cum nuper Monasterium de* Carthus de Hinton *in Com' nostro* Somer. *jam dissolvatur, unde quidam* Edmundus Horde *tempore dissolutionis illius et diu antea Prior inde fuit; Nos volentes rationabilem annualem pensionem sive promotionem condignam eidem* Edmundo *ad victum exhibitionem & sustentationem suam melius sustinendum provideri. Sciatis igitur quod nos in consideratione præmissorum de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris per advisamentum & consensum Cancellarii & consilii Curiæ Augmentationum reventionum Coronæ nostræ, dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus & concedimus eidem* Edmundo *quandam annuitatem sive annualem pensionem quadragint' quatuor librar' sterlingorum, habend', gaudendum & annuatim percipiendum easdem quadraginta quatuor libras præfato* Edmundo *& assignatis suis à festo Annuntiationis beatæ* Mariæ

HENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and supreme Head of the *English* Church on earth. To all to whom Our present Letters shall come Greeting. Whereas the Monastery of the *Carthusians of Hinton* in Our County of *Somerset* is now lately dissolved, whereof *Edmond Horde* was Prior at the time of the dissolution thereof, and long before; We are willing that a reasonable Pension annuall, or sutable promotion should be provided for the said *Edmond*, the better to maintain and sustaine him in diet and maintenance. Know therefore, that Wee, in consideration of the premises, out of Our speciall Grace and favour, certaine knowledge, and Our meere motion, by the advice and consent of the Chancellour, and Counsell of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of Our Crown, Have given and granted, and by these presents doe give and grant to the same *Edmond* an annuity or yearly Pension of forty four pounds sterling: that the said forty foure pounds may bee had, enjoyed, or yearly received by the aforesaid *Edmond*, and his Assignes, from the Feast of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin *Mary* last past to the term and for the term of the life of the said *Edmond*, or untill

Mariæ *virginis ultimo praterito ad terminum & pro termino vitæ ipsius* Edmundi *vel quousq; idem* Edmundus *ad unum vel plura Beneficia Ecclesiastica, sive aliam promotionem condignam clari annui valoris quadragint' quatuor librarum aut ultra per nos promotus fuerit, tam per manus Thesaurarii reventionum augmentationum Coronæ nostræ pro tempore existentis de Thesauro nostro in manibus suis de reventionibus prædictis remanere contingen' quam per manus receptor. exituum & reventionum dicti nuper Monasterii pro tempore existen' de eisdem exitibus & reventionibus ad festum Sancti* Michaëlis *Archangeli, & Anuntiationis beatæ* Mariæ *virginis, per æquales portiones. Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra, Dedimus & pro consideratione prædicta per præsentes concedimus præfato* Edmundo Horde *undecim libras sterlingorum habend. eidem* Edmundo *ex dono nostro per manus Thesaurarii prædicti de Thesauro prædicto vel per manus dicti Receptoris de exitibus & reventionibus manciorum terrarum & tenementorum dicti nuper Monasterii solvend'. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, Aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfato* Edmundo *ante hac tempora fact' in præsentibus minime fact' existit, aut aliquo statuto actu ordinatione provisione, sive restrictione in contrarium inde habit', fact', ordinat' seu provis', aut aliqua alia re causa, vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has Literas vestras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste* Ricardo Riche *Milite apud* Westmonasterium *vicesimo septimo die* Aprilis, *anno Regni nostri tricesimo primo.*

Per Cancellarium & concilium Curiæ Augmentationum Reventionum Coronæ Regiæ virtute warranti Regii.

Duke

till the said *Edmond* shall be preferred by Us to one or more Ecclesiasticall Benefices or other sutable Promotion of the cleer yearly value of forty foure pounds or upwards, as well by the hands of the Treasurer of the Augmentations of the Revenues of Our Crown for the time being, out of Our treasure, which shall chance to remain in his hands, of the Revenues aforesaid; as from the Receiver of the profits and revenues of the said late Monastery for the time being, out of the said profits and Revenues at the feast of Saint *Michael* the Arch-angel, and the Anuntiation of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, by equall portions. And furthermore of Our more plentiful Grace, We have given, and for the consideration aforesaid by these presents doe grant to the aforesaid *Edmond Horde* eleven pounds sterling, that the said *Edmond* may have it from Our gift by the hands of Our foresaid Treasurer of Our foresaid Treasure, or by the hands of Our foresaid Receiver to be paid out of the profits and Revenues of the Manours, Lands, and Tenements of the said late Monastery.

any Statute, Act, Ordinance, promission, or restriction to the contrary, had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding. In testimony whereof We have made these Our Letters Patents, witnesse *Richard Rich* Knight, at *Westminster*, the twenty seventh day of *April*, in the one and thirtieth of Our Reign.

Duke

By the Chancellor and Councell of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown by virtue of the King's Warrant.

See we here the payment to this Prior consisted of two Summes of several natures or conditions: Namely,

1. The forty four pounds being properly the Pension paid yearly unto him.

2. The additionall eleven pounds, granted with an *alterius*, paid but once as *advance-money*, to fit him with necessaries at his departure out of the Covent.

This is observable in all the Parents I have seen, That constantly the King's gratuity for their *vale* (some small fractions excepted) bears the proportion of a *fourth part* of their yearly Pension.

What Church Livings were inconsistent with Pensions.

5. Suppose then this our Prior preferred to a Church Dignity, or Living, amounting very neer, but not to the full value of forty four pounds yearly, this did not avoid his Pension; but that he might hold it and his Living together. Wherefore, as it was the desire and endevour of every Monk so advanced, to beat down the value of his Church-Living as low as might be (thereby to render himself capable of it and his Pension) so was it the proper work of the King's Officers in the Augmentation Court truly to state the valuation of the Livings of such Pensioners, that the Crown might not be defrauded. Where, by the way, I conceive Livings were estimated not according to the favourable rates in the *King's Book* (where few of forty four pounds *per annum*) but according to the ordinary value as they were worth to be *let* and *set* in that Age.

A Quære propounded.

6. Here faine would I be satisfied from some Learned in the Lawes, That whereas provision is made in this Patent for the Prior to enjoy his Pension untill *per nos* by the King's self, or His under-Officers, he was preferred to promotion of equall value, whether or no this Pension determined, if not the *King*, but some inferior Patron provided such preferment for him. Seeing in a generall sense all may be said, presented by the King, as Patron Paramount of the Church of *England*, who by virtue of His Law have *institution* and *induction* into any Ecclesiasticall promotion.

Seniority in Covents an advantage.

7. That effectuall passage is inserted in all Patents of Abbots, Priors, and Monks, that they were in the Covent *Diu antea*, *Long before* the Dissolution thereof. Otherwise many young folk who lately came in, even barely went out, without any Pensions. Such *Novices* and *Probationers*, whose *Coules* came but yesterday out of the Drapers shop, having youth and strength to provide for themselves, were left to the choice of their own calling, without any other annuity allowed them.

Many Pensions mount to much money.

8. Their Pensions, though seeming but small, being many in number, made a deep hole in the King's revenue, insomuch that He received from some Houses but small profits *de claro* untill the said Pensions were extinguished: As will appear (guesse *Hercules* from his Foot) by comparing the Profits arising from, with the Pensions allotted to the Monks in the aforesaid Priory of *Hinton* in *Somersetshire*.

Edmond Hord Prior, his Pension 44 li. his Gratuity 11 li.

Monks.	Pensions. li.	s.	d.	Gratuities. li.	s.	d.	Monks.	Pensions. li.	s.	d.	Grat. li.	s.	d.
Thomas Fletcher	6	13	4	1	13	4	*William Reynold*	6	13	8	1	13	4
William Burford	6	13	4	1	13	3	*Robert Savage*	6	13	4	1	13	3
Hugh Laycocke	8	00	0	2	00	0	*Will: Robinson*	2	00	0	0	10	0
Robert Frye	6	13	4	1	13	4	*Jo: Chamberlaine*	6	13	4	1	13	4
Jo: Bachcroft	8	00	0	2	00	0	*William Coke*	6	13	4	1	13	4
Robert Russell	2	00	0	0	10	0	*James Marble*	6	13	4	1	13	4
Robert Lightfoot	2	00	0	0	10	0	*Roger Legge*	2	00	0	0	10	0
Robert Nolinge	6	13	4	1	13	4	*Hen: Bourman*	6	13	4	1	13	4
Henry Gurney	6	13	4	1	13	4	*John Calert*	2	00	0	0	10	0
Thomas Hellyer	6	13	4	1	13	4	*Robert Stamerdon*	6	13	4	1	13	4
Nicholas Baland	6	13	4	1	13	4							

The total sum of yearly Pensions li. 163 s. 6 d. 8 The total sum of Grat. li. 40 s. 16 d. 9

Now whereas the Priory of *Hinton*, at the dissolution thereof, was valued at no more than *two* * *hundred sixty two pounds twelve shillings*; if the aforesaid summe of yearly Pensions be thence deducted, the clear remainder to the King was but *ninety nine pounds five shillings four pence*. But the Crown had a double advantage: One, that Priory-Lands were lasting, whilst Pensions expired with Monks lives: and the other, that the Pensions were but bare Penny-Rent, whilst Abbey-Lands were lowly rated farre beneath their true valuation.

* *Speed* in his Catalogue of religious Houses, pag. 707.

9. Now because *our hand is in*, and I for the present can make use of an Authentick *Manuscript* (once *Henry* Baron *Hunsdon's*, Lord Chamberlain) kindly communicated to me by a worthy * friend of all the Pensions in *Somerset-shire*, it will not be amisse to exemplifie such as were allotted to the severall Abbots and Priors therein.

The Pensions of the Abbots in *Somerset*.

* Mr. *Edward Pepis* of the Temple.

Place.	Abbot.	Pension. li.	s.	d.	Gratuity. li.	s.	d.
Athelnye.	*R. Hamlyn*	50	00	00	the Prebend of *Sutton.*		
Briston.	*Jo: Ely*	80	00	00	20	00	00
Keynsham.	*Jo. Stoneston*	60	00	00	00	00	00

Place.	Prior.	Pension. li.	s.	d.	Gratuity. li.	s.	d.
Bath.	*William Gibby*	08	00	00	an House in *Bath.*		
Montacute.	*R. Whitlocke* *	80	00	00	20	00	00
Taunton.	*W. Williams*	60	00	00	30	00	00
Witham	*Jo. Michell*	33	06	08	08	06	08

* Besides the Capitol Messuage in East *Chynock*.

Place.	Master.	Pension. li.	s.	d.	Gratuity. li.	s.	d.
Bridgwater.	*Ro. Walshe*	33	06	08	16	13	04
Wells.	*Ric. Clarkeson*	12	00	00	00	00	00

These two last were Hospitalls.

The aforesaid Book reacheth not *Bristoll*, because not properly in *Somerset-shire*, but a *County Incorporate* by it self. As for *Whiting*, late Abbot of *Glassenbury*, he was executed for a Traytour, and so his Pensions paid. No mention therein of the Prior of *Muchelnye*, whose place may be presumed void by his death, or he otherwise preferred.

Pensions go by favour.

10. We may observe great inequality in these Pensions, not measured as the Jewes Manna by one and the same *Homer*, but increased or diminished: 1. According to the wealth of the house dissolved. For where more profit accrued to the King by the suppressions, their larger Pensions were allowed to the Prior or Monk thereof. 2. According to the merits of the man. 3. According to his age and impotency needing relief. Lastly, and chiefly according as the Parties were befriended by the King's Officers in the Augmentation-Court; wherein as in all other Courts, favour ever was, is, and will be in fashion.

Largest Pensions allotted the Hospitallers.

11. But of all Pensions, the largest in proportion, and strongest in conveyance (as passed not as the rest by Letters Patents, but by Act of Parliament) were those assigned to the late Lord Prior, and those of the Order of the Knights Hospitalars. These being men of *high birth* and *honourable breeding*; The King no lesse *politickly* than *civilly* thought fit to enlarge their allowance (a main motive which made them so quietly to *surrender* their *strong* and *rich Hospitals*) as in the printed * Statute doth appear.

* *An.* 32 Hen. 8. cap. 24.

	li.	s.	d.
To Sir *William Weſton* Lord Prior	1000	00	00
To Sir *Jo: Rawſon* *	666	13	04

*He was Prior of *Kilman* in *Ireland*.

Confreres.	Penſions. li.	s.	s.	Confreres.	Penſions. li.	s.	d.
Clement Weſt	200	00	00	*Edmund Huſe*	066	13	04
Jo: Sutton	200	00	00	*Ambroſe Cave.*	066	13	04
Richard Poole	133	06	08	*Rich: Brooke*	066	13	04
Jo: Rawſon	133	06	08	*Cuthbert Leighton*	060	00	00
Gyles Ruſſell	100	00	00	*Thomas Copledike*	050	00	00
Geo: Aylmer	100	00	00	*Edw: Brown*	050	00	00
Edw: Belnigham	100	00	00	*William Tirell*	050	00	00
Thomas Pemberton	080	00	00				

To *Anthony Rogers*, *Oſwald Maſſingberd*, *&c.* ten pounds a piece yearly to be paid, as all the former Penſions, during their naturall lives. In the ſame Statute it is provided, that *John Mapleſden*, Clerk, Sub-Prior of the ſaid Hoſpital; *William Ermſteed*, Clerk, Maſter of the *Temple* in *London*; *Walter Limſey*, and *John Winter*, Chaplains there, ſhould every one of them have, receive, and enjoy, (the ſaid Maſter and two Chaplains of the *Temple* doing their duties and ſervices there during their lives) all ſuch Manſion-houſes, ſtipends, wages, with all other profits of money in as large and ample manner as they were accuſtomed to doe.

12. No mention (as in other Patents) of any Gratuities in ready moneys given unto them, which probably caſt into their Penſions, made them mount ſo high. As for the thouſand pounds yearly allowed Sir *Will: Weſton*, not one peny thereof was paid, he dying the next day (the Houſe of his *Hoſpitall* * and of his Earthly Tabernacle being *diſſolved* both together) Soul-ſmitten with Sorrow, Gold, though a great Cordial, being not able to cure a Broken heart.

Stout hearts can bear the leſſe grief.

*Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 460.

13. We will here preſent a *Female-Patent* of the Penſion allowed to the *Abbeſſe of Buckland*, though in all eſſentials very like unto the Former.

The Patent for a Penſion to the Prioreſſe of *Buckland*.

HENRICUS *Octavus, Dei gratia &c. Cum nuper Monaſterium de* Buckland *in Com' noſtro* Som' *jam diſſolvatur, unde quædam* Katherina Bowſer *tempore diſſolutionis illius & dicti antea Priorina inde fuit. Nos volentes rationabilem annualem Penſionem ſive promotionem condignam eidem* Katherinæ *ad victum exhibitionem & ſuſtentationem ſuam melius ſuſtinendum provideri. Sciatis igitur quod nos in conſiderationem premiſſorum de Gratia noſtra ſpeciali ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris per adviſamentum & conſenſum Cancellarii & Concilii Curiæ Augment' reventionum Coronæ noſtræ. Dedimus & conceſſimus ac per præſentes damus & concedimus eidem* Katherinæ *quandam annuitatem ſive annualem Penſionem quinquaginta librarum ſterlingorum. Habendum, gaudendum & annuatim percipiendum eaſdem*

HENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, &c. Whereas the late Monaſtery of *Buckland*, in Our County of *Somerſet*, is now lately diſſolved; whereas one *Katherine Bowſer* was Prioreſſe at the time of the diſſolution thereof, and long before. We are willing that a reaſonable Penſion annual, or ſutable promotion ſhould be provided for the ſaid *Katherine*, the better to ſuſtein her in diet and maintenance: Know therefore, that We in conſideration of the premiſes of Our ſpeciall Grace and certain Knowledge, and Our own meer motion by the advice and conſent of the Chancellor and Counſell of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of Our Crown, Have given and granted, and by theſe preſents doe give and grant unto the ſaid *Katherine* a certain annuity or annuall Penſion of fifty pounds ſterling, That the ſaid

dem quinquaginta libr' præfat' Katherinæ *& assignatis suis à festo Annuntiationis beatæ* Mariæ *virginis ultimo præterito, ad terminum vitæ ipsius* Katherinæ *tam per manus Thesaurarii nostri Reventionum augmentationum Coronæ nostræ prædict' pro tempore existen' de Thesauro nostro in manibus suis de reventionibus prædict' remanere contingen' quam per manus Receptor' Exituum & reventionum dict' nuper Maner' pro tempore existen' de eisdem exit' & reventionibus ad festum Sancti* Michaëlis *Archangeli & Annuntiationis beatæ* Mariæ *virginis per æquales portiones solvendum. Et ulterius de uberiori Gratia nostra, Damus & pro consideratione prædicta per præsentes concedimus præfatæ* Katherinæ *viginti quinque libr' sterlingor' Habend' eidem* Katherinæ *ex dono nostro per manus dict' Thesaurarii de Thesauro prædicto, vel per manus dict' Receptoris de exitibus & reventionibus Maneriorum terrarum & tenementorum dicti nuper Monasterii solvend'. Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cujus Rei testimonium, &c.*

Teste Richardo Riche *Milite apud* Westmonasterium *decimo die* Maii, *Anno Regni nostri tricesimo primo.*

Katherine or her assigns, may have, enjoy, or yearly receive the said fifty pounds from the Feast of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin *Mary* last past for the term of the life of the said *Katherine*, as well by the hands of Our Treasurer of the Augmentation of the Revenue of Our Crown for the time being out of Our Treasure which shall happen to remain in his hands out of the Revenues aforesaid, as by the hands of the Receiver of the profits and revenues of the said late Monastery for the time being out of the said profits and revenues at the feast of S. *Michael* the Archangel, and the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, to be paid by equal portions. And furthermore of Our more plentiful Grace, and for the considerations aforesaid, We give, and by these presents doe grant to the aforesaid *Katherine* twenty five pounds sterling for the said *Katherine* to have of Our proper gift by the hands of Our foresaid Treasurer out of Our Treasury aforesaid, or by Our said Receiver to be paid out of the profits & revenues of the Manours, Lands, and Tenements of the said late Monastery, because that expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof, &c.

Witnesse *Rich: Rich* Knight, at *Westminster*, the tenth of *May*, in the thirty first year of Our Reign.

There are but two considerable differences betwixt this and the former Patent: 1. Whereas Pensions allotted to Priors and Monks were conditionall, as determinable upon their preferment to Ecclesiasticall promotion of equall value; this to the Prioresse (as to all Nuns) was absolute for term of life, Women being not capable of any Church-advancement. Secondly, whereas the Gratuity allotted to Monks generally, amounted to a fourth part of their Pension; this to the Prioresse was double as much as a just moyety thereof. Whether this proceeded from the King's courtesie to the weaker Sex, or because *Mundus Muliebris*, there was such a world of Tackling required to Rigge and Lanch them forth to shift for themselves in a Secular life.

Youth and strength accompted a pension to it self.

14. But as for ordinary Nuns, we finde that four pounds Pension, and forty shillings Gratuity, was generally their provision, and that onely for those qualified with a *Diu antea*, that they had been in the Covent a *long time* before the dissolution thereof, otherwise I meet with no Portions to those that lately were entred into the Houses, being outed, and left at large, to practice the Apostles * precept, *I will that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house, &c.*

* 1 Tim. 5. 14.

15. The

15. The vivacity of some of these Pensioners is little lesse than a Miracle, they survived so long. For though none will say, they lived out of despite to anger the King to pay their Pensions, surely none so highly affected Him as to die in duty to exonerate His Exchequer of their Annuity. *Isabell Sackvile*, Lady Prioresse of *Clarkenwell*, is an eminent *instance* of *longevity* in this kinde. For,

Methusalah-Pensioners.

1. In the one and twentieth of King *Henry the seventh*, she was a * Nun in *Clarkenwell*-Priory, when a Legacy was bequeathed her as Niece by *William Sackvile* Esquire, and must be then conceived fifteen years of age.
2. She was the last Prioresse of *Clarkenwell*, at the dissolution thereof.
3. She died in the twelfth of Queen *Elizabeth*, (as appears by her Epitaph in *Clarkenwell*-Church) and by Computation must be allowed Eighty years of age.

* To be seen in the pedegree of the Earl of *Dorset*, *Weever fun. Mon.* pag. 429.

But farre older was that Monk or Nun (I am * assured of the Story, not the Sex) to whom Living in or neer *Hampshire*, Mr. *John Pymme*, then an Officer in the Exchequer, paid the last payment of his Pension about the fift year of King *James*.

* Attested by Mr. *Pymme's* kinsman to *Godfrey* Bp. of *Glocester*. See his printed Paper.

SECTION VI.

DOMINO
THOMÆ TREVOR Juniori,
Equiti Aurato.

MUlti sunt præproperi Hæredes, *qui nimiâ* parentum *vivacitate cruciantur. Hi* languidâ expectatione *macrescunt, postquam* Rura Paterna *spe vanâ devoraverant.*

At Tu *è contra*, Venerandi Patris *tui* Canitiem (*si fieri posset*) immortalem *reddere conaris, cum eam perpetuo Obsequio, humilime colas, quo, efficacius* Kardiacum, *ad Senectutem ejus elongandam nequit confici.*

Non in Patris, *sed* Mundi *senescentis* Annos *inquiris, cum* Historiâ *plurimum delecteris, cujus ope, si* Præterita *cum* Præsentibus *conferantur, conjectura de* Futuris *statui potest, quo nomine, hoc opus nostrum tibi non ingratum fore confido.*

Deus Te, Lectissimâmq; Conjugem *beat* prole patrizante, *non tam* privato commodo, *quam* Bono Publico, *ne* Respublica *tantarum virtutum* Hæredi *destituatur.*

Of the Erection, Officers, Use, Continuance, and Abolishing of the Court of Augmentation.

Augmentation Court when erected.

DUring the scuffling for Abbey-land, in the 27 year of King *Henry the eighth*, the *Court of Augmentation* was set up by *Act of Parliament* to be a *Court of Record*, and to have an authentick *Great Seal* besides a *Privie Seal*, and several *Officers* appointed for management thereof, with *large fees* allowed unto them. I finde the same *exemplified* in a fair *Vellum Manuscript*, which lately was Archbishop *Parkers*; since the Lord *Cokes*, whence I transcribed as followeth.

Sir *Rich: Sackvile*, Chancellor, three hundred pounds yearly Fee, forty pounds Diet, and six shillings eight pence for every Seale.

Sir *Jo: Williams*, Treasurer, three hundred and twenty pounds Fee.

Sir *Will: Cavendish*, Treasurer, of the King's Chamber, one hundred pounds Fee, one hundred pound Dyet, and ten pounds Boat-hire.

Sir

Sir *Thomas Moyle* } Generall Receivers, to each two hundred pounds Fee, and
Sir *Walter Mildmay* } twenty pounds Diet.
Rich: Goodrich Attorney, one hundred pounds Fee, and twenty marks Diet.
Jo: Gosnall Solicitor, eighty pound Fee, Diet twenty marks.

Besides Masters, and Surveyors of the woods, Clerks, Keepers of Records, Ushers, Messengers, Assistants, Carpenter and Mason to the Court, Auditors, Receivers, Surveyors, Woodwards for every County, the totall summe of their Fees yearly amounting unto Seven thousand two hundred forty nine pounds ten shillings and three pence. This Catalogue by the persons mentioned therein, seems taken towards the end of *Edward the sixt*, when the Court began to decline.

The imployment of the Officers in this Court.

2. It belonged unto this Court to order, survey, and govern, sell, let, set all Manours, lands, tenements, rents, services, tythes, pensions, portions, advowsons, patronages, and all hereditaments formerly belonging to Priories, and since their dissolution to the Crown, as in the printed Statute * more largely doth appear. All persons holding any Leases, Pensions, Corodies, &c. by former grants from the Covents came into the Court, produced their Deeds, and upon examination of the validity thereof had the same allowed unto them. And although providence for themselves, and affection to their kindred, prompted many Fryers and Covents foreseeing their tottering condition to antedate Leases to their friends just at the dissolution, yet were they so frighted with fear of discovery, that very few frauds in that kinde were committed. The Court was very tender in continuing any Leases upon that least legall consideration.

* An. 27 Hē. 8. cap. 27.

Motives for the dissolution of this Court.

3. But after some continuance of this Court, the King's urgent occasions could not stay for the slow coming in of money from the yearly Revenues of Abbey-land, insomuch that He was necessitated to sell out-right a great part of those Lands for the present advance of Treasure, and thereby quickly was the Court of Augmentation diminished. The King therefore took into consideration to dissolve it as superfluous, wherein the Officers were many, their Pensions great, Crown profits thereby small, and Causes therein depending few, so that it was not worth the while to keep up a Mill to grinde that grist, where the Toll would not quit cost. It was therefore resolved to stop up this *by-stream*, that all causes therein should run in the antient *channell* of the former Courts of *Westminster*.

Finally, dissolved in the first year of Queen *Mary*.

4. Indeed in the 7 of King *Edw. 6.* a doubt did arise amongst the Learned in the Laws, whether the Court of Augmentation, the Commencement whereof was first had by authority of Parliament, would legally be dissolved, extinguished, and repealed by the King's Letters Patents? And the Officers thereof (wonder not if they stickled for their own concernments) did zealously engage on the Negative. Wherefore it was enacted by Parliament, That *the King, during His naturall life, had present power by His Letters Patents to alter, unite, annex, reduce, or dissolve any of those new erected Courts by His own Letters Patents:* And the same Act was confirmed in the first year of Queen *Mary*, when the short-lived Court of Augmentation was dissolved, as which, from the *birth* thereof 1535, to the *extinguishing* 1553, survived but eighteen years.

The Lands of Chanteries, free Chappels, and Colledges dissolved.

Prodigality alwaies wanteth.

King *Henry the eighth* his expences like sandy ground, suddenly suckt up the large shower of Abbey-lands, and little signe or shew was seen thereof: yea, such the *parching thirst* of his *pressing occasions*, that still they called aloud for more moysture, for whose satisfaction the Parliament in the 38 year of His Reign put the Lands of all Colledges, Chanteries, and free Chappels in His Majesties full dispositon.

King *Henry*'s three meals on Abbey-lands.

2. This King made three meals, or (if you will) one meal of three courses on Abbey-lands, besides what Cardinal *Wolsey* (the *King*'s Taster herein) had eat before-hand, when assuming smaller Houses to endow his two Colledges.

1. When Religious Houses under two hundred pounds a yeare — *Anno* 1535
2. When all greater Monasteries — 1538
3. When Colledges, Chanteries, and Freee Chappels — 1545

were granted to Him by the Parliament.

The first of these were most in Number; the second, richest in Revenue; the third, in this respect better than both the former, because they being spent and consumed, these alone were left to supply His occasions.

The Universities fears.

3. The Universities were more scared than hurt at the news of *all Colledges put into the King's disposall*. They knew that Barbarisme it self had mischievous *naturall Logick* to make those Generall words reach farre, especially if *covetousnesse* of some Officers might be permitted to *stretch* them: whereupon, they * made their humble and seasonable addresses to the King for His favour.

* Lord *Herbert* in *H.* 8. p. 537.

Happily turned into joy and thankfulnesse.

4. None ever robbed the Muses who were well acquainted with them. King *Henry* had too much Scholarship to wrong Scholars. Either Universfity was so farre from being *impaired* that both were *improved* by His bounty with Pensions for the places of their Publick Professors; yea, the faireſt Colledge in either University in effect acknowledges Him for its Founder.

What Chanters &c. were.

5. Such Colledges as were Hives of Drones (not of Bees, industriously advancing Learning and Religion) were now intended to be suppressed with free Chappels and Chanteries.

1. *Chanteries* consisted of Salaries allowed to one or more Priests to say daily Masse for the Soules of their deceased Founders and their Friends. These were Adjectives, not able to stand of themselves, and therefore united (for their better support) to some Parochial, Collegiate, or Cathedrall Church.
2. *Free Chappells*, though for the same use and service, were of a more substantiall and firm constitution, as independent of themselves.
3. *Colledges* were of the same nature with the former, but more considerable in bigneſse, building, number of Priests and endowments.

But the ensuing death of King *Henry the eighth*, for a time, preserved the life of these Houses, which were totally demolished by Act of Parliament in the first year of King *Edward the sixt*.

Two Statutes on different considerations.

6. One may observe, that the two Statutes made for the dissolving of these Houses, were bestowed on different considerations.

Statute 37 Hen. 8. cap. 4.

Chargeth Misdemeanors on the Priests and Governours of the aforesaid Chanteries, that of their own Authority without the assent of their Patrons, Donours, or Founders, they had let Leases for Lives, or term of years of their said Lands, and some had suffered Recoveries, levied Fines, and made Feoffments and other Conveyances: Contrary to the will and purposes of their Founders, to the great contempt of Authority Royall.

Wherefore in consideration of His Majesties great costs and charges in His present Warres with France *and* Scotland, *the Parliament put Him and His Successors for ever, in the reall and actuall possession of such Chanteries, &c.*

Statute 1 Edwardi 6. cap. 14.

Mentioneth the Superstitious uses of these Houses, considering that a great part of Errors of Christian Religion hath been brought into the mindes and estimation of men by reason of the Ignorance of their very true and perfect Salvation through the death of Christ, and by devising and fancying vaine opinions of Purgatory and Masses satisfactory for the dead.

Wherefore, that the said Lands might be altered for better uses, viz: *Erecting Grammar-Schools, augmentation of the Universities, and provision for the Poor: the Parliament bestowed them on the King, by His Councell, to dispose of the same accordingly.*

7. To

Forty seven Chanteries in Saint *Paul's* Church, *London.*

7. To begin with *Chanteries*, their exact number in all *England* is unknown. But, if *Hercules* may, by a Mathematician, be measured from *his foot*, a probable conjecture may be made of them, from those which we finde founded in the Cathedral Church of S. *Paul's* in *London*. For, on the nineteenth of *April*, in the second year of King *Edward the sixt*, a Certificate was returned by the Dean and Chapter of *Paul's* to His Highnesse Commissioners appointed for that purpose, affirming, That they had *forty seven* Chanteries within their Church. We will onely instance in the odde *seven*, enough to acquaint us with the nature of all the rest.

Chauntrie of	Founded by	For	To pray for	In S. *Pauls* Church,	Present Incumbents.	Revenue.			
1. *John Beauchamp* Knight.	Himself in his life-time.	One Chaplain.	The said Sir *Ia.* and the souls of the Progenitors of the Earle of *Warwick*.	Next to the Founders Tomb.	Sir *Richard Strange*.	Sum. tot.	lib. 11	s. 08	d 08
						Deduct.	09	06	08
						Remain.	02	18	08
2. Sir *John Poulney*, Knight, Citizen of *London*.	His own last Will and Testament, in 23 of *Edward the third*.	Three Priests.	His own, and all Christian souls	In a Chappell by him built on the North side of the Church.	1. Sir *Fulk Wiseny*. 2. Sir *John Richardson*. 3. Sir *John Blosse*.	Sum. tot.	47	09	04
						Deduct.	39	17	08
						Remain.	07	12	06
3. *John* Duke of *Lancaster*.	*Ralph Nevill*, E. of *Westmerland*; the E. of *Worcester*, Executors to the Duke, licensed by King *Hen.* 4. in the 13 of His Reign.	Two Chaplains	King *Henry the fourth* then living, and the soule of the aforesaid Duke of *Lancaster*.	In a Chappel by them built on the North of the Church	1. Sir *Rich. Smith*. 2. Sir *Roger Gherlton*.	Sum. tot.	20	00	09
						Deduct.	16	06	08
						Remain.	03	13	01
4. *Walter Sherington*.	The Executors of his Testament licensed by Ki. *Henry the sixt*, in the 24 of his Reign.	Two Chaplains Englishmen, and Graduates.	The good estate of King *Henry the sixt*, the soul of *Walter Sherington*.	In a Chappel built for him at the North doore of the Church.	Mr. *Thomas Bavenus. Senex.* Mr. *John Wyny*.	Sum. tot.	20	00	00
						Deduct.	18	00	00
						Remain.	02	00	00
5. *Thomas More*, sometime Dean of the Church.	His Executors.	Three Priests.	The soul of the said *More*, and others.	In the Chappel of S. *Anne*.	Sir *Richard Gates*. Sir *Robert Garret*. Sir *Morrice Griffith*.	Sum. tot.	67	00	06
						Deduct.	55	00	11 ½
						Remain.	12	05	00 ½
6. *Walter Thorpe*.	His Executors.	One Chaplain	The soul of the said *Thorpe*.	At S. *John's* Altar.	Sir *Richard Nelson*.	Sum. tot.	11	16	00
						Deduct.	05	04	08 ½
						Remain.	06	11	03 ½
7. *Richard Fitz James* Bishop of *London*.	*Henry Hill*, Citizen and Haberdasher in the 13 of *Henry* 8.	One Chaplain.	*Richard Fitz James*, Bishop of *London*.	At S. *Paul's* Altar.	Sir *John Hill*.	Sum. tot.	14	06	08
						Deduct.	14	06	08
						Remain.	00	00	00

Know Reader, I am beholding for my exact intelligence herein, to my worthy friend Mr. *Thomas Hanson*, who not onely lent much light to my lamp, out of choice Records (some in his possession, moe in his custody) but also hath given much oyle thereunto, in his bountifull encouraging of my endevours. It seems the *Chapter* would not goe to the cost of true *Arithmetick*, some of the summes being not rightly deducted; whose mistakes I chose rather to follow, than to vary any whit from the Originall.

Chanteries when they began by Royall licenſe.

8. Observe in these *Chanteries*, some *were not*, some *were licensed* by the King. For, before the *Statute of Mortmain*, made by King *Edward the third*, *to be able and willing was all the licence*, requisite in any to found a *Chantery*. Since which time a Charter must be obtained from the King, to passe lands of such nature and

and value, to Persons so qualified. Observe, (I call it the *religious complement*, or *mannerly devotion* of those daies) that the *Chantery-Priests* (whosoever their Founders were) prayed first for the good estate of that King living, and His soul after death, who first granted leave and license for that foundation.

The Altar in S. Paul's scarce to be seen for Altars.

9. See how the Church of Saint *Paul* was *be-Altared* in that Age, wherein we finde no fewer than *fourteen*, with their several *dedications*, viz.

The Altar of
1. The *Trinitie*.
2. The Virgin *Marie*.
3. *Michael* the Arch-angel.
4. The *Apostles*.
5. S. *Andrew*.
6. S. *John*.
7. S. *Paul*.
8. S. *Thomas*.
9. *Mary Magdalene*.
10. *Martha*, and *Mary Magdalene*.
11. S. *Erkenwald*.
12. S. *Chad*.
13. S. *Radigund*.
14. S. *Silvester*.

And it is observable, that almost every one of these *forty and seven Chanteries*, founded in S. *Paul's* Church, had their Priest officiating either in severall Chappels, or at severall Altars, probably not to disturb each other in their private *celebrations*. But finde not any Chantery-Priests affigned to doe service at the *high Altar indeed*; either, because that place was reserved as proper to the *Dignitaries of the Cathedral*, or because the solemnity and merit thereof was equally extensive to all souls in generall, unfit to be confined to any particular parties deceased, how great soever.

Moe Sirs, than Knights.

10. Such Priests as have the addition of *Sir* before their Christian-name, were men not graduated in the Universfity, being in *Orders*, but not in *Degrees*; whilst others entituled *Masters*, had commenced in the *Arts*. Note, that generally, Founders of Chanteries preferred Priests *not beneficed* to those places, as best at leisure constantly to attend the same. Nor did their dead Founders so ingrosse the devotion of those Priests, but that by general and special *Obits* for other men, Procession-pence, and other perquisites, they much bettered their maintenance. Single Priests commonly had the greatest Salaries (more in proportion than when others were joyned with them in the same Society) because tied to daily duty, having none by turns to relieve them, and the *greater worke* deserved the *greater wages*.

Deductions out of Chantery revenues.

11. Many Deductions and Resolutions were made by the Dean and Chapter, out of the *lands* wherewith every Chantery was endowed, besides the Salarie paid to the Chaplains, as for quit-rents, and tenths to the King, pensions to Choristers, &c. But one generall expence was for an Anniversary *Potation* (seldome exceeding *ten shillings*) founded, as it seems, on *Job's* words, *Job* 4. as *Bellarmine* * citeth the Chapter without Verse, *Panem tuum, & vinum tuum super sepulturam justi constitue: Put thy bread, and thy wine upon the sepulture of the just man*: But no such words appear in the place alledged, though some such like are found in the fourth of * *Tobit*: Where, notwithstanding, no mention of *wine*, which the Jesuite adds of his own, that it might not be a *drie* (as some since have added *wax*, that it might not be a *dark*) *feast*. *Bread*, *wine*, and *wax*, being the essentialls of every *Potation*. The charges of an Anniversary *Obit* was also deducted, whereof *forty shillings* the market-price; though some were so free they gave more, and some so favoured, they had them for lesse.

* *De Purgator.* lib. 1. cap. 3. pag. 1375. edit. *Lugduni An.* 1587.
* Ver. 17.

Charitable swallowed with superstitious use.

12. Some Deductions were made by the will of the Founders, to uses meerly charitable, and no whit superstitious, out of the surplusage of the Chantery-lands (the Priest, or Priests therein first paid) as to the necessary relief of many

poor

poor people, and breeding of Scholars in the Universities. But, as the *Stork* in the fable, found amongst the *Cranes* in destroying the corn of the husband-man, in vain pleaded his own piety to his parents, being kill'd for company-sake with those birds amongst whom he was caught: so it is more than suspitious, that these pious uses were utterly extinguished at the suppression of Abbeys; to teach mens charities hereafter, (if it be not a lesson now too late to be learn'd) to beware of too familiar converse with superstition. Nor doe I speak at guesse herein, but from the complaints of credible and unpartiall Authors, of which this one I will insert.

The righteous destroyed with the wicked.

13. There was a Maid born in *Cornwall*, called *Tomasin Bonaventure*, and well did she brook the same, which from a keeper of sheep, came at last to be the Wife of Sir *John Percivall* Lord Major of *London*. In her widowhood, she laid out her *estate*, which was very great, in *charitable Uses*, and amongst the rest founded a *Chantery*, and a *Free-school*, at S. *Mary* * *Weike* in *Cornwall* (the place of her *nativity*) with *fair Lodgings* for the *School-Masters*, *Schollars*, and *Officers*, and *twenty pound a year* (beside their *Salaries*) to support incident charges. And here the best Gentlemen's Sons in *Devon* and *Cornwall* were virtuously trained up, under one *Cholwell*, a religious Teacher, untill the said *School* was suppreſt, in the Reign of King *Edward the sixt*, onely for a smack of *Popery*, the *Chantery* being annexed thereunto. And I suspect the like happened in other places; But to return to S. *Paul's*, all *deductions* discharged, the cleer *remainder* belonged to the *Dean and Chapter* of S. *Paul's*.

* *Carew* his Survey of *Cornwall*, fol. 119.

Gainfull contracting the number of the Priests.

14. Note, that the *Dean and Chapter* aforesaid, assumed this *power* to themselves, That in case (to use their own terms) *the exility of the Lands or Rents*, bestowed on any *Chantery*, were insufficient to maintain so many Chaplains, as were appointed in the *foundation*, then they would reduce them to a smaller number. For instance: The Executors of *Adam Burie*, sometimes Major of *London*, founded a *Chantery* wherein seven Priests should pray continually. This I may call a *Colledge-Chantery* (equalling *Katherine-Hall* in *Cambridge* for the number therein) but the means not holding out in full proportion, these *seven* were shrunk to *four*, at the time of their suppression.

Gainfull annexing of Chanteries.

15. Another help the Dean and Chapter had. When the maintenance of any Chantery fell short, by uniting two, or moe mean Chanteries together. Thus *Margaret Bigod* gave a *Marish*, called *Richernesse* in *Essex*, with a stock of *eleven-score sheep* thereon, to found a *Chanterie* with two Chaplains; which, not sufficient for the same, was annexed to a small Chantery of *Richard Greene*'s, and one Priest (Sir *Christopher Bricket* by name) effectually (no doubt) discharged both.

There is a generation rich, and maketh themselves poor.

16. And yet, notwithstanding all these shifts, the *Dean and Chapter* of *Paul's* in giving up their accounts to the King's Commissioners, pretended themselves yearly losers by some of these Chanteries. For, generally they were founded on *candle-rents* (houses are *London*'s land) which were subject to casualtie, reparations, and vacations. In such intervalls, though the *house* (wherewith the *Chanterie* was endowed) wanted a *Tenant*, yet the Chanterie must not want a *Chaplain* to officiate for the dead. Yea, so charitable was the *Dean and Chapter* in such cases, as sometimes to allow lands in augmentation of maintenance, and assigne houses *of their own*, for the habitation of such Chaplains as wanted a mansion. The King therefore may be said in some sort, to have done a courtesie to the Chapter of *Paul's*, when suppressing such poor Chanteries, formerly not beneficial, but burdensome unto them.

Nothing [pretended] gotten.

17. By other Chanteries they were only *savers*, no *gainers*, having only their labour for their pain, in seeing things performed according to the Will of the Testatour (as in Bishop *Fitz-James*, and many others) so that, the Priest paid, and other allowances deducted, *remanet nil*, as they brought in the reckoning of their receipts and disbursments. However, we may take notice, that herein the *Dean and Chapter* of *Paul's*, were both their own *Accomptants* and *Auditors*, and none could

could disprove their reckonings therein. But grant, that among forty seven *Chanteries*, two or three of them were *unprofitable servants*, returning no emolument unto them: yea, suppose as many *prodigall children*, wasting the stock of their Parent (understand the Church wherein they were founded) yet, from the collective body of them altogether, she gained a grand revenue. And it is considerable, that in this their Audit, they onely brought in their bare annual rent of houses, their fines not being charged on their accompt, but swallowed in silence, to the great commodity of the *Chapter*.

* The great, though uncertain number of Chanteries.

18. Vast was the wealth accrewing to the Crown by the dissolution of *Chanteries*. *Many a little* (saith the Proverb) *make a mickle*. These foundations, though small in revenue, yet being many in number, mounted up a *great bank*. There was not a Cathedral, or Collegiate-Church in *England*, but some Chanteries were founded therein, as in many Parochial-Churches. Thus at *Oldwincle* in *North hampton shire* (the Village of my nativity) a Chantery in the Parish-Church of *All-Saints*, was endowed with house and lands for a Priest, at the cost of Sir *John Oldwincle* Knight, about the Reign of King *Henry the sixt*. Yea, let the model of Countrey-Churches be well observed, wherein such *excursions of building* as present themselves beyond the old fabrick (from which oft-times they differ as neater, and newer) were since erected, and added, as intended, and used for *Chanteries*.

Free Chappels and Colledges.

19. *Free-Chappels* succeed, not so called from the *freenesse*, and bounty of their Founders, but because subsisting of themselves, as *children of full age*, whose parents are still alive. For, though *Chappell* speaks a relation to a *Mother-Church*, yet *free* avoweth them *sui juris*, especially so farre forth that *right of burialls* belonged unto them. These were greater than *Chanteries*, having more room for Priests, and moe Priests for that room, to pray for the souls of their Founders, Colledges come the last (as the heaviest, and best laden with land) into consideration. These, though fewest in number, were richer than both the former: insomuch that the Colledge of *Fotheringhay* in *North-hampton-shire*, was yearly valued at Four hundred nineteen pounds eleven shillings ten pence halfpeny. And no wonder, since this * Colledge had the rare happinesse to be endowed by the Kings both of *Yorke*, and *Lancaster*, at deadly mutuall enmity, yet joyntly agreeing in their bounty to this place.

* See *Speeds* Catalogue in *Northampton-shire*.

A *nemo scit* of wealth accruing to the Crown.

20. How much the yearly revenue of all these *Chanteries*, *Free-Chappels*, and *Colledges*, amounted to, *God knows*, for the *King knew* as little as some in our Age. Indeed, some of His Officers *did*, but would not know, as wilfully concealing their knowledge herein. Yea, some of these *Chanteries* may be said in a double sense to be *suppresst*, as not onely *put down*, but also *concealed*, never coming into the Exchequer, being silently pocketed up by private (but potent) persons. True it is, the Courtiers were more rapacious to catch, and voracious to swallow these *Chanteries*, than *Abbey-lands*. For, at the first many were scrupulous in minde, or modest in manners, doubting the acceptance of *Abbey-land*, though offered unto them, till profit and custome (two very able *Confessours*) had, by degrees, satisfied their consciences, and absolved them from any fault therein. Now, all scruples removed, *Chantery-land* went down without any regreet. Yea, such who mannerly expected till the King *carved* for them out of *Abbey lands*, *scrambled* for themselves out of *Chantery-revenues*, as knowing this was the *last dish* of the *last course*, and after *Chanteries*, as after *cheese*, nothing to be expected. As for those, who fairly purchased them of the King, they had such good bargains therein, that thereby all enriched, and some ennobled both themselves, and posterity. But, for satisfaction herein, I referre the Reader to his * pen, who never spared any that came under it, and seldome such as came neer it; who speaks more *bitternesse*, than *falshood*, in this particular.

* Sir *John Hayward* in *Edw.6.* pag. 155.

Pensions assigned to Chantery-Priests.

21. The *Chanterie-Priests*, by this suppression outed at once of all their livelyhood, were not left to the wide world to shift for themselves, but had *durante vita*, pensions setled on them by King *Edward* His Letters Patents. I have seen in the

the Auditor's Office for the North-part of the Dutchie of *Lancaster*; the *Account of *William Mallet* Esq. particular Receiver of the rents, Colledges, Chanteries, &c. in the Countie of *Yorke*, viz: of so many of them as were in that Shire annexed to the Dutchie of *Lancaster*, which parcell alone amounted yearly to *Seven hundred ninety six pounds four shillings two pence halfpeny*: Out of which summe was deducted, *One hundred twenty six pounds two shillings four pence*, for annuall pensions to Chantery Priests, and others (*five pounds* apiece the generall proportion) affigned them for term of life, by King *Edward the sixt*.

* Made in the 3 & 4 of *Phil.* and *Mary*.

22. The Parliament at the same time put *Hospitalls* also into the King's possession. Yet surely more tenderneſse was used to Hospitalls, and I finde very few of them finally suppressed. Indeed, that of the *Savoy* at this time was much *abused with *Loyterers, Vagabonds, and Strumpets, which lay all day in the fields, and at night were harboured there.* In which consideration King *Edward* dissolved the Hospitall, but gave the land thereof (worth six hundred pound *per annum*) to the City of *London*, to endow *Bridewell* therewith. Thus, He did not extinguish charity, but onely regulate, and remove it from the *Strand* to *Fleet street*: or rather, took away with one hand what was abused, and restored it with the other, to such as would better employ the same.

Some tenderneſse to Hospitalls.

* *Stows* Survey of *London*, pag. 344.

* *Stow ut prius*, p. 491.

Queen Mary *on her own cost restoreth some Convents.*

QUeen *Mary*, a Princesse more *zealous* (according to her *devotion*) than *politick*, resolved by way of *Essay* and *Triall*, to *restore* certain *dissolved Convents*, and *endow* them with *competent maintenance*: in order hereunto, She called *four* of Her principall Counsellours most interested in *money-matters*, viz: *William* Marquesse of *Winchester*, Lord Treasurer; Sir *Robert Rochester*, Controller of Her House; Sir *William Peter*, Secretary; and Sir *Francis Inglefield*, Master of the Wards: and by a long *Speech* acquainted them with Her intentions therein. Now though the Lord *Pawlet* as Treasurer (much being the *want of money* at this present) might dislike the motion, yet as Courtier he complied with the Queens desires, the rather, because it was in vain to withstand them, so really strong were Her resolutions: but it is worth our attention to hear Her Oration.

Qu. *Mary* imparts Her intents to four Counsellors.

'YOU[a] *are here of Our Councell, and We have wil-*
'*led you to be called to Us, to the intent ye might*
'*hear of Me my Conscience, and the resolution of My*
'*minde, concerning the Lands and Possessions, as well of*
'*Monasteries, as other Churches whatsoever, being now*
'*presently in My possession: First, I doe consider, that*
'*the said Lands were taken away from the Churches a-*
'*foresaid, in time of Schisme; and that by unlawfull*
'*means, such as are contrary both to the law of God, and*
'*of the Church. For the which cause My Conscence*
'*doth not suffer Me to detain them; and therefore I*
'*here expresly refuse either to claim, or to retain the said*

[a] *Hollinshed* in Q. *Mary*, *Anno Dom.* 1555. pag. 1127.

'Lands for Mine; but with all My heart freely and 'willingly without all paction or condition, here and be-'fore God, I doe ſurrender and relinquiſh the ſaid Lands 'and Poſſeſſions, or Inheritances whatſoever, and doe 'renounce the ſame with this minde and purpoſe, that 'order and diſpoſition thereof may be taken as ſhall ſeem 'beſt liking to our moſt holy Lord the Pope, or elſe his 'Legate the Lord Cardinall, to the honour of God, and 'wealth of this Our Realm.

'And albeit you may object to Me again, that conſi-'dering the ſtate of My Kingdome, the Dignity there-'of, and My Crown Imperiall cannot be Honourably 'maintained and furniſhed without the Poſſeſſions a-'foreſaid; yet notwithſtanding, I ſet more by the ſalva-'tion of My ſoul than by ten Kingdomes, and therefore 'the ſaid Poſſeſſions I utterly refuſe here to hold after 'that ſort and title, and give moſt hearty thanks to Al-'mighty God, which hath given Me an Husband like-'wiſe minded, with no leſſe good affection in this behalf 'than I am my ſelf. Wherefore I charge and command 'that My Chancellour, (with whom I have conferred 'My minde in this matter before) and you four, to mor-'row, doe reſort together to the moſt reverend Lord Le-'gate, and doe ſignifie to him the premiſes in My name, 'and give your attendance upon him for the more full 'declaration of the ſtate of My Kingdome, and of 'the aforeſaid Poſſeſſions accordingly, as you your ſelves 'doe underſtand the matter, and can inform him in the 'ſame.

Several Orders re-erected by Her.

2. In this matter the words of [b] *Sanders* ought to be obſerved, preſuming him beſt knowing in theſe Acts of reſtitution then performed by Her Majeſty, and that he would loſe nothing for the meaſuring, which might tend to the Queens credit.

[b] *De Schiſ. Anglic. lib. 2. pag. 309.*

Collegia nova ampliſſimâ dote fundantur. Cœnobia Benedictinorum, Carthuſianorum, Brigitenſium, Dominicanorum, Obſervantium, *ac aliorum* Ordinum *à devotis perſonis re-ædificantur.* Catholicis Regibus *in hoc genere pietatis ſubditis omnibus prælucentibus.*

New Colledges are founded with a moſt ample endowment. Convents of *Benedictines, Carthuſians, Brigitteans, Dominicans, Obſervants*, and other *Orders* are re-edified by devout perſons. The *Catholick Princes* out-ſhining all their Subjects in this kinde of piety.

Now

Now seeing this passage is the best *torch* we meet with to direct us in this *dark* subject, we will severally weigh his words, and impartially comment upon them.

1. *Benedictines:*] When *Westminster Church* was turned into an *Abbey*, and *John Feckenham* made *Abbot* thereof (installed therein on the 21 *November*, 1557.) But this was done without any cost to the *Crown*, onely by altering the *property of the place*, from a late made *Cathedrall*, to an *Abbey*, and turning the *Prebendaries* into *sixteen black Monks*, which were all at the present could be found having that *Order*, and willing to wear that *Habit* upon them.

2. *Carthusians:*] These were fixed at *Shene* nigh *Richmond* in *Surrey*, over against *Sion*.

3. *Brigitteans:*] At *Sion* in *Middlesex*. This indeed with the former, cut two good *collops* out of the *Crown land*, though farre short this second endowment, of what formerly they possessed. It was some difficulty to stock it with such who had been *veyled* before, (it being now thirty years since their dissolution) in which time most of the *elder Nuns* were in their graves, and the *younger* in the arms of their husbands, as afterwards imbracing a married life. However with much adoe (joyning some *new ones* with the *old*) they made up a *competent number*.

4. *Dominicans:*] These were seated in *Smith field* in *London*. The best was, they being *Mendicants* (little *stock* would serve to set up *Beggars*) their restoring could not be very expensive to the *Queen*, besides the *site* of an house for their dwelling, and some other necessary accommodations.

5. *Observants:*] These were *Fryers* like the former, being *Franciscans* reformed, and therefore not over-costly their restitution. Their house was at *Greenwich*, (founded by King *Henry the seventh*) plucked down by King *Henry the eighth* (as largely before) one of the first of all other Convents; because the *Fryers* therein were so obstinate against the *King*, and such *sticklers* for the legality of Queen *Katherine*'s marriage. *Ingratitude* whereunto, and *honour* of Her own extraction, Queen *Mary* re-seated them in their habitations.

6. *And other Orders:*] *Sanders* (for the more credit of the matter) politickly winds up all these indefinite words, though in the remaining *Orders* were not so many as to make up a number: Of which the most eminent were the *Hospitallers* of St. *John*'s of *Jerusalem* in *Clerkenwell*, a place in a pitifull plight when now they were first restored; for the *Bell-Tower* of the Church was undermined and blowne up with Gun-powder, that the stones thereof might build *Somerset-house* in the *Strand*. Now where the *Steeple* was *shattered*, the *Church* must needs be *shaken*; as here the *body* and [c] *side-Iles* thereof were by that fatall blow finally confounded; onely part of the *Quire* remaining (with some *side Chappels*) which Cardinall *Poole* caused to be closed up on the *West-end*, and repaired. And this served the *Hospitallers* for their *devotions* the short time they continued therein. The *Queen* made Sir *Tho: Tresham* Lord Prior of this *Order* (who the thirtieth of *November*, 1557, received the *Order* of the *Cresse* at *Westminster*) and was solemnly inducted into his place. He was of an antient family, and large estate, and had done the *Queen Knights service*, proclaiming Her in the highest contest with Queen *Jane*. If the dimension of his *Body* may be guessed by his *finger*, and his *finger* by his *Ring* (which have seen in the possession of his Kinsman *William Tresham* Esq. of *Newton* in *Northampton-shire*) he was a *little Gyant*, and farre greater than his *pourtraicture* on his *Monument*, almost demolisht in *Rushton*-Church, in the same County. But *Alexander*'s souldiers were not in proportion so big as their *shields* left in *India*; and possible that *Ring of State* (serving for a *Seale*)

c *Stows Surv.* of *London*, pag. 483.

Seale) was rather *borne about* him, than *worn* on his finger.

7. *Re-edified by devout perſons:*] It is out of doubt that *Papiſts* contributed many pretious *Utenſils* unto theſe Orders, as alſo that they were bountifull in repairing their decayed Houſes to fit them for their habitation; but by *Sanders* his leave. No viſible *refunding* of land doth appear. Which if he had known of, no doubt he would have told poſterity, as tending (according to his principles) ſo much to the credit of thoſe perſons. I ſay again (though *Queens Examples* carry a kinde of *Mandamus* in them) yet herein Her beſt Subjects and Servants were ſo unmannerly as to ſuffer Her *Grace* to go alone by Her ſelf in this Act without any *attendants*, as to the reſtitution of any entire Religious houſe to its former Order. No not *Anthony Browne* Viſcount *Montacute* (though formerly ſolemnly employed in an *Ambaſſy* to the *Pope* to reconcile the Church of *England* to *Rome*) would part with his rich *Abbey* of *Battaile* in *Suſſex*, or poor *Priory* of *Barnewell*, nigh *Cambridge*, &c. but kept all his *pluralities* in that nature, though otherwiſe we believe *him* moſt bountifull to thoſe of his own Religion.

8. *The Catholick Princes:*] Meaning *Philip* and *Mary*, and ſurely though we cannot inſiſt on the particulars, that *Kings* inclinations are ſufficiently known: zealous for the promoting of His own Religion.

However, it is almoſt incredible what a *qualme* on this occaſion came over the hearts of the ſtouteſt *Abbey-land Mongers* in *England*, fearing in proceſſe of time a reverting of them to their former uſe; the rather becauſe Cardinall *Poole* in that *Act* in this *Queens Reign* to ſecure *Abbey-lands* to their *Owners* (without the paſſing whereof to pacifie ſo many perſons concerned, *Papiſtry* could not have been reſtored in that *Parliament*) did not, as ſome think, abſolve their *conſciences* from reſtitution, But onely made a *palliate cure*, the Church but ſuſpending that power, which in due time ſhe might put in execution.

A generall jealouſie of Abbey-holders.

3. This made many ſuſpect that ſuch *edifices* of *Abbeys*, which ſtill were extant, entire, *looked* lovingly on their antient *Owners* in hope to be reſtord unto them. In prevention whereof ſuch as poſſeſt them for the preſent, *plucked out their eyes*, by *levelling* them to the ground, and *ſhaving* from them (as much as they could) all *Abbey-Characters*, *diſguiſing* them (as much as might be) in a *Lay-habit*, *matching* and *mingling* them with *lands* in another *Tenure*, becauſe on this very motion *Abbey-lands* ſunk two years purchaſe in the common valuation.

Nimia non curiæ non notes.

4. Nor muſt I forget one paſſage in *Derby-ſhire*, (a certain information whereof I have received from that skilful *Antiquary* and my reſpected Kinſman *Samuel Roper* of *Lincolnes-Inne*, how one *Thacker* being poſſeſſed of *Repingdon-Abbey* in *Derby-ſhire*, alarumed with this news that *Q. Mary* had ſet up theſe *Abbeys* again (and fearing how large a reach ſuch a precedent might have) upon a *Sunday* (belike, *the better day, the better deed*) called together the *Carpenters* and *Maſons* of that *County*, and plucked down in one day (*Church-work* is a *cripple* in *going up*, but *rides poſt* in *coming down*) a moſt beautifull Church belonging thereunto, adding, He *would deſtroy the Neſt, for fear the Birds ſhould build therein again.*

The beſt work of Q. *Mary.*

5. And now when a *Papiſt* have done commending *Q. Mary*, a *Proteſtant* may begin, I ſay, Her ſetting up the *Hoſpitall* of the *Savoy* was a better work than any inſtanced in by *Sanders* for the relief of poor people: Firſt, becauſe *poor*, *qua* poor may be ſaid to be *Jure Divino*: * *The rich and poor meet together, and the Lord maketh them both.* Not onely as *Creatour* of their perſons, but *Aſſigner* of their conditions. Beſides, the *Poor* is a continuall *Order* in the *Church* by the words of our *Saviour*, * *The poor ye have alwaies with you*: but more properly hereof in the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

* Prov. 22. 2.

* John 12. 8.

Queen

Queen Elizabeth *demolisheth the new-erected Convents.*

QUeen *Elizabeth* coming to the Crown, was not over-busie at the first, but for some moneths permitted all things to remain *in statu quo prius*. Insomuch, that in the first *Parliament* of Her summoning, She sent Her *Writs* to the aforesaid Lord Prior *Tresham*, and Abbot *Feckenham* to make their appearance with the rest of Her Barons in Her *Great Councell*. Whither they *repaired*, and wherein they took their *places* accordingly.

Violent alterations dangerous.

2. Sir *Thomas* (as Lord Prior) *above*, but the Abbot *beneath* all the [a] *Temporal Lords*, being the *lag* of the *House*, and placed under *Oliver* Lord S. *John* of *Bletnesho*, lately made the second Baron of Queen *Eliz:* Her creation. But they had hardly *set down* on their *seats*, before they were *raised up*, and *dissolved*, with all the rest of the *late-restored* Orders.

[a] See a List of them sitting in Sir *Tho Cottons* Library.

3. I have not met (to my best remembrance) with any *Statute*, enacted in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, whereby She was *legally empowred* for the *re-erection* of these *Convents*, done it seems by Her *Prerogative*, by *connivance*, not *concurrence* of the Parliament. Nor can I finde, in the first year of Queen *Elizabeth*, any particular *Statute* wherein (as in the Reign of King *Henry the eighth*) these Orders are *nominatim* suppressed, this probably being supposed *needlesse*, as I conceive, (with submission to the *Learned* in that *Profession*) their *Houses* having no *Legal settlement*: Or else, when the *general Statutes* against *Superstition*, were *layed* like the *Ax* to the *root of the Tree*, these *Orders* are under-branches, fell of themselves by virtue of the Queens Commission for the same.

A Quære to the learned in Law.

4. I intended by way of a *farewell-Corollary* to present the Reader with a *List* of the *Lord Priors* of S. *John*'s, from *Iordanus Briset*, their first Founder. But their *Records* being all burnt in that fire, which was kindled by *Straw* in his *commotion*, it is impossible to *compleat* the *Catalogue*. At and since which disaster, such as we can recover, are not *contiguous* in *times*, and *distanced* with *many years* betwixt them, though perhaps not unusefull to be inserted.

A n imperfect List better than none.

1. Sir *Robert Hales*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, slain in the *tumult* of *Tyler*, *Anno* 1380, in the fourth of K. *Richard the second*. At which time,

2. Next him, Sir *John Long-strother*, I say next, *proximus at longo qui proximus intervallo*, siding with the House of *Lancaster*; he was taken prisoner in *Tewxbury Battail*, *Anno* 1471, and by King *Edward the fourth* put to death in *cold blood*, contrary to the *promise* of a *Prince*, who had assured his *life* unto him.

3. Sir *Thomas Dockwray*, is the next (not of all); but in our discovery. A person of much desert, expending himself wholly for the *credit* and *profit* of his *Priory*, as who *re-edified* the Church out of its ruine, finishing it *Anno* 1504, as appeareth by the *Inscription* over the *Gate-house* yet remaining.

4. Sir *William Weston* succeeds (of whom before) *dissolved* this List on the very day of the *dissolution* of this Priory.

5. Sir *Thomas Tresham*, was the first and last of Q. *Mary*'s re-erection. There goeth a tradition, that Q. *Elizabeth* in consideration of his *good service* done *to* Her self *in* Her Sister Q. *Mary*, whom he *proclaimed*, and Their *Titles* being *shut out of doors* together, *both* were let in *again at once*, though to take place *successively*, allowed him to be called *Lord Prior* during his life, which was not *long*, and the matter not *much*, deriving no *power* or *profit* unto him.

Here I purposely omit Sir *Richard Shelley*, (which *family* I finde of remark for worship and antiquity at *Michel-Grove* in *Sussex*.) He bare a great enmity to Queen

Q. *Elizabeth*, especially after She had flatly denied *Philip* King of *Spain*, whither *Shelley* was fled) to consent to his abiding there, and to his quiet receiving his rents out of *England*. However, the *Spanish King* imployed him in an Honorable Ambassy unto *Maximilian* King [b] of the *Romans*, wearing the high title of *Prior of the Order of St.*[c] John's *in* England. A *Prior* without a *Posterior* having none *under him* to obey his *power*, nor *after him* to succeed in his *place*. We behold him only as the *wry-streak* given in by us out of *courtesie*, when the *game* was up before.

b *Cambd. Eliz. Anno* 1563.
c *Idem in Anno* 1560. p. 46.

5. The *Site* of the *Priory* of S. *John*'s was lately the possession of *William* Earl of *Exeter*, whose Countess *Eliz: Druery* was very forward to repair the ruin'd *Quire* thereof. Doct. *Ios: Hall* preached at the solemn *Reconciling* thereof, on S. *Stephen*'s day 1623, taking for his *Text*, Hag. 2. 9. *The glory of the latter house, shall be greater than of the former saith the Lord of Hosts*. At this day, though *courtiated*, having the *side-Iles* excluded, (yet so that their upper part is *admitted*, affording conveniencies for attention) it is one of the best *private Chappels* in *England*, discreetly embracing the *mean* of *decency* betwixt the *extreams* of slovenly *profaneness* and gaudy *superstition*, and belongeth at this present to the truly noble *Thomas* Earle of *Elgin*.

Cui the present owner of this Priory.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

To THOMAS DOCKWRAY of Bedford-shire, *Esquire*.

I *finde Sir* THOMAS DOCKWRAY *one of the last Lord Priors of our* English Hospitallers. *To say* you *are descended from* him *would fix a stain on* your Extraction, *seeing none might* marry, *who were of his* Order.

But this I will say and justifie, that you Both *are descended from the* same Ancestour, *as by authentick Records doth most plainly appear.*

Besides, some conformity may be seen in your *commendable inclinations. He was all for* * building *of a fair* Church *according to the devotion of those dayes. Your* bountifull hand *hath been a great sharer in* advancing *of this* Church-History.

Now, although his stately Structure *of the* strongest stone *had the hard hap to be blown up almost as* * *soon as it was ended, this of* yours (*a* frailer Fabrick, *as but of* Paper-walls) *may by Gods blessing have the happinesse of a longer continuance.*

* *Stow Survey of London, pag. 483.*

* *Stows Surv. of Lond. in prin.*

Of English *Nunneries beyond the Seas.*

THus were all *Monks, Fryers*, and *Nunnes*, totally routed by the coming in of Qu. *Elizabeth*. I finde not that any *Pensions* were allowed to those *Votaries*, who at this time were outed their *Covents*, though large *Annuities* were assigned to such who were ejected their *Monasteries, Colledges*, or *free Chanteries*, in the Reigns of King *Henry the eighth*, and *Edward the sixt*: whereof this may seem the reason, because now, *caveat ingressor, He or She might beware who entred an Abbey*, be it at their own perill, seeing they formerly had so fair a warning, though indeed some of them who had no friends to help them, were left in no very good condition, and died in much want and distresse.

Why no Pensions paid to outed Votaries by Qu. *Eliz.*

Detained pensions paid to old Fryers and Nunnes.

2. But now in the beginning of this *Queens Reign*, a complaint did arise, That *Pensions were detained from many ejected out of Abbeys in her Father and Brother his Reigne, who being poor, old, and impotent, and repairing to the Queens Officers for their Pensions, were instead of money paid with ill language and affronts.* Her *Majesty* possessed with the *truth* hereof, took *strict order* both that their *Arrears* for the time past should be satisfied, and their *Annuities* for the time to come effectually discharged, which much advanced her honour in pecuniary matters.

Chequer pay, the best of payments.

3. Hence grew the *Proverb* (crossed in the daies of her *successours*) *As sure as Exchequer pay.* For all, who in this *Queens Reign* had summes due unto them from the *Treasurie*, had no other trouble than to tell them there, and take them thence. Thus, it came to passe, that by Her maintaining of the *Exchequer*, the *Exchequer* maintained Her, having money at most, credit at all times on the reputation of so good a *Pay-Mistresse*: insomuch that She was not onely able to *lay down Her stake*, but also to *vye* ready silver with the King of *Spaine*, when He, notwithstanding both His *Indies*, was fain to *go on Bare board.*

The onely stump of an old tree.

4. As for *Popish* (*Religious*) *persons* flying out of *England* at the coming in of this *Queen*, our pen shall follow them as fast as it can with convenient speed. We begin with the *Nunnes*, partly because the *courtesie* of *England* alloweth the first place to the *feeblest Sex*; but chiefly, because they seem still to continue an *entire body*, and successively, an *immortall corporation*; being, with the *Carthusians*, the onely *stump* that remaineth of the huge tree which once overspread and shadowed our whole *Nation.*

The progresse of Nunnes from *Sion* to *Lisbone.*

5. May the *Reader* be pleased to remember, that King *Henry the fifth* founded one *Abbey* of *Nunnes* at *Sion* in *Middlesex*, peopling it with *Brigetine Nunnes* and *Fryers*, and another at *Sheine* in *Surrey* overagainst it, so ordering it that all the day long alternately when the *Devotions* of the one *ended*, the other *should begin*, that nothing should interrupt their *Prayers*, though the *Thames* did divide their *Persons*: Both those *Covents* dissolved by King *Henry the eighth* were, as aforesaid, restored by Q. *Mary*, and re-dissolved by Q. *Elizabeth.* The *Sion Nunnes* (though *Clementia Thresham* a principall amongst them, could not go with them for sickness (dying soon after, and buried at *Rushton* in *Northampton shire*) conveyed their persons and most portable Treasure beyond the Seas to *Zurickzey* in *Zealand*, thence to *Macklin* in *Brabant*, thence to *Roan* in *Normandy*, but found no certain place of abode till they came to *Lisbone* in *Portugall.*

The revenue and wealth of the *Lisbone* Nunnes.
* Every Milrey is twelve shillings six pence sterling.

6. For here they had a daily *Pension* of *five Crowns* from the *King* of *Spaine*, and *wheat* more than sufficient whilst *Lisbone* was His (and I doubt not but the present *King* of *Portugall* performeth the same) they have *Vine-yards*, *Olive-fields*, *Corn-grounds*, and *Houses*, to the value of four hundred * *Mil-reis* a year, which was the *Portion* of a *Portugese* (*sole Heire* to her *wealthy Father*) who becoming a *Religious Sister* in this *Covent*, conveyed her inheritance unto it. So that by their *boxes* in *Indian* and *Brasilean ships*, sale of *Masses*, and other *perquisites*, they are said yearly to lay up *six hundred pounds.*

A price of blood their first portion.
* Tho. Robinson, pag. 9.

7. Indeed, they began with a good *bank*, and hereon hangs a story worth reporting. When Doctor *Lopez* a *Iew-Portugall* undertook to poison Queen *Elizabeth*, he would not (to shew himself a *Iew* indeed) doe his *work* till in some sort secured of his *wages.* The summe * promised him was deposited with these *Nunnes*, whilst as yet they lived at *Roan* in *Normandie.* But *Lopez* his designe failing, the same halter which bereaved him of life, endowed these *Nunnes* with a livelyhood: For the King of *Spaine* either out of scrupulosity not to resume the same into his *Treasurie* as the *price of blood*, or out of *liberality* conferred those moneys on the *Nunnes*, which since they have well house-wived and increased.

Their Confessour and Abbesse.

8. We need not repeat what we have formerly said of the *Brigetine Nunnes* (first founded by *Briget* Queen of *Swedeland*) having *Fryers* permitted to live under the same roof (though disjoyned with walls) for their better consolation. Some thirty years since Father *Ioseph Foster* was their *Confessour*, having two other *Priests* and a *Lay-Brother* to assist him, whose names I am lesse carefull to insert,

inſert, becauſe they change them as often as *ſnakes* their *skins*, both what they took at the *font*, and fetcht from their *Fathers*, truly called by what they are not known, and commonly known by what they are not truly called. *Elizabeth Preſton* about that time was *Abbeſſe*, who being outed as in diſgrace with Father *Foſter*, *Barbara Wiſeman* ſucceeded in her place.

9. Such as deſire further ſatisfaction herein, may conſult the *Anatomie of the Engliſh Nunnerie* at *Lisbone*, made by *Thomas Robinſon*, publiſhed by authority, and lately reprinted. I confeſſe, it may ſeem cruelty to cut up the living, and the beſt of *mortalls* would winch to purpoſe if diſſected alive. But very much of truth is believed in his *Diſcovery*, telling us of a *grate* betwixt thoſe *Fryers* and *Nunnes*, ſometimes ſo *churliſh* as to divide them, ſometimes ſo *charitable* as conſenting to be drawn up, and ſo to admit them to a *mutuall ſociety*: ſo that if the *Fryer* calleth, the *Nunne* cometh incontinently at his command. I have heard ſince that their *Covent* of late hath caſually been *burned down*, which, if ſo, I doubt not but they are able to *rebuild* it, as *gaining more by water* (the *gratuities* of *Merchants*) *than they have loſt by fire*.

The Anatomie of the Nunnes of *Lisbone*.

Bruxells *Nunnerie*.

THey are of the *Order* of S. *Benedict*, and yet ſolely under the inſpection of the *Ieſuits*, which ſeems improper, ſeeing it would ſound like truer conſtruction that *Benedictine Nunnes* ſhould be ſubject to *Benedictine Monks*. The truth is, that at the *firſt founding* hereof the *Ieſuiticall activity* got the ſtart of the *Benedictine dulneſſe*, and theſe men of laſting mettall (as good *at length* as *at hand*) keep the advantage which once they have gotten. Indeed, no *Nunnes* come hither but ſuch as are tranſported by the *Ieſuits* ſpeciall recommendation, and therefore it is but equall they ſhould dreſſe and prune the *Vines* of their own planting. I aſſure you, the place is too coſtly for my *Daughter* to be entred there, ſeeing they receive * none into their *Abbey* and *habit* unleſſe ſhe have a *thouſand pound* or *two* for her *Portion*.

Bruxells Nunnerie.

* *Lewis Owen* his running Regiſter, p. 102.

2. The *Abbey* is very rich, having purchaſed whole *Manours*, and *Lordſhips* in *Brabant*, with many thouſand of pounds at uſe in the *Lombards* and elſwhere, all which the *Engliſh Ieſuits* doe diſpoſe of. Father *Gardiner*, and Father * *Walgrave alias Flower* were *Anno* 1630, their *Overſeers*, being ſome ſixty *Engliſh Damoſells* under their *Abbeſſe*, then the *Siſter* of the (*Aunt* to the preſent) *Earl* of *Northumberland*.

Their great wealth.

* Engliſh-Spaniſh pilgrim, pag. 72.

Cambray *Nunnerie*.

DON *Carlos de Colomna* Governour of the *City* and *Countrey* of *Cambray* for the *King* of *Spaine*, and ſometimes *Ambaſſadour* for *England*, was ſo allured with the *beauty*, or affected with the *piety* of our *Engliſh Women*, that (as it is generally reported) he gave them a *Cloyſter* within this *City*, where now they live and have an *Engliſh Congregation* erected according to the *Order* of S. *Benedict*. Lately they had no lands purchaſed, though poſſibly ſince they may be endowed.

Cambray Nunnerie.

Gravelin *Nunnerie*.

THe Family of the *Gages* at *Furle* in *Suſſex* were their *principall Benefactors* (whereof *John Gage* Privie Counſellour, as I take it, to Q. *Mary*, deſerted the *land* and his own *large eſtate* at the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*) as appears by certain *Tablets* to be ſeen in their *Church*. Yet are they the

Gravelin Nunnerie.

the *poorest* of all *Forraign Convents*, being the *discalceated Nunnes* of the *Order* of S. *Clare*. *Sine cinque*, are sent to *Bruxells*, *persons Nobly born*, or *richly dowried*, *Quatur tray* to *Lubone* or *Cambray*, receiving those of a *middle rank*, whilst *Duce ace*, yea *Ames ace*, are sent to *Gravelin* the *Almes-basket* of other *Covents*; *Cum nemini obtrudi potest, itur ad &c.* Such who come over with empty hands must be *Nunnes* at *Gravelin* with naked feet.

Nunnes of *Lovaine* why omitted.

2. Here I purposely omit the *Nunnes* of *Lovaine* in *Brabant*, because not speaking *pure English*, and scarcely *mediocratem linguæ*, being a *Hodge-podge* of *Dutch* and *English*, and the former at this day most numerous. Yea, oftentimes the two *Nations* here strive for Superiority, and though nature inclineth me in this contention to favour my *Countrey women*: yet I conceive it better to leave them alone to agree with themselves, and proceed to the *Jesuitesses*.

Jesuitesses.

Jesuitesses.

THese began at *Luke* or *Liege* about thirty years since. Mistris *Mary Ward*, and Mistris *Twitty* being the first beginners of them. They are not confined, as other *Nunns* to a *Cloyster*, but have liberty to go abroad where they please to convert people to the *Catholick Faith*. They weare a *Huke* like other women, and differ but little in their habit from common persons. The aforesaid two *Virgins*, or rather *Viragins* travelled to *Rome* with * three the most beautifull of their *society*, endevouring to procure from his *Holiness* an establishment of their *Order*, but no *Confirmation*, onely a *Toleration* would be granted thereof. Since I have * read, that *Anno* 1629. Mistris *Mary Ward* went to *Vienna*, where she prevailed so farre with the *Empresse*, that she procured a *Monastery* to be erected for those of her *Order*, as formerly they had two Houses at *Liege*. Since I have heard nothing of them, which rendreth it suspitious that their *Order* is suppressed, because otherwise such *turbulent spirits* would be known by their own violence, it being all one with a *storm* not to *be* and not to *bluster*: For, although this may seem the speediest way to make their *Order* to *propagate* when *Jesuita* shall become *hic & hæc* of the *common gender*, yet conscientious *Catholicks* conceived these *Lady Errants* so much to deviate from feminine (not to say Virgin) modesty, (what is but *going* in *Men* being accounted *gadding* in *Maids*) that they zealously decried their practice, probably to the present blasting thereof.

* Mistris *Vaux Fortescue.*

* English-Spanish pilgrim, p. 31.

The forraign Covents of English *Monks and Fryers.*

Jesuits gapeing for the Benedictines lands in *England.*

WE will not so farre distrust the *Readers* memory as to repeat our premised distinction betwixt *Monks* and *Fryers*: Onely know that the *Papists* themselves report, that towards the end of Queen *Elizabeth* there was but one *English Monk* (*Mauro* by name) living in the whole world. A thing not incredible to such who consider *Monks* generally grown men before admitted into their *Order*, and that more than sixty years were passed from the *dissolution* of *Abbeys* to the end of Queen *Elizabeth*. Hereupon, several *Catholicks* of the *Anti-Jesuiticall faction* (as Doctor *Gifford*, *Bagshaw*, *Stevens*, *Smith*) fearing the *Jesuits* on Father *Mauro*'s death, would (for want of *lawfull successours* to the old *English Benedictine Monks*) enter upon all the *Abbey lands* they had here, solicited many *English Students* then living in their *Colledges* and *Seminaries* to become *Monks* of the *Order* of S. *Bennet*, perswading them that hereby they should intitle themselves to a large *Patrimony* of *land* now likely to fall unto them.

Defeated by Father *Roberts* and others.

2. Here am I put to a double wonder. First, whereon this *Papisticall confidence* was grounded of the speedy restitution of *Abbey land* at Queen *Elizabeth* her death, finding no visible probability for the same. Secondly, I admire how *Jesuits*

ſuits could pretend (in default of *Benedictine iſſue*) themſelves *Heires* to theſe lapſed or vacant lands, ſeeing other *Orders*, farre more antient, might lay a better claim thereto. Except they conceive ſuch *Engliſh Abbey-lands* held in *Burrough-Engliſh*, wherein the youngeſt, according to the cuſtome of ſome *Manours*, is to inherit; and ſo by the ſame advantage this laſt and neweſt of all *Orders* poſſeſſed themſelves thereof.

3. However, to prevent them, at the inſtance of the aforeſaid *ſecular Prieſts* many *Engliſh ſtudents* got into *forraign Covents* of *Benedictines*, and took on them the habit of S. *Bennet*. *John Roberts* firſt a *Lawyers Clerk* in *London*, then a *ſtudent* in the *Engliſh Colledge* at *Vallydolid* firſt led the dance, running away to a neighbouring *Covent* of *Spaniſh Benedictines*. More of the *flock* followed this *Bell-weather* thick and threefold, leaving the *Colledge* of the *Ieſuits* in deſpight of all the care and caution of their *Father Prefects*. *Father Auguſtine* (if that his true and not aſſumed name) was the ſecond *Monke* of note at this time, a name very active, I am ſure, in propagating *ſuperſtition* in *England*, and *Roberts* and *Auguſtine*, the two *revivers* of the new *Benedictines*. Theſe obtained leave of Pope *Pius quintus*, and the King of *Spaine*, to build them a *Covent* at *Doway*. And though *Roberts* coming over into *England* to procure the *Catholicks* contribution thereunto, had the hard hap to meet with *Tyburne* in his way; yet the deſigne proceeded, and was perfected.

Doway *Covent in* Artois.

Doway Covent.

FOr the *Lord Abbot* of S. *Vedaſtus* (*anglicè* S. *Forſters*) in *Arras*, a wealthy man, and great favourer of the *Engliſh* (yea, generally good to all poor people) built them a *Cloyſter*, and fine *Church* adjoyning, on his own proper coſt. To whom, and his ſucceſſours, the *Engliſh Monks* are bound to pay yearly on the firſt of *February* a *wax-Candle* weighing *threeſcore pound* by way of *homage* and *acknowledgement* of their *Founder*.

S. Mallowes *Covent in* Bretaigne.

S. *Mallowes* Covent.

DOctor *Gifford* Dean of the *Collegiate Church* of S. *Peter*'s in *Ritſell* (*aliàs Inſula* in *Flanders*) erected a ſmall *Congregation* of *Engliſh Monks* at S. *Mallowes* in *France*, whereof he himſelf became *Prior*. Here he remained ſome years, till at laſt reſigning it to another *Monke*, he removed unto *Paris* Covent.

Paris *Covent*.

Paris Covent.

WHich the aforeſaid *Doctor* (but now advanced and augmented with the honour and profit of the *Archbiſhoprick* of *Rheams*) built and endowed on his own expences, conferring thereon whatſoever he can get from his *Archbiſhoprick*, on the profits whereof the *Duke* of *Guiſe* was ſuſpected too heavily to quarter.

The Carthuſians Covent at *Machlin*.

2. Paſſe we now from our *Engliſh Monks* to the *Fryers*, and begin with the *Carthuſians*. Theſe being outed of *Sheine* in *Surrey* at the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, wafted themſelves over the Seas with ſo much wealth as bought them a *Cloyſter* with *lands* to maintain it at *Machlin*. Theſe take themſelves to be the moſt *viſible Church* of *Engliſh Fryers* as continuing an uninterrupted ſucceſſion, and ſo puffed up with hopes of regaining their old lands, that when Prince *Charles* went to *Spaine* they ſent two of their *Fryers* into *England* to take poſſeſſion both of *Charter-Houſe* and *Sheine*. Say not one of thoſe places had been fair at firſt,

seeing to save double pains and charges, they did well to claim them both together, as likely to possess them both together, as no doubt they had done long ago, had not the *rightfull Owners* then, and ever since, detained the same.

Doway.

Doway.

SOme report this erected by Count *Gondamor*: others, more probably, by the charity of *English Catholicks* for recollect *Fryers* of the *Order* of S. *Francis*. They have a strong fancy, that *Christ-Church* in *London*, shall one day be theirs, at the *next return* of *times*. The best is, being to *goe bare-foot* by the *rules* of their *Order*, they are well provided to *wait for dead-mens shooes*. Here I omit the *little Cloyster* of *Benedictine Monks* in the *Dukedome* of *Loraine* near *Ponto-Mouson*, as also some other *Nunneries* and *Fryeries* since erected at *Paris*, and elsewhere: for surely, these *Orders* have *spawned* much since our late *Civil Warres*, *Protestant confusions* multiplying *Popish foundations*.

Two Covents reported in *London*.

2. Yet I cannot believe what * one reports of two *Covents* in *London*, set up about the year 1640. One, at the Lord *Gages* neer *Queens-street*: the other, at *Westminster*. For, finding no person who is properly tearmed the Lord *Gage*, I suspect all the rest. And though I confesse *Catholicks* then arrived at such boldnesse, as rather to *dare*, than *dread* any discovery; yet it seemeth *improbable* any should *abide there* save onely to wait *conveniencie* of *transportation*. And so much for *English Covents* beyond the Seas, which discourse let none censure as *alien*, and not pertaining to the *History* of *England*. For, I would willingly be condemned for a needlesse excursion on the condition that they belonged not at all unto us who daily fetch over too much *money* hence, and doe mutually bring back too much *mischief* hither.

* Mr. Prin.

To whom the Sites of Mitred Abbeys were granted, and by whom they are possessed at this day.

A possible designe preferred, impossible declined.

IT were a work almost impossible for our pen to pursue the *Lands* of each *Religious house* from the time that they parted from the *Crown* to the present *Owners* thereof. Yea, such a task when *ended*, were *endlesse*, of no other use, than the satisfaction of curiosity. As therefore the best *Anatomists* cannot hunt out the deviations of every petty vein (embracing severall courses in sundry bodies) but abundantly acquit their skill and industry if truly discovering the *trunk-veins* (observing the same *chanels* in all people) *Kephalicall*, *Basilicall*, *&c.* So we conceive our duty discharged to any rationall expectation, if instancing onely (out of the *Originall Records*) in the *Sites* of the *Mitred Abbeys* marking their fluctuation since passed from the *Crown*, into the possession of severall *subjects*.

2. Here I intended to present the *Reader* with the *particulars* of all those *Owners* through whose hands these *Mitred Abbeys* have passed, from those to whom King *Henry* granted them, to those who at this day are possessed thereof. A thing with very much difficulty (such the frequencies of the *exchange*) collectible out of the severall *fines* payd at their *alienation*: but having tyred out mine own modesty, (though not my good friend Mr. *John Witt's* officious industry) in being beholden to him above my possibility of requitall for perusing so many *Records*, I desisted from so difficult a design.

Abbey

Abbey	Granted by	Unto	In consideration	Tenure and rent	After alien'd to	Present owner,	
Tavestock in *Devon.*	K. [a] *Henry* the 8, in the 31 of his Reign, *July* 4.	*John* Lord *Russel*, *Anne* his Wife, and their Heires, &c.	of his faithfull service and counsell.	*in Capite*, by Knights service, of [*cum aliis*] one Knights fee, paying 36 li.	none, but still possessed by their Heirs.	*William Russell* Earle of *Bedford.*	a 1 *parte retulo* 29. (formerly *Osborns*) Remembrancers Office.
Middleton in *Dorsetshire.*	K. [b] *Henry* the 8, in the 31 of his Reign, 23 of *Febr.*	*John Tregonwell* Kn^t, Doctor of Law.	of a Pensiō of 40 l. *per ann.* surrendred, 1000 l. paid down, & his good service.	*in Capite*, by Knights service, of the tenth part of a Knights fee, paying 12 l. 4 s.	none, but still possessed by his Heirs.	*John Tregonwell* Esquire.	b 1 *par. rot.* 95.
Malmesbury in *Wiltsh.*	K. [c] *Henry* the 8, in the 31 of his Reign.	*William Stampe* Gentleman.	of the payment of 1516 l. 15 s. 2 d. ob.	*in Capite*, by the tenth part of a Knights fee, paying 8 l. 8 s. ob.		*Thomas Ioy* Esquire.	c 7 *par. rot.* 147.
Ramsey in *Huntingtonshire.*	K. [d] *Henry* the 8, in the 31 of his Reign, 4 of *March.*	*Richard Williams*, alias *Cromwell*, Esq.	of his good service, and the payment of 4663 l. 4 s. 2 d.	*in Capite*, by the tenth part of a Knights fee, paying 29 l. 16 s.	none, possessed by his Heir.	Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, the most aged Gent. and Knight in *England.*	d 2 *par. rot.* 193.
Selby in *Yorkshire.*	K. [e] *Henry* the 8, in the 32 of his Reign, 28 of *August.*	*Ralph Sadleir* of *Hackney*, Knight.	of 736 l. paid.	*in Capite*, by the tenth part of a Knights fee, paying 3 l. 10 s. 8 d.		*Charles Walmesley* Esquire.	e 1 *part. rot.* 140.
Tuxbury in *Glocestershire.*	K. [f] *Henry* the 8, in the 36 of his Reign.	*Tho: Stroud*, *Wal: Earle*, and *Iam: Paget.*	of 2283 li. 19 s. 3 d.	*in capite*, by the 20^th part of a Knights fee, paying 1 l. 18 s. $0\frac{3}{4}$			f 2 *part. rot.* 26.
Hyde juxta *Winton.*	K. [g] *Henry* the 8, in the 37 of his Reign, 11 of *Janu.*	*Rich: Bethel* Gent. after a Lease of the Lord *Wriothesly* was expired.	of 110 li. 17 s. 1 d.	in free Soccage of the King's Manour of *Rumsey*, paying 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. to the Vic. of St. *Barthol: Wint:*			g 7 *part. rot.* 44.

	Abbey	Granted by	Unto	In consideration	Tenure and rent	After alien'd to	Present owner,
h 4 part. rot. 13.	S. *Johns* juxta *Colchester.*	K.[h] *Edward* the sixt, in the first of his Reign, *June* 22.	*John Dudley* Earle of *Warwick.*	of his service in *Scotland* and *France*, whereby he had much impair'd his own estate.	*in Capite*, [*cum aliis*] by service, of one Knights fee, paying 16 s. 11. d. ob.		Sir *John Lucas* L[d] *Lucas.*
i 1 part, rot.	*Cirencester* in *Glocestershire.*	K.[i] *Edward* the sixt, in the first of his Reign, 19 of *August.*	*Thomas* Lord *Seymer*, high Admiral.	of his service, and kindred, being the Kings Uncle.	*in Capite*, with land in 15 Shires, by the service, of one Knights fee, paying 11. 1 s. 8 d.		Sir *William Masters.*
k 3 part. m. 95.	*Bardney* in *Lincolnshire.*	K.[k] *Edw: 6*[t]. in the second of his Reign.	*Thomas Heneage*, *Katherine* his Wife, and their Heirs.	of an exchange for the Manour of *Overton.*	in Knights service.		*Francis* Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham.*
l 3 part. rot. 17. and againe 4 part. rot. 77.	*Glaston* in *Somerset.*	K.[l] *Edward* the sixt, in the 4[th] year of his Reign, 4 of *June.*	*Ed: Seymer* Duke of *Somerset.*	of his Petition, and the advise of the Counsel, to support his dignity.	*in Capite*, by the 40[th] part of a Knights fee, *sine reditu.*		
m Ibidem.	*Reading* in *Berkshire.*	K. [m] *Edw.* the sixt, in the 4[th] year of his Reign, 4 of *June.*	*Ed: Seymer* Duke of *Somerset.*	of his Petition, and the advise of the Counsel, to support his dignity.	*in Capite*, by the 40[th] part of a Knights fee, *sine reditu.*		*Francis Knolles* Esquire.
	Crowland in *Lincolnshire.*	K. *Edward* the sixt, in the 4[th] year of his Reign, *Decemb.* 1.	*Edw. Fines* Knight, L[d]. *Clinton* and *Say*, high Admiral of *England.*	of the exchange of other lands with the Crown.	to be held in Soccage as of the Kings Manour of *Louth* by fealty only.		till lately in the Crown.
	Winchcomb in *Glocestershire.*	K. *Edward* the sixt, in the fift year of his Reign, *June* 24.	*William Par*, Marquesse of *Northampton.*	of his faithfulness and valour against the Rebels in *Northfolk.*	in free Soc. to be held as of the Manour of *East Greenwich*, *sine reditu.*		*George Bridges* Lord *Shandois.*

Abbey	Granted by	Unto	In consideration	Tenure and rent	After alienated to	Present owner	
St. *Edmunds-Bury* in *Suffolke.*	Q. *Elizabeth* in the second year of her Reign, *Feb.* 14.	*John Eyer* Esquire.	of the payment of four hundred pound.	in free Soccage to be held as of the Queens Manour of *East Greenwich, sine reditu.*			o 2 pars rot. 13.
St. *Albans* in *Hertfordshire.*	Q. *Elizabeth* in the sixt of her Reign, *May* 6.	*Christopher Smith* Esq. *Thomas Broughton* Gent.	of the payment (for it and other lands in the Grant) of 1703 li. 1 s. 4 d.	in free and common Soccage, *sine reditu.*			p 4 pars rot. 32.

Hitherto we have proceeded on the most authentick authority out of Records. And although we are confident of the truth of such as follow; yet, wanting the like assurance in the Dates, Tenures, and Considerations, we thought fit to rank them by themselves.

2. *Battel-Abbey* in *Sussex* was bestowed by King *Henry the eighth* on Sir *Anthony Browne*, Knight of the Garter, and Master of His Majesties Horse, enjoyed by his heir-male in a direct line at this day.

3. *Thorney-Abbey* in *Cambridge shire*, was conferred by King *Henry the eighth*, on *John* Lord *Russell*, and is possessed by his *Abnepos*, *William* Earle of *Bedford*, in a lineall descent.

4. S. *John's Priory* in *Coventry*, was given by King *Henry the eighth* to *Hales* Esquire, *Clerk* of the *Hanaper*, at this day in possession of one of his name, and lineage.

5. *Eversham-Abbey* in *Worcester-shire*, I finde not to whom first granted, but by a long Lease it was in the possession of one Mr. *Andrewes*, *father* and *son*, whose *Grandchilde* living now at *Berkhampsteed* in *Hertford shire*, hath better thrived by God's blessing on his own industry than his *Father* and *Grandfather* did with *Eversham-Abbey*. The sale of the stones whereof, he imputeth a cause of their ill successe. Lately it was Sir *William Curteens*, and I know not to whom his *Sonne* sold it.

6. The *Abbey* of S. *Bennet's* in the *Holme* in *Norfolke* was never sold, but onely changed in the two and thirtieth of King *Henry the eighth* with the Bishop of *Norwich*, as appeareth by the *printed Statute*, which affirmeth, That *the lands setled by the King on the Bishoprick were of a greater yearly value than the Lordships and Manours given to his Grace.* Which might be so, seeing all *profit* consists not in *annuall revenue*; but much in *casualties* of *Fines*. Indeed, generally *Coronets* did gain, but *Miters* lose in their *exchanges* with the *Crown*.

Bennet in the *Holme* changed with the Bishop of *Norwich.*

7. S. *Maryes* in *Yorke* (with *Selby*, the onely *Mitred Abbey* beyond *Trent*) was kept in the *Crown* to be the *Kings Palace*, when repairing into those parts. Since called the *Manour*, where the *Lord President of the Councell in the North* held his *residence*. At this day it is in the hands of the *States*, as excepted by name in the *Act for the sale of Kings lands*, and one was allowed a *Fee* for the carefull keeping thereof.

S. Maryes in *Yorke* how disposed.

8. My enquirie cannot attain, to whom S. *Maryes* in *Shrewsburie* was passed. As for

for *Augustine's* in *Canterbury*, I conceive it never aliened from the Crown, reading in my worthy * friend, that *the remaining ruines thereof are made subject to publick uses*. And thus we have a perfect account of all the *Mitred English-Abbeys*. The Reader well remembring, what we have formerly written at large, of S. *John's of Ierusalem*, and *Waltham*; as also of *Gloceſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Weſtminſter*, advanced into *Cathedrals*, ſave that the laſt was afterwards altered into a *Collegiate-Church*.

* *Will: Somner* in his Antiq. of *Canterbury*, pag. 60.

Countrey Abbeys largeſt in profit.

9. We may obſerve that the greateſt *Abbeys* (founded in *Cities*) were of the leaſt profit, becauſe ſo *ſtreight-laced* with *ſtreets* and *houſes* round about them that they could not grow to any extraordinary *bulk* for ground continued thereunto: ſo that the *Sites* were but *Shes*, as in S. *Albans*, S. *Edmunds-Bury*, *Hyde*, &c. Whereas *Monaſteries* in *Countrey-Towns* let looſe at more liberty to dilate themſelves, had generally a large *Manour* and ample *Demeſnes* annexed unto them.

Preſent gaine future loſſe.

10. Wiſe men have informed me, that had ſucceeding *Princes* followed King *Henry's* pattern, generally granting *Abbeys* only *in Capite*, that ſuch lands (though paſſed *gratis* from the *Crown* under ſmall *rents*) would notwithſtanding in ſome part have returned thither again, as affording *Reſpit of Homage*, *Reliefs*, *Wardſhips*, *Fines* for *alienation* for a *conſtant revenue*. Whereas being afterwards granted in *free Soccage* whilſt the tenure onely advanced the preſent ſale; the *Crown* was deprived of much *Emolument*, and more *obligation*.

A ſolemn Tilting proclaimed.

11. *Richard Williams* (alias *Cromwell*) Eſquire, (to whom *Ramſey Abbey* was partly given, partly ſold) was one of the *five*, who in the *thirty ſecond year* of *Henry the eighth*, made the bold challenge at *Juſts* to *all comers* that would, in *France*, *Flanders*, *Scotland*, and *Spain*. Here it was expected that ſome of our *Knights Hoſpitallers* (whoſe *Houſe* by *Act of Parliament* was diſſolved but a *month* before) ſhould appear valiantly in their *vindication*, if conceiving any injuſtice offered unto them. But they kept themſelves cloſe, probably not ſo much for fear of all the *Challengers* as of one of the *Spectatours*, viz: King *Henry* Himſelf, aſſure, if *Conquerours* of the *King's anger*, and others *envy*, it *worſted*, of their own *diſgrace*. Beſides, by the *laws* of their *Order*, they were not to *Tilt* againſt *Chriſtians*, but onely to ſpend their *ſpears* againſt *Pagans* and *Infidels*. Laſtly, the *challenge* ſeemed only confined to *forraigners*.

The noble atchievements of *Rich Cromwell*. * *Stow* in the reign of Hen. 8. pag. 580.

12. This *Richard Williams* (alias *Cromwell*) came into the place an *Eſquire*, but departed a *Knight*, *dubbed* by the *King* for his valour, clearly carrying away the credit: overthrowing Mr. *Palmer* * in the field at *Juſts* one day, and the next ſerving Mr. *Culpepper* at *Barriers* in the ſame manner. Hereupon, there goeth a *Tradition* in the *Familie*, that King *Henry* highly pleaſed with his *proweſſe*, *Formerly*, (ſaid He) *thou waſt My* Dick, *but hereafter ſhalt be My Diamond*, and thereat let fall His *Diamond Ring* unto him. In avowance whereof, theſe *Cromwells* have ever ſince given for their *Creſt a Lyon holding a Diamond Ring in his Fore-paw*.

Cenſure on Abbey Lands.

13. Some conceive theſe *Abbey Lands* more unſucceſsfull than any other, and infectious to the *third Generation*: Yea, *Papiſts* would perſwade us, that as *Bucephalus* caſt all his *Riders* till *backed* by *Alexander* his *Lord* and *Maſter*, ſo theſe *thiefiſh Lands* will *diſmount* all that *beſtride* them, untill forſooth they be (as they hope) reſtored to their proper *Owners*. And this they impute to the *curſe* of their *Founders* denounced to ſuch who ſhould alienate them from their firſt inſtitution. Others maintain, that no certainty can be concluded from ſuch *caſualties*, but that all things come to paſſe alike to all. As dye *Abbey-lands*, ſo dye *other lands* when in the hands of a *vitious perſon*. Thus *lands* as well as *goods* and *chattels* are *moveables*, though not from their *Center*, yet from their *Owner*. Yea, our draught lately preſented, doth prove, that many *Mitred Abbeys* have ſurvived the dangerous *Climacterical* of the *third Generation*.

Sir *Hen. Spelman's* Obſervations on Abbey-lands.

14. For mine own part, my *tongue* is ſo farre from *beſpeaking* ſuch *lands* with any ill ſucceſſe, that I wiſh to all lawfully poſſeſſed of them (either by the bounty of their *Prince*, their *own*, or *Anceſtors* fair purchaſe) that *peaceably* and *proſperouſly* they may enjoy them: *Et nati natorum, ut qui naſcuntur ab ipſis*. However, it will

not

not be amiſſe to inſert the *obſervation* of a moſt *worthy Antiquary* in the *County* wherein he was *born* and *beſt experienced:* Who reporteth, That in *Norfolke* there were an *hundred houſes* of *Gentlemen* before the *Diſſolution of Abbeys*, poſſeſſed of *fair eſtates*, of whom ſo many as gained acceſſion by *Abbey-lands*, are at this time extinct, or much empaired; bemoaning his own *familie* under the latter notion, as *diminiſhed* by ſuch an *addition*.

15. Hear alſo what his *ſon* ſaith to the ſame purpoſe, * *King* Henry *exchanged Abbey-lands, and by this means (like the duſt flung up by* Moſes) *they preſently diſperſe all the Kingdome over, and at once become curſes both upon the Families and Eſtates of the Owners; they often vitiouſly ſpending on their private occaſions, what was piouſly intended for publick devotion; inſomuch, that within twenty years next after the Diſſolution, moe of our Nobility, and their children, have been attainted, and died under the ſword of Iuſtice, than did from the Conqueſt, to the Diſſolution, being almoſt five hundred years; ſo as if thou examine the Liſt of the Barons in the Parliament of the 27 of* Henry *the eighth, thou ſhalt finde very few of them, whoſe Sons doe at this day inherit their Fathers titles and eſtates, and of theſe few, many to whom the King's favour hath reſtored, what the rigorous Law of Attainder took, both Dignity, Lands, and Poſterity. And doubtleſſs the Commons have drunk deep in this cup of deadly wine; but they, being more numerous and leſſe eminent, are not ſo obvious to obſervation.*

His Son's on the ſame. *Clement Spelman in his Preface to his Father's Book, *De non temerandis Eccleſiis.*

16. As for the report of *Reynerus* *, the Reader may believe the leſſe thereof for his known ingagement to *Rome*, thus expreſſing himſelf, *At the Diſſolution*, Henry *the eighth divided part of the Church-ſpoils among two hundred and ſixty Gentlemen, of families in one part of* England; *and at the ſame time* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk *rewards the ſervice of twenty of his Gentlemen, with the grant of forty pounds a year out of His own inheritance; and while not ſixty of the Kings Donees had ſons owning their fathers eſtates, every one of the Dukes hath a ſon of his own loines, flouriſhing in his fathers inheritance, and I could have ſet down their ſeveral names, had conveniencie required it.*

A Papiſt his obſervation. * *Apoſtolatus Benedict. in Ang.* fol. 227, & 228.

17. But it is high time for me to put a period to this ſubject; leſt, as the *Abbeys* were complained of to *grow ſo great*, that they *engroſſed the third part of the Land:* ſo my diſcourſe of them (infected with the ſame fault) will be condemned by the Reader, for the tedious prolixity thereof. The rather, becauſe this old and *trite ſubject* is now grown out of faſhion, men in our Age having got a *new object* to fix their eyes, and *obſervation* thereon, taking notice how ſuch *Church-lands* doe thrive, which ſince hath been derived into the hands of new poſſeſſors.

The Concluſion.

The end of the Sixt Book.

THE Church-Hiſtory OF BRITAIN.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

CONTAINING THE REIGNE OF KING EDWARD THE SIXT.



THE SIXTH
KINGDAVARD
OF
THE REICHE
OF
BRITAIN
OF
CHRISTOPHOR
THE

To the Right Honourable,

LEICESTER DEVEREUX, VISCOUNT *HEREFORD*,

Lord FERRARS of *Chartley*, &c.

My Lord,

GReat was the difference betwixt the *breeding* of *Adonijah* and *Solomon*, though *ſons* to the ſame *father*. The former taſted not of *Reproof*, much leſſe of *Correction*; it being never ſaid unto him, *Why*[a] *haſt thou done ſo?*

a 1 Kings 1.6.

Solomon had his *education* on *ſeverer Principles*. He was his Parents *Darling*, not their[b] *Fondling*. It was after ſounded in his *ears*, *What*[c] *my Son, and what the Son of my womb?*

b Prov. 4. 3.

c Prov. 31. 2.

Our *Engliſh-Gentry* too often embrace the *firſt courſe* in *breeding* their *Children*, whereby they become *old-Men*, before they are *wiſe-Men*, becauſe their *Fathers* made them *Gentlemen*, before they were *Men*, making them *too ſoon* to know the *great Means* they are *born to*, and *too long* to be ignorant of any *good quality*, whereby to *acquire* a *main-*

a *maintenance*, in caſe, their *Eſtates*, (as all things are *uncertain*) ſhould *faile*, or *forſake* them. Hence it is, they are as unable to *endure* any *hardſhip* as *David* to march in *Sauls armour*, (*for he*[f] *had never proved it*) utterly unacquainted therewith.

[f] 1 Sam. 17. 39.

But your *diſcreet Parents*, though *kinde*, were not *cockering* unto you, whom they ſent (*very young*) into the *Low-Countreys*, where in ſome ſort you *earned* what you *eat* in no leſſe *honourable* than *dangerous employment*. This hath ſetled the *ſinewes* of your *Soule*, and compacted the *joynts* thereof, which in too many hang *looſe*, as rather *tackt* than *knit* together.

Since being returned into *England*, partly by your *Patrimony*, partly by your *Matrimony*, an *antient* and *fair Eſtate* hath accrewed unto you. Yet it hath not grown, (as S. *Baſil* fancieth *roſes* in *Paradiſe* before *Adams fall*) without *thorns* and *prickles*. Many *moleſtations* attended it, through which you have *waded* in a *good meaſure*, having had TRIALS indeed, wherein on *what ſide* ſoever the *Verdict* went, you gained *Patience* and *Experience*.

Indeed, there is an *experience* the MISTRESSE of FOOLS, which they *learn* by their *loſſes*, and thoſe cauſed by their own *careleſneſs*, or *wilfulneſs*, in managing their *affairs*. But alſo there is one, the MASTER-PIECE of WISE-MEN

to

to attain, wherein they *obſerve* the *events* of all *things*, after their utmoſt *endevours* have ſubmitted the *ſucceſs* to *Divine Providence*. Yours is of the *laſt* and *beſt kind*, whereby you are become a *skilfull Maſter of Defence*, knowing all the advantageous *poſtures* and *guards* in our *Lawes*, not thereby to *vex* others, but ſave your ſelf from *vexation*.

Thus having born *the Yoke* in *your youth*, you may the *better* afford *eaſe* and *repoſe* to your *reduced age*; and having ſtudied, many *Men* in *Armes*, more in *Gowns*, you now may *ſolace your ſelf*, and *entertain the time*, with peruſing of *Books*, amongſt which, I humbly requeſt, *this* may have *the favour* of your *Honours eye*, to *whom* on a *double motive* it is *Dedicated*; Firſt, becauſe containing the *Life* of that *PRINCE*, who for *His Piety* may be *exemplary* to all *perſons* of *quality*. Secondly, becauſe it was *He*, who conferred the higheſt (*ſtill remaining*) *Honour*, on *your Family*, advancing it (formerly very *antient* amongſt the *Barons*) to the *degree* and *dignity* of *Viſcounts*: wherein that it may *long flouriſh* in *plenty* and *happineſſe*, is the daily prayer of

Your Honours moſt obliged Servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

FULLER

Ann. Reg. Eliz. 1. Ann. Dom.

THE Church-History OF BRITAIN.

1546. 7 Jan. 31.

KING *HENRY the eighth*, though dying excommunicate in the *Church of Rome*, had notwithstanding His Obsequies solemnly performed at *Paris* in *France*, by the command of *Francis* the *French* [a] *King*, presuming so much on His own *power*, and the Pope's *patience*, otherwise such *courtesie* to His *friend* might have cost Him a *curse* to Himself. Then began King *Edward* His Son, to reign, scarce ten years old, full of as much worth, as the model of His age could hold. No pen passeth by Him without praising Him, though none praising Him to His full deserts. Yea, *Sanders* himself, having the *stinch* of his railing tongue, over-sented with the fragrant *ointment* of this Prince's memory, though jeering Him for His want of age, which was God's pleasure, and not King *Edward*'s fault; and mocking Him for His Religion, the others highest honour, alloweth Him in other respects large commendations.

The hopefull beginning of King *Edward*.

a *Godwin in Edwardo sexto, pag.* 158.

2. No sooner was He come to the Crown, but a peaceable dew *refreshed* Gods *inheritance* in *England*, formerly parched with persecution: and this good Angel struck off the fetters from many *Peters* in prison, *preserving those who were appointed to die*. Onely *Thomas Dobbie*, Fellow of S. *Johns* in *Cambridge*, committed to the Counter in *Bread-street*, and condemned for speaking against the Masse, died of a naturall death, in respect of any publick punishment by Law inflicted on him: but, whether or no, any private impression of violence hastened his end, God alone knoweth. His speedy death prevented the [b] pardon, which the *Lord Protectour* intended to send him; Divine Providence so ordering it, that he should touch, not enter; see, not taste; behold, not reap benefit on earth of this Reformation. Other Confessours which had fled beyond sea, as *John Hooper*, *Miles* [c] *Coverdale*, &c. returned with joy into their Countrey: and all Protestants, which formerly for fear had dissembled their religion, now publickly professed the same. Of these Archbishop *Cranmer* was the chiefest; who, though willingly he had done no ill, and privately many good offices for the Protestants, yet his cowardly compliance hitherto with Poperie, against his conscience, can-

Peace and prosperity to the Protestants in *England*.

b *Fox*, Acts & Mon. Vol. 2. pag. 655.

c *Sanders de Schis. Anglic. lib.* 2. *pag.* 230.

Ann. Dom. 1547. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 1. Jan. 28.

not be excuſed; ſerving the times preſent in his practice, and waiting on a future alteration in his hopes, and deſires.

Commiſſioners ſent into ſeveral Counties with Inſtructions to reform.

3. *Edward Semaure*, the King's Uncle, lately made *Lord Protectour*, and Duke of *Somerſet*, ordered all in Church, and State. He, by the King's power, or, if you pleaſe, the King, in his protection, took ſpeedy order for Reformation of Religion. And being loth that the people of the Land ſhould live ſo long in errour, and ignorance, till a Parliament ſhould be ſolemnly ſummoned (which for ſome Reaſons of State could not ſo quickly be call'd) in the mean time, by His own Regall power and authority, and the adviſe of His wiſe, and honourable Counſell, choſe Commiſſioners, and ſent them with Inſtructions into ſeverall parts of the Kingdome, for the rooting out of ſuperſtition: the ſubſtance whereof (thirty ſix in number) we have here preſented:

The King's Injunctions.

1. *That all Eccleſiaſticall perſons obſerve the Lawes for the (aboliſhing the pretended and uſurped power of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and confirmation of the Kings authority and ſupremacie.*

2. *That once a Quarter at leaſt they ſincerely declare the Word of God, diſſwading their people from ſuperſtitious fancies of Pilgrimages, praying to Images, &c. exhorting them to the works of faith, mercy, and charite.*

3. *That Images abuſed with Pilgrimages, and offerings thereunto, ſe forthwith taken down and deſtroyed, and that no more wax-Candles or Tapers be burnt before any Image; but onely two lights upon the high Altar before the Sacrament ſhall remain ſtill, to ſignifie that Chriſt is the very light of the world.*

4. *That every Holy-day, when they have no Sermon, the* Pater noſter, Credo, *and* Ten Commandements *ſhall be plainly recited in the Pulpit to the Pariſhioners.*

5. *That Parents and Maſters beſtow their Children and Servants either to learning, or ſome honeſt occupation.*

6. *That ſuch who in Caſes expreſt in the Statute are abſent from their Benefices, leave learned and expert Curates.*

7. *That within three Months after this Viſitation, the Bible of the larger volume in Engliſh, and within twelve Months* Eraſmus *his Paraphraſe on the Goſpel be provided, and conveniently placed in the Church for people to read therein.*

8. *That no Eccleſiaſticall perſons haunt Ale-houſes, or Taverns, or any place of unlawfull gameing.*

9. *That they examine ſuch who come to confeſſion to them in* Lent, *whether they can recite their* Creed, Pater noſter, *and* ten Commandements *in Engliſh before they receive the* bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, *or elſe they ought not to preſume to come to* Gods board.

10. *That none be admitted to preach, except ſufficiently licenſed.*

11. *That if they have heretofore extolled Pilgrimages, Reliques, worſhipping of Images, &c. they now openly recant and reprove the ſame as a common errour groundleſſe in Scripture.*

12. *That they detect and preſent ſuch who are* Letters *of the Word of God in Engliſh, and Fautours of the Biſhop of* Rome *his pretended power.*

13. *That a Regiſter-Book be carefully kept in every Pariſh for Weddings, Chriſtnings, and Burialls.*

14. *That all Eccleſiaſticall perſons not reſident upon their Benefices, and able to diſpend yearly twenty pounds, and above, ſhall in the preſence of the Church-Wardens, or ſome other honeſt men, diſtribute the fourtieth part of their revenues amongſt the poor of the Pariſh.*

15. *That every Eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhall give competent exhibition to ſo*

many

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many Schollers in one of the Universities, as he hath hundred pounds a year in Church promotions.

16. *That the fift part of their Benefices be bestowed on their Mansion-houses, or Chancells, till they be fully repaired.*

17. *That he readeth these Injunctions once a Quarter.*

18. *That none bound to pay Tithes detain them by colour of Duty omitted by their Curates, and so redoub one wrong with another.*

19. *That no person henceforth shall alter any Fasting-day that is commanded, or manner of Common Prayer or Divine Service (otherwise then specified in these Injunctions) untill otherwise ordered by the Kings authority.*

20. *That every Ecclesiasticall person under the degree of Batchelour of Divinity, shall, within three Months after this Visitation, provide of his own the New Testament in Latine and English, with* Erasmus *his Paraphrase thereon. And that Bishops by themselves, and their Officers shall examine them how much they have profited in the study of holy Scripture.*

21. *That in the time of* High Masse *he that sayeth or singeth a Psalm, shall read the Epistle and Gospel in* English, *and one Chapter in the New Testament, at Mattens, and another at Evensong, and that when* nine Lessons *are to be read in the Church,* three *of them shall be omitted with* Responds. *And at Evensong the* Responds, with all the Memories.

22. *That to prevent in Sick persons the damnable vice of Despair,* They shall learn, and have alwaies in readinesse such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as doe set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodnesse of God Almighty, towards all penitent and believing persons.

23. *To avoid all contention and strife which heretofore have risen amongst the Kings subjects, by challenging of Places in* Procession, *no* Procession *hereafter shall be used about the Church, or Church-yard, but immediately before* high Masse *the* Letany *shall be distinctly said or sung in* English, *none departing the Church without just cause, and all ringing of Bells (save one) utterly forborne.*

24. *That the Holy-day at the first beginning,* Godly instituted and ordained, *be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God, read and taught in private and publick prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment, in reconciling themselves to their Neighbours, receiving the Communion, visiting the sick, &c. Only it shall be lawfull for them in time of harvest to* labour *upon Holy and Festival daies, and save that thing which God hath sent, and that scrupulosity to abstain from working upon those daies, doth grievously offend God.*

25. *That no Curate admit to the Communion such who are in rancher and malice with their neighbours, till such controversies be reconciled.*

26. *That every Dean, Arch Deacon, &c. be[illegible]st, preach by himself personally twice a year at least.*

27. *That they instruct their people, not ob[illegible]olate the Ceremonies of the Church by the King commanded to be o[illegible], and not as yet abrogated. And on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great perill of his souls health.*

28. *That they take away and destroy all Shrines, covering of Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, Trindills, or rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of fained Miracles, so that no memory of them remain in Walls, or Windows, exhorting their Parishioners to doe the like in their severall houses. And that a comely Pulpit be provided in a convenient place.*

29. *That a strong Chest be provided with a hole in the upper part thereof, (with three Keyes thereunto belonging) be provided to receive the charity of people to the poor, and the same at convenient times distributed unto them in the presence of the Parish.*

30. *That Priests be not bound* to go to visit Women lying in Child-bed, except

except in times of dangerous ſickneſſe, *and not to fetch any Coarſe except it be brought to the Church yard.*

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31. *That to avoid the deteſtable ſin of Simonie, the Seller ſhall loſe his right of Patronage for that time, and the Buyer to be deprived, and made unable to receive Spiritual promotion.*

32. *That becauſe of the lack of Preachers, Curats ſhall read Homilies,* which are or ſhall be ſet forth, *by the Kings Authority.*

33. *Whereas many indiſcreet perſons doe uncharitably contemn and abuſe Prieſts, (having ſmall learning:) his Majeſty chargeth his Subjects that henceforth they be reverently uſed, for their* Office and Miniſtration ſake.

34. *That all perſons, not underſtanding Latine, ſhall pray on no other* Primmer *but what lately was ſet forth in Engliſh by K.* Henry *the eighth, and that ſuch who have knowledge in Latine uſe none other alſo, and that all Graces before and after meat be ſaid in Engliſh, and no Grammer taught in Schools but what is ſet forth by Authority.*

35. *That Chantery Prieſts teach you to read and write.*

36. *That when any Sermon or Homily ſhall be had, the* Prime *and* Houres *ſhall be omitted.*

The form of bidding the *Common Prayers.*

YOu ſhall pray for the whole Congregation of Chriſts Church, and ſpecially, for this Church of England *and* Ireland: *wherein, firſt, I commend to your devout prayers, the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty,* Supreme Head *immediately under God, of the ſpirituality and temporalty of the ſame Church: And for Queen* Katharine *Dowager, and alſo for my Lady* Mary, *and my Lady* Elizabeth, *the Kings ſiſters.*

Secondly, *You ſhall pray for my Lord Protectors grace, with all the reſt of the Kings Majeſties Councell: for all the Lords of this Realm, and for the Clergie, and the Commons of the ſame: beſeeching Almighty God, to give every of them in his degree, grace to uſe themſelves in ſuch wiſe, as may be to Gods glory, the Kings honour, and the weal of this Realm.*

Thirdly, *You ſhall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Chriſt, that they with us, and we with them at the Day of Judgment may reſt both body and ſoul, with* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *in the kingdome of heaven.*

Obſervations on the Kings Injunctions.

The wiſdome of our Reformers.

Let us here admire the wiſedome in our *firſt Reformers,* who proceeded ſo moderately in a matter of ſo great conſequence: To reform *all at once,* had been the ready way to reform *nothing at all. New* wine muſt be gently powred into *old* bottles, leſt the *ſtrength of the liquor,* advantaged with the *violence of the infuſion,* break the veſſel. *Iacob* could not keep peace with *Eſau* (preſumed *fleet* or *fore* as uſed to *hunting*) whileſt he had in his company, the * *under children and flocks with young, which if over-driven one day, would die.* And though no doubt he himſelf was foot-man enough to go along with his Brother, yet he did *lead on ſoftly according as the cattle and children were able to endure.* Thus our wiſe Reformers reflected diſcreetly on the infirmities of people, long nouzled in ignorance and ſuperſtition, and incapable of a ſudden and perfect alteration.

*Gen. 33. 13.

Onely two lights left.

On this account (in the *third Injunction*) they reduced Candles *formerly ſans number* in *Churches* to *two, upon the high Altar, before the Sacrament*; theſe being termed *lights,* ſhews they were not *lumina cæca,* but *burning.* Know alſo that

at

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at this time there was an *universall dilapidation* of *Chancells*, and men had seen so many *Abbey Churches plackt down*, that they even left *Parish Churches* to *fall down* on themselves; now to repair them all at once, would have *stopt* the holes in the *Chancells*, and *made* one in the *states* of the *Ministers*. It was therefore in the *sixteenth Injunction* ordered, That a *fift part* of their means should be imployed therein, whereby the work was effectually done without any great dammage to the Repairers.

What meant by Memories.

By *Memories* appointed to be omitted, [*Injunction* 21.] we understand, the *Obsequia* for the *dead*, which, some say, succeeded in the place of the [*Heathen*] *Roman Parentalia*.

Good policie.

The abolishing *Processions* is politickly put on a *civil* account, [*Injunction* 23.] *to avoid contention about places*. Indeed, peoples *pride herein*, consisted in pretended *humility*, which the *Injunction at large*, termeth *a fond Courtesie*. For in a *mock-practise* of the *Apostles* * *precept*, *in honour preferring one another*, they strained courtesie to goe last. Where, by the way, I conceive that accounted the highest place, which was next the *Crosse bearer*, or next the *Priest* carrying the *Host*.

* Rom. 12. 12.

Quare, whether in the 24 *Injunction*, labouring in time of Harvest on *Holy-daies*, and *Festivals*, relateth not onely to those of *Ecclesiasticall constitution*, (as dedicated to *Saints*) or be inclusive of the *Lords day* also. *Solemnly of the Sunday. In Joh. 5. & Colos. 6. c. 3.*

Mr. *Calvin* in his Letter to the Lord * Protector, disliketh *the praying for the dead*: and this is one of those things, which he termed, *tolerabiles ineptias*, Englished by some, *tolerable fooleries*; more mildly by others, *tolerable unfitnesses*. In requital whereof, Bishop *Williams* was wont to say, That Master *Calvin* had his *tolerabiles morositates*.

Mr. Calvin dissenes. * pag. 187, & 188.

Moderation goeth farre.

And thus moderately did our first Reformers begin, as the *subject* they wrote on would give them leave; for as carefull *Mothers* and *Nurses* on condition they can get their *Children* to part with *knives*, are contented to let them play with *rattles*: So they permitted ignorant people still to retain some of their fond and foolish Customes, that they might remove from them the most dangerous and destructive Superstitions.

The Protestant Library.

Come we now to give in a List of such principall Books which in the Reign of this *King* and His Father, as Preparatory to, and Introductive of *Reformation*; and to bring them high enough, we will begin with

Hen: 7th.

Prayers printed by the Commandements of the moost hye and vertuous Princesse our lyege Lady Elizabeth *by the grace of God Quene of* England *and of* France, *and also of the right hye and moost noble Princesse* Margarett *mother to our Sovtraign Lord the King, &c.* without the year when printed.

V. Herbert p. 255.

Hen: 8th.

The Institution of a Christian man containyng the Exposition of the Commune Crede, of the seaven Sacraments, of the ten Commandements, and of the Pater noster, *and the* Ave Maria, *Justification and Purgatory.*

London, *by* Tho: Barthelet, 1537.

A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen man, set furthe by the Kynges Majestie of England, *&c.*

London, *by* Tho: Barthelet, 1543.

Henry

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Hen: 8th.

Henry *the eighth his Epiſtle to the Emperour, Chriſten Princes, and all true Chriſten men, deſiring peace and concord amonges them. Againſt the power of the Pope, and concerning a Generall Councell.*
London, *by* Tho: Barthelet, 1538.

A Proteſtation made for the moſt mighty and moſt redoubted King of England, *&c. and his hole Counſell and Clergie, wherein is declared, that neither His Highneſſe, nor His Prelates, neyther any other Prince or Prelate is bound to come or ſend to the pretended Councell, that* Paul *Biſhop of* Rome, *firſt by a Bull indicted at* Mantua *a Citie in* Italy, *and now alate by an other Bull, hath preroged to a place no man can telle where.*
London, *by* Tho: Barthelet, 1537.

Articles deviſed by the Kinges Highnes Majeſtie to ſtabliſhe Chriſten quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, which Articles be alſo approved by the conſent and determination of the hole Clergie of this Realme.
Lond: Tho: Barthelet, 1536.

Injunctions to the Clergie.
1536. M. Sc.

Articles deviſed by the holle conſent of the Kinges moſt honourable Counſayle, His Graces licence opteyned thereto, not only to exhorte, but alſo to enforme His loving Subjects of the trouth.
London, Tho: Barthelet, 1533.

Orarium ſeu libellus Precationum per Regiam Majeſtatem & Clerum Latinè editus.
Ex officina Richard Graftoni, 1545.

Pia & Catholica Chriſtiani hominis inſtitutio.
Londini apud Thomam Barthelet, 1544.

Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarũ ex authoritate primum Regis *Hen:* 8. inchoata, deinde per Regem *Edw: 6.* provecta &c.
Londini, ex officina Jo: Day, 1571.

Edw: 6th.

Injunctions given by the moſt excellent Prince, Edward *the ſixt, by the grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland: *Defendor of the Fayth, and in yearthe under Chriſt, of the Church of* England *and of* Ireland *the Supreeme Hedde, to all and ſinguler His loving Subjects, aſwell of the Clergie as of the Laietie.*
By R. Grafton, 1547.

Articles to be enquired of in the Kynges Majeſties viſitation.
By Rich: Grafton, Cum privilegio.

Prayer Communion book tranſlated into French for Jerſey *and* Garneſey.
1553.

The

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Edw: 6th.

The Booke of Common-Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, &c.
London, 1549. & 1552.

The forme and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.
1552, & 1549.

The Copie of a Letter sent to all those Preachers which the Kings Majestie hath licensed to preach, from the Lord Protectors Grace, and others of the Kinges Majesties most Honourable Councell.
The 23 of *May*, 1548.

Catechismus brevis, Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens, omnibus ludimagistris authoritate Regiâ commendatus.
Londini, 1553.

Articuli de quibus in Synodo *Londinensi*, 1552. ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem & consensum veræ religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos & alios eruditos atque pios viros convenerat: Regia similiter authoritate promulgati.
Londini.

The Primer or Booke of Prayers, (translated out of Hen: the 8ths Orarium.)
London *by* Rich: Grafton, 1547.

Certain Sermons, (*viz: the first part of the Church Homilies*) *appointed by the Kinges Majestie to be read everie Sonday and Holy day, &c.*
1549, & 1547.

A Primer or Booke of private Prayer, &c. in the 7 yeare of Ed: 6.
Ex officina Wilhelmi Seres, 1552.
1553

The order of the Communion, with the Proclamation.
London, *by* Rich: Grafton, 1548.

Q. Marie.

The Primer in Latin and English, after the use of Sarum.
London, 1555.

Edm: Bonners *Catechisme*, 1555. *with Homelies composed by* H. Pendleton, *and* Jo: Harpesfield.
London, 1555.

These are the principall *State-books* which that *Age* produced, (not mentioning such, (as numberlesse) which private persons set forth) onely I cannot as yet recover the Lord *Cromwell's Catechisme*, except it be concealed under another name, amongst the Books aforementioned.

4. Come we now to the *Liturgie*, which in the *Reign* of K. *Henry the eighth*, was *said* or *sung* all in *Latine*, save only the *Creed*, *Pater noster*, and *ten Commandements*, put into *English* by the *Kings command*, *Anno* 1536. Nine years after, *viz:* 1545, the *Letanie* was permitted in *English*, and this was the farthest pace which

which the *Reformation* ſtept in the *Reign* of King *Henry the eighth*. But under His ſon King *Edward the ſixt*, a new form of *Divine worſhip* was ſet forth in the *vulgar Tongue*, which paſſed a threefold purgation.

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The firſt Edition of the Liturgie or Common-Prayer.

In the firſt year of King *Edward the ſixt*, it was recommended to the care of the moſt grave *Biſhops*, and others, (aſſembled by the *King* at His *Caſtle* at *Windſor*) and when by them compleated, ſet forth in *Print*, 1548, with a *Proclamation* in the *Kings* name to give authority thereunto; being alſo recommended unto every *Biſhop* by eſpeciall [c] *Letters* from the *Lords* of the *Councell* to ſee the ſame put in execution. And in the next year a penalty was impoſed by *Act* of *Parliament* on ſuch which ſhould deprave or neglect the uſe thereof.

1549

[b] 5 & 6 of Edward the ſixt, cap. 1.

[c] See a form of them in Fox's Acts & Mon. fol. 1491.

The 2d Edit. of the Liturgy or Common-Prayer.

Some exceptions being taken by Mr. *Calvin abroad*, and ſome *Zealots* at *home*, at the former *Liturgie*, the Booke was brought under a review, and by a [b] *Statute* in *Parliament* it was appointed, That *it ſhould be faithfully and godly peruſed, explained, and made fully perfect.*

The 3d Edit. of the Liturgy or Common-Prayer.

In the firſt of Qu. *Elizabeth*, 1559, it was committed by the Queen to the care of ſome *learned men* by whom it was altered in ſome *few paſſages*, and ſo preſented to the *Parliament*, and by them received and eſtabliſhed.

Perſons imployed therein.

1. *Tho: Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.
2. *George Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.
3. *Tho: Goodrich* Biſhop of *Ely*.
4. *John Skip* Biſhop of *Hereford*.
5. *Hen: Holbeach* Biſhop of *Lincolne*.
6. *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.
7. *Tho: Thileby* Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*.
8. Doctor *May* Dean of S. *Pauls*.
9. *John Tailer* then Dean (afterwards Biſhop of *Lincolne*.
10. Doctor *Haines* Dean of *Exeter*.
11. Doctor *Robertſon* afterwards Dean of *Durham*.
12. Doctor *John Redman* Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*.
13. Doctor *Richard Cox* then Almoner to the King, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*.

Perſons imployed therein.

Wee meet not with their particular names, but may probably conceive they were the ſame with the former, for the main, though ſome might be ſuperadded by *Royal appointment*.

Perſons imployed therein.

1. Maſter *Whitehead* once Chaplaine to Queen *Anna Bullen*.
2. *Matthew Parker* afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.
3. *Edmund Grindall* afterwards Biſhop of *London*.
4. *Richard Cox* afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*.
5. *James Pilkinton* afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*.
6. Doctor *May* Deane of St. *Pauls*, and Maſter of *Trinity* Coll: in *Cambridge*.
7. Sir *Tho: Smith* principall Secretary of Eſtate.

As for the *fourth* and *laſt Edition* of the *Liturgie*, in the firſt of King *James*, 1603, with ſome ſmall *alterations* in the *Rubrick*, after the *Conference* at *Hampton-Court*, thereof (*God willing*) in due time hereafter.

5. The

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5. The *Book* of *Books* ſtill remains, I mean, the *Bible* it ſelfe. Know then that ſome *exceptions* being taken at *Tindalls* Tranſlation, the *Biſhops* (then generally *Popiſh*) complied ſo farre in a * *Conference* with the deſires of King *Henry the eighth*, that on *condition* the people would give in *Tindalls* [pretended falſe] *Tranſlation*, they would ſet forth *another*, better agreeing with the *Originall*. And although this took up ſome time to effect, the work being great in it ſelf, and few *workmen*, as yet, *Maſters* of the *Myſterie* of PRINTING; yet at laſt, it was accompliſhed, but more *purely* and *perfectly* done in *after-Ages*, as by the enſuing *parallels* will appear.

* ſet down at large in the Regiſter of Archbiſhop *Warham*.

The firſt Traſlation of the Bible.	*The ſecond Tranſlation of the Bible.*	*The third Tranſlation of the Bible.*
Set forth in the Reigne of K. *Henry the eighth*, *An.* 1541. countenanced with a grave & pious *Preface* of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and *authoriz'd* by the *Kings Proclamation*, dated *May* the 6. Seconded alſo with [c] *Inſtructions* from the *King*, to prepare people to receive benefit the better from ſo *heavenly* a *treaſure*, it was called, *The BIBLE of the greater Volume*, rather *commended* than *commanded* to people. Few *Countrey-Pariſhes* could go to the *coſt* of them, though Biſhop *Bonner* cauſed *ſix* of them to be *chained* in the *Church* of S. *Pauls*, in convenient places.	Set forth in the Reign of K. *Edward the ſixt*, and not onely *ſuffered* to be *read* by particular perſons, but *ordered* to be *read* over *yearly* in the *Congregation*, as a principall part of *Divine Service*. Two ſeverall *Editions* I have ſeen thereof, one ſet forth 1549, the other 1551, but neither of them divided into *verſes*.	Set forth in the ſecond of Qu. *Elizabeth*, the laſt *Tranſlation*, was again review'd by ſome of the moſt *learned Biſhops* (appointed thereunto by the *Queens Commiſſion*) whence it took the *name* of the *Biſhops BIBLE*: and by the *Queens ſole commandement* reprinted, and left free and open to all Her well affected Subjects.

[c] Extant in Sir *Thomas Cottons* Library.

As for the laſt and beſt *Tranſlation* of the *Bible* in the Reign of King *James*, by a ſelect *company* of *Divines* imployed therein, in due time, (by *Gods* aſſiſtance) largely thereof.

6. And now we ſhall come to ſmall game, rather than ſhut out, not caring how low we deſcend, ſo be it we may ſatisfie the *Reader*, and inform *poſterity*, preſenting a *Catalogue* of ſuch *Proclamations* which the *King* ſet forth in the *foure firſt years*, having any tendency or relation to *Eccleſiaſticall matters*.

1. *A Proclamation concerning the effectuall payment of Penſions, due out of the Court of Augmentations, to any late Abbot, Prior, &c.* which it ſeemeth lately were detained. *Anno* 1° *Edvardi ſexti, Septem.* 18.

2. *A Proclamation concerning the irreverent Talkers of the Sacrament:* For, after the *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the *ſuperſtition* of the *Corporall preſence* was removed, many perſons (no leſſe *ignorant* than *violent*) fell from *adoring* to *contemning* of the *holy Elements*, till retrenched by this *Proclamation*, ſet forth, 1° *Edvardi ſexti, Decemb.* 27.

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3. *A Proclamation for abſtaining from fleſh in Lent-time*, Anno 1° Edvardi ſexti, Januarii 16.

4. *A Proclamation againſt ſuch as innovate a Ceremony, or Preach without licence*, Anno 2° Evardi ſexti, Febr. 6. 1548. 2.

5. *A Proclamation inhibiting Preachers*, Anno 2° Edvardi ſexti, April. 24. Whereof this was the occaſion: certain *Popiſh Preachers* diſaffected to the *Kings Government*, endevoured in their *Sermons* to poſſeſſe *people* of *ſcandalous reports* againſt the *King*, as if He intended to lay *ſtrange exactions* on the *people*, and to demand *Half a Crown* a piece of every one who ſhould be *Married*, *Chriſtned*, or *Buried*. To prevent further miſchief, the *King* ordered by *Proclamation*, That none ſhould Preach except licenſed under the *Seals* of the *Lord Protector*, or *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*.

6. *A Proclamation for the Inhibition of all Preachers: the ſecond of* Edward *the ſecond.* Sept. 23.

Becauſe this *Proclamation* is ſhort, hard to be come by, and (if I miſtake not) conducing much to acquaint us with the *character* of thoſe times, it may be acceptable here to exemplifie the ſame.

WHereas *of late, by reaſon of certaine* controverſious *and* ſeditious Preachers, *the* Kinges Majeſtie, *moved of* tender zeale, *and* love, *which He hath to be* quiet *of His* Subjects, *by the* adviſe *of the* Lord Protectour, *and* other *His* Highneſſe Councell, *hath by* Proclamation, inhibited *and* commanded, *That no* manner *of* perſon, *except ſuch as was* licenced *by* His Highneſſe *the* Lord Protectour, *or by the* Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, *ſhould* take upon him *to* preach *in any* open audience, *upon* pain *in the ſaid* Proclamation *contained*; *and that upon* hope *and* aſſurance, *that thoſe being* choſen *and* elect men, *ſhould* preach *and* ſet forth *onely to the* people *ſuch* things *as ſhould be to* Gods honour, *and the* benefit *of the* Kinges Majeſties ſubjects. *Yet nevertheleſſe*, His Highneſſe *is advertiſed, that certain of the ſaid* preachers, *ſo* licenced, *not regarding ſuch* good admo-

Ann. Dom. 1548. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 2.

admonitions *as hath been by the ſaid* Lord Protectour *and the reſt of the* Councell *on* His Majeſties *behalf by* Letters, *or otherwiſe given unto them, hath* abuſed *the ſaid* authority *of* preaching, *and behaved themſelves* irreverently, *and without* good order *in the ſaid* preachings, *contrary to ſuch* good inſtructions *and* advertiſements, *as was* given *unto them, whereby much* contention *and* diſorder *might* riſe *and* inſue, *in this his* Majeſties Realm: *wherefore his* Highneſſe, *minding to ſee very ſhortly, one* uniforme order, *throughout this* his Realm, *and to* put an end *to all* controverſies *in* Religion, *ſo farre as* God *ſhall* give grace (*for which* cauſe *at this time, certain* Biſhops, *and notable* learned men, *by* his highneſſe commandement *are* congregate) *hath by th'* adviſe *aforeſaid thought good, although certain and many of the ſaid* preachers *ſo before* licenced, *have behaved themſelf very* diſcretly *and* wiſely, *and to the* honor *of* God *and* his highneſſe contentation, *yet at this* preſent, *and untill ſuch* time, *that the ſaid* Order *ſhall be ſet forth* generally, *throughout this* His Majeſties Realme, *to* inhibit, *and by theſe* preſents *doth* inhibit *generally as well the ſaid* Preachers *ſo before* licenced, *as all* manner *of* perſons *whoſoever they be, to* preach *in* open audience *in the* pulpit *or otherwiſe, by any ſought* colour *or* fraud, *to the* diſobeying *of* this commandement, *to the* intent *that the* whole Clergie *in this mean ſpace, might apply themſelf to* prayer *to* Almighty God, *for the better* atchieving *of the ſame moſt* Godly intent *and* purpoſe, *not doubting but that alſo His* loving Subjects *in the mean time will occupie themſelf to* Gods honour, *with due* prayer *in the* Church, *and patient* hearing *of the* Godly Homelies, *heretofore ſet forth by* His Highneſſe Injunctions *unto them, and ſo* endevour themſelf, *that they may be the* more ready *with thankefull* obedience *to*

receive a most quiet, godly, *and* uniform order, *to be had throughout all His said* Realms *and* Dominions. *And therefore, hath willed all His loving* Officers, *and* Ministers, *as well* Justices of peace, *as* Majors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, *or* any other *His* Officers, *of what* estate, degree, *or* condition *soever they be, to be* attendant *upon this* Proclamation *and* commandement, *and to see the* infringers *or* breakers *thereof to be* imprisoned; *and* His Highnesse, *or the* Lord Protectors grace, *or* His Majesties Councell, *to be* certified *thereof immediately, as they* tender His Majesties *pleasure, and will* answer *to the* contrary *at their* perill.

Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 1.

Ann. Dom. 1548.

A Pannick silence of Pulpits.

16. Some *Preachers* perusing the aforesaid *Proclamation*, will complain of *persecution*, that all the *Pulpits* in *England* should be universally silenced at once, and will conclude it *summum jus*, *That the Righteous should be condemned with the Wicked*: the mouthes of *good Ministers* stopt with *Railers*. Well might the *souls* of weak *Christians* be *faint* and *feeble*, having no *warm meat*, but the *cold Homilies* allowed them. But *Statesmen* easily excuse the matter, finding the juncture of *time* falling out when many *Popish Pulpits* sounded the *Alarum* to *Ket* his *Rebellion*, and the *Devon-shire Commotion*, whereof hereafter. Besides, this *prohibition* of *preaching* lasted but for few weeks, and we read of a *silence for about* * *the space of half an hour* even in *heaven* it self.

* Revel. 1. 8.

7. *A Proclamation for the payment of the late Incumbents of Colledges, and Chanteries, lately dissolved*, Anno 3° Edvardi sexti, Octob. 31.

A Proclamation against Stage-plaies.

17. The *Pulpit* thus *shut* and *silent* by *Proclamation*, the *Stage* was the more *open* and vocall for the same, the *Popish Priests* (which though unseen) stood behinde the *hanging*, or lurked in the *tyring-house*, removed their *invectives* from *Sermons* to *Playes*, and a more proper place indeed for the venting thereof. Here it made *old sport*, to see the *New Religion* (as they term it) made *ridiculous*, with the *prime Patrons* thereof, which caused the insuing *Proclamation* for the *prohibition*.

8. *A*

Ann. Dom. 1549. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 3.

8. *A Proclamation for the inhibition of Players*, Anno 3 Edvardi 6. Aug: 6. And ſome perchance will not grudge the time to read the form thereof.

FOr*aſmuch, as a great number of thoſe that be* common Players *of* Enterludes *and* Plaies, *as well within the City of* London, *or elſwhere, within the* Realm, *doe for the moſt part play ſuch* Interludes, *as contain matter, tending to* ſedition, *and contemning of ſundry good* orders *and* laws; *whereupon are grown, and daily are like to grow and enſue much* diſquiet, diviſion, tumults, *and* uprores *in this* Realm: *the* Kings Majeſtie, *by the* adviſe *and* conſent *of his* deareſt Uncle, EDWARD Duke *of* Somerſet, Governour *of His Perſon, and* Protectour *of His* Realms, Dominions, *and* Subjects, *and the reſt of His* Highneſſe privie Councell, *ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all, and every His* Majeſties ſubjects, *of whatſoever* ſtate, order, *or* degree *they be, that from the* ninth *day of this preſent Month of* Auguſt, *untill the Feaſt of* All-Saints *next comming, they, nor any of them,* openly, *or* ſecretly, play *in the* Engliſh Tongue, *any kinde of* Interlude, Play, Dialogue, *or other matter, ſet forth in form of* play, *in any place, publick or private, within this* Realm, *upon pain that whoſoever ſhall* play *in* Engliſh *any ſuch* Play, Interlude, Dialogue, *or other* matter, *ſhall ſuffer* impriſonment, *and further* puniſhment, *at the pleaſure of* His Majeſtie.

For the better execution *whereof,* His Majeſty, *by the ſaid* adviſe *and* conſent, *ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth all and ſingular* Majors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, Headboroughs, Tything-men, Juſtices of Peace, *and all other* His Majeſties *head* Officers, *in all the* parts *throughout the* Realm, *to give order, and ſpeciall heed, that this* Proclamation *be in all behalfs, well and truly kept and obſerved, as they and every of them tender* His Highneſſe *pleaſure, and will avoid His indignation.*

18. The

Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 3. Ann. Dom. 1549.

18. The *Proclamation* being but *temporary*, did not take down, but only clear the *ſtage* for a time, reformed *Enterludes* (as they term them) being afterward permitted; yea, in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, *Scripture-plaies* were acted even in the *Church* it ſelf, which in my opinion, the more *pious*, the more *profane*, ſtooping *faith* to *fancy*, and abating the *majeſtie* of *Gods Word*. Such *Pageants* might *inform*, not *edifie*, though indulged the ignorance of that *Age*: For, though *children* may be *played* into *Learning*, *all* muſt be *wrought* into *Religion*, by *Ordinances* of *Divine inſtitution*, and the *means* ought to be as *ſerious*, as the *end* is *ſecret*.

REx omnibus ad quos præſentes &c. ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris dedimus & conceſſimus ac per præſentes damus & concedimus dilecto ſervienti noſtro Thomæ Barthelet *Impreſſori noſtro quandam annuitatem ſive quendam annualem redditum quatuor librarum ſterlingorum; Habendum & annuatim percipiendum prædictam annuitatem ſive annualem redditum quatuor librarum eidem* Thomæ Barthelet *à Feſto* Paſchæ, *Anno Regni noſtri viceſimo primo, durante vita ſua de Theſauro noſtro ad receptum Scaccarii noſtri per manus Theſaurarum & Camerarii noſtrorum ibidem pro tempore exiſtendo ad Feſta Sancti* Michaelis *Archangeli &* Paſchæ *per equales portiones &c. quod expreſſa mentio &c.*

In cujus &c. teſtimonium rei apud *Weſtminſterienſem* viceſimo ſecundo die *Februarii*, Anno Regni HENRICI Octavi viceſimo primo.

Per Breve de privato Sigillo.

Oxford Library reformed of all its ancient Manuſcripts.

19. An ample *Commiſſion* was granted to *John Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, and *eight* more, any *ſeven*, *ſix*, *five*, *four*, *three*, *two*, or *one* of them, to viſit *in capite & membris*, the whole *Dioceſſe*, but eſpecially the *Univerſity* of *Oxford*. The effects of this *Viſitation* doe not appear, ſave onely that they ſo clearly purged the *Univerſity* from all *Monuments* of *ſuperſtition*, that they left *not one Book* of many goodly *Manuſcripts*, wherewith it was furniſhed by the *munificence* of ſeverall *Benefactors*. Thus *covetouſneſs* and *ambition* are ſuch active *vices*, they are ſeldome off the *Theatre*, though not appearing with their *own faces*, but the *borrowed masks* of *publick good* of *Church* or *State*. Such *Robbers* deſerve not the *benefit* of the *Clergie* to be *ſaved by their book*, who *feloniouſly*, (not to ſay *ſacrilegiouſly*) purloined a publick *Library* from an *Univerſity*.

I oath to believe.

20. The *blame* is commonly caſt on Doctor *Cox*, who, *as one ſaith* (but it is but *one* who ſaith it) being then *Chancellour* of the *Univerſity*, ſo * *cancelled the Books thereof*, they could never ſince recover them. Indeed, I finde b another *Author* charging him therewith, but with this *Parentheſis* (*tù ſaid*) and my *charity* would fain believe *Fame* a *falſe report* therein, finding him otherwiſe a *deſerving perſon*, very well qualified; and it is ſtrange to me, that he who at this preſent, was the *Kings Almoner* to diſpenſe his *charity* in giving to others, ſhould be ſo *cruell* and *covetous*, and to deprive an *Univerſity* of ſo pretious a treaſure ſo *long* and *juſtly* belonging unto them.

* Sir *Jo Haring*, in the Biſhops of *Ely*.

b In his Preface to the Life of Sir *Io Cheek*, printed at *Oxford*, *An.* 1641.

21. The

Ann. Reg. Edw. 6. 3 Ann. Dom. 1549.

21. The *King's* affairs both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* ſtood now in a probable poſture of ſucceſs, gliding on with a faire and full current, when both on a ſodain were unexpectedly obſtructed with *domeſtical diſſentions* of his own Subjects. Diſtempers not conſiderable, if ſingly conſidered in themſelves, but very dangerous in their concurrence, as if all in ſeverall Counties, at one inſtant were acted with the ſame Spirit of Rebellion. My Author imputeth it to *Midſommer-Moon*, and the *Sun* now in *Cancer*, though ſurely it proceeded from a deeper cauſe, as will appear to the peruſers of theſe two *contemporary Treaſons*:

An Epidemical diſtemper of diſloyalty.

Devon Commotion.

June 10.

1. It began on *Whiteſon-monday* at *Sampford-Courtney*, where the People tumultuouſly compelled the Prieſt (whoſe ſecret *compliance* is ſuſpected by ſome covertly to court their *compulſion*) to ſay *Maſſe*, and officiate in Latine, as beſt pleaſed with what they leaſt underſtood.

2. *Henry Arundle* Eſquire, Governor of the *Mount* in *Cornwall* (one whoſe abilities might have been better imployed) *Winnſlade* a man of worſhip, and one *Coffin* a Gentleman, were their principall Conducters. Otherwiſe (though aſſuming to themſelves the high ſtyle of *the Commons of* Devonſhire *and* Cornwall) they were but an heap of mean Mechanicks, though many in number, and daily increaſing, ſo that at laſt they were reputed to exceed *ten thouſand*, all ſtout and able perſons.

3. Sir *Pierce Courtney* Sheriffe of *Devonſhire* appear'd very loyal and active for their ſeaſonable ſuppreſſing. But others of the *County Gentry*, (whoſe names I had rather the Reader ſhould learn from my *Authors* pen, than mine *own*) by their privie *connivance*, and in effect *concurrence*, much advantaged their proceedings. Many were *taken Priſoners* by them, becauſe they *would* be taken, and found favour thereupon. And now the *ſeditious* march in a full *body* to *Exeter*, and on the Citizens refuſall to admit them in, reſolve ſuddenly to beſiege it, boaſting they would ſhortly meaſure the *Silks* and *Sattins* therein by the length of their *Bowes*.

July 2.

4. *Exeter* is a *round City* on a *riſing Hill*, moſt capable of *fortification* both for the *ſite* and *forme* thereof. Her *walls* (though of *the old Edition*) were competently ſtrong and well repaired. *John Blackaller* Major of *Exeter*, though a meer

Norfolk Rebellion.

1. It began about the 20th of *June* at *Attilborrough* about *the laying open of Commons*, pretended lately *incloſed* to the *prejudice* of the *Poor*. Much increaſed on the 6. of *July* at *Windham Play*, where there was a great confluence of idle people repairing from all parts of the County.

The beginning of two Rebellions.

2. *Robert Ket*, Tanner of *Windham*, one of more *wealth* than common folk of his *craft*, yet of more *wit* than *wealth*, *confidence* than either, was choſen their *Captain*. He with *two Aſſiſtants*, choſen out of every *hundred*, kept his *Kings Bench*, *Chancery*, and all *other Courts*, under a *Tree*, termed *the Oake of Reformation*, where he did *juſtice*, (be it *wrong* or *right*) to all ſuch as were ſummoned before him. In ſhort time they increaſed to be more than *twenty thouſand*.

Their Ringleaders, and number.

3. Sir *Edmond Windham* Sheriffe of *Northfolke*, commanded them in the *King's name* peaceably to depart. But had not his *Horſemanſhip* been better than his *Rhetorick*, himſelf had not departed the place. Yea now the * *Rebels* began to play their pranks, threatning to *burn the Houſe*, and defacing the *Dovecoat*, (formerly a *Chappel* before it was turned of an *Houſe of Prayer* into a *Den of Thieves*) of Maſter *Corbets* of *Sprowſton*, and committing many outrages, *layed all Paſtures* rather *waſte* than *open*, where they came. Yea, now they march towards *Norwich* the chief place in the *County*.

The ſheriffs endevours ſucceed not.

* *Hooker* (aliàs *Vowell*) in *Hollingſhed*, p. 1015, & 1017.

Idem p. 1029.

4. *Norwich* is like a great *volume* with a *bad cover*, having at beſt but *parchment walls* about it. Nor can it with much coſt and time be effectually fortified, becauſe *under* the *frowning brow* of *Mouſhold Hill*, hanging over it

The deſcription of *Exeter* and *Norwich*.

meer Merchant, little skilled in *Politick*, leſſe in *Military* affairs, had wiſdome to know, who were wiſer than himſelf, and willingly to be directed by them. And now *the Seditious* having taken *ordnance* at *Topſham*, ſet down before *Exeter*, preſuming quickly to conquer the ſame.

The Rebels ſend proud demands to the King.

5. But firſt they are conſulting about *Articles* to be ſent to the *King*. Some would have no *Juſtices* (can you blame *Offenders* if deſiring to deſtroy their enemies?) others no *Gentlemen*, all no *Engliſh ſervice*: *Maſſe* muſt be reſtored, the *ſix Articles* (lately repealed) they would have put in execution, and Popery re eſtabliſhed. Concluding all with this cloſe, (the *gilded paper* to wrap up *poiſonous Treaſons* at the beginning thereof) *We pray God ſave King* EDWARD, *for we be His, both body and goods.* Whoſe unreaſonable demands were juſtly rejected by the King, yet pardon proclaimed to ſuch as would accept thereof: which the Seditious (miſtaking the Kings *favour*, to be His *fear*) utterly refuſed.

Exeter reſiſteth; *Norwich* yeildeth to the Rebels.

6. Mean time *Exeter* was not ſo much frighted with her *foes* without, as with *famine* and *faction* within the walls thereof. Great was the want of victuals and *bread* eſpecially. Now

Plebs neſcit jejuna timere.

Where there is the *barking of the belly*, there no other *commands* will be *heard*, much leſſe *obeyed*. But this was in ſome ſort qualified by proportioning all *proviſions* in the *City* to all *alike*, and mean folke will be the better pleaſed with courſe and ſhort diet, when eating out of the ſame diſh with their betters. When in *ſucceſſfull ſallies* they recovered any *cattle* from the *Rebels*, the *poor* had the *principall ſhare* thereof.

7. *Faction* in the *City* was of moſt dangerous conſequence, the *generality* thereof *favouring Popery*, and *cordial Proteſtants* but *few* in compariſon of the *other party*. However, this was a good help to the *Proteſtants*, that ſuch who ſevered from them in the *Church*, joyned with them in the *Town houſe*. Rich Papiſts feared their goods would be condemned as *heretical* even by the Rebels of their own Religion, which made them perſiſt in their loyalty to their Soveraign.

8. *John*

it. The River *Yete* ſo wanton, that it knoweth not its own minde which way to goe, ſuch the involved *flexures* thereof within a mile of this *City*, runneth partly *by*, partly *through* it, but contributeth very little to the *ſtrengthning* thereof. Ann. Dom. 1549.

5. The Rebels *encamped*, or rather *enkennelled* themſelves on *Mouſhold-Hill*, (whereon *Mount-Surry* a fair Houſe of the *Dukes* of *Northfolk*) whence they had free egreſſe and regreſſe into *Norwich* as oft as they pleaſed. One *Coigniers*, a Vicar in the City, they had for their Chaplain, and were ſo *religiouſly rebellious*, that *prayers Morning* and *Evening* were read amongſt them. Mean time, ſo intolerable was their *inſolence* that now they ſent up ſuch *Demands* to the *King*, to which He neither *would* in *honour*, nor *could* in *juſtice* condeſcend. Yet the *King* conſtantly *chequered* His *comminations* with *Proclamations* of *pardon*, which the *Rebels* ſcorn'd to *accept*.

6. As for *Thomas Cod* Major of *Norwich*, and others of the *Gentry*, detained *priſoners* in *Ket's camp*, they were admitted to the *counſels* of the *Rebels* for the better credit thereof. If *Ket* were preſent, they were no better than *herbe John in the pottage*, and had no influence on their *conſultations*. But if *he* happily chanced to be abſent, then they were like S. *Johns wort*, (ſo ſoveraign for *ſoars*, and againſt the *plague* it ſelf) and did much mitigate the fury of their miſchievous Decrees. Mean time great *plenty* was in *Kets camp*, (where a *fat ſheep* was ſold for a *groat*) but *penury* and *miſery* in all other places.

7. Doctor *Matthew Parker* (afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) getting up into the *Oake of Reformation*, preached to their Rebels of their *duty* and *allegiance*. But the *Oake* as ſoon as the *Auditory* would embrace his Doctrine, yea his *life* was likely to be ended before his *Sermon* (Arrows being ſhot at him) had not *Coigniers*, *Kets* Chaplain, ſeaſonably, yet abruptly, ſet the *Te Deum*, during the ſinging whereof the Dr. withdrew to ſing his part at home, and thank *God* for his great *deliverance*.

8. *William*

Ann. Reg. Ed. 6.

Ann. Dom. 1549.

8. *John Russell*, Lord privie Seal, was sent down with small Forces to suppresse the Commotion. A person very proper for that service, as of a stout spirit, and richly landed in this County. He stayed some time at *Honyton* in vain expecting promised *supplies*, either because this Lord was lookt on as of the *Protectors party*, whose Court-interest did much decline, or because *Norfolke* Rebellion, as nearer *London*, engrossed all warlike provisions. Thus was this Lord in deep distresse, having nothing (save his *Commission*) strong about him, and his few forces, for fear, and want of pay, began daily to forsake him.

9. And now following the advice of the *Dorset shire* Gentry, he was ready to return, when *three Princely Merchants* (for so may I term them, both for great interest, and loyal intention:) viz: *Thomas Prestwood*, *Thomas Bodly*, and *John Periam*, so improved their credits with *Bristoll*, *Lime*, and *Taunton*, that they furnished the Lord *Russell* with necessaries to march forward. Animated herewith, they advance, and gave the Rebels such a blow at *Fenington-bridge*, that they left *three hundred* of their *bodies* dead on the place.

10. Soon after the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, (whose slowness may be excused, as busied by the way in suppressing Tumults in *Buckingham* and *Oxford shire*) came with a company of Horsmen, and 300 *Italian Shot*, under *Baptist Spinola* their Leader, to recruit the Lord *Russell*. Here one would wonder to behold the native *English* fighting in the maintenance of the *Masse*, opposed by *Italians*, untill he considereth, that these foraigners, being Souldiers of Fortune, consulted the *Coine*, not the *Cause* of such as entertained them. And now the Kings Army advanceth towards *Exeter*, a word or two of which Cities sad condition.

11. The Rebels had often attempted to fire the Gates of the City, till at last the Citizens found the Paradox true, that *the onely way to keep their City shut was to set their Gates open*, making rampires more defensible behinde them. As for the Enemies intent to undermine and blow up the Walls, it was first discovered, then defeated by *John Newcombe*

8. *William Par* Marquesse of *Northampton*, but more acquainted with the *witty*, than the *warlike* part of *Pallas*, (as compleat in *Musick*, *Poetry*, and *Courtship*) with many persons of honour, as the Lords *Sheffield*, and *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *Ralph Sadlier*, Sir *Thomas Paston*, &c. is sent to quell this Rebellion. They were assisted with a band of *Italians*, under *Malatesta* their Captain, whereof the Rebels made this advantage to fill the Countrey with complaints, that these were but *an handfull* of *an armfull* to follow driving on the designe, to subject *England* to the insolence of *Foraigners*.

Aide sent to suppresse the Rebels.

9. Now, though neither *wisdome* nor *valour* was wanting in the Kings Souldiers, yet *successe* failed them, being too few to *defend Norwich*, and *oppose* the *Rebels*. Insomuch that the Lord *Sheffield* was barbarously butcher'd, Sr *Tho: Corwallis* taken prisoner, and the City fired by the *Rebels*: which probably had been burnt to ashes, had not the clouds commiserating the Cities calamity, and melting into tears, quenched the flames: and thus the Marquesse fain to quit the service, returned to *London*.

The Lord *Russell* conqueror. Lord Marquiss conquered.

10. Then was *John Dudley* Earle of *Warwick*, with such Forces as were intended for *Scotland*, sent to undertake the Task. The Marquesse of *Northampton* attended him to trie whether he could be more fortunate in *following* than he had been in *leading*. Coming to *Norwich* he easily entred the City, and entertained the Rebels with many sallies with various successe, here too long to relate, but generally the Earle of *Warwick* came off with the better.

The Lord *Gray* and Earle of *Warwick* come with new supplies.

11. Now the Rebels impregnable in some sort, if still keeping *Mousehold-Hill*, (whereon the Earles Horse could doe small service) deserted it of their own accord, and came down into *Dussindale*. Here their *superstition* fancied themselves sufficiently fenced by the virtue of an old *prophecie*.

Philip Comines.

combe a Tinner of *Teingmouth*. For taking advantage of the declivity of the *City* on that side, he *countermin'd* the *Rebels work*, and then deriv'd into it all the kennels and water-courses (falling down with a great precipice) and so drowned the *vault* intended with powder to blow up the Walls. Besides, at the same instant set an impetuous showre which added to the Deluge. Thus in vain doth Hell seek to kindle that Fire, when Heaven intendeth to poure water for the quenching thereof.

12. Famine raged most extremely, insomuch as they were fain to bake bran and meal moulded up in cloathes, for otherwise it would not stick together. Nor must the worthy resolution of a loyall Citizen be forgotten, publickly professing, That *rather than he would surrender the City to the Rebels, he would fight with one arm, and feed on the other.* And now were they reduced to utmost extremity when the seasonable approach of *Lord privie Seale* put a period to their Miseries. For at the *winde-mill* of S. *Mary Clift* after a bloody Battle, (wherein Sir *William Francis* was slain on the King's side) the Rebels were routed and forced to flie, leaving a thousand of their corps dead on the place. *Miles Coverdail* gave publick thanks to God for the victory in the view of *Exeter*, and soon after was made the Bishop thereof.

13. Then the Lord caused S. *Mary Clift* to be burnt to the ground, though it was his own Town, as knowing full well, Traytours to their King, would never make good Tenants to their Landlord. And on *Clift-heath* a second fight was begun, where the Rebels were finally overcome. The Lord privie Seal marched into *Exeter*, and was there (as he well deserved) welcomed with all possible expressions of joy. Sir *William Herbert* with 1000 *Welsh* came too late to fight, but soon enough to be an honourable Witnesse of the victory.

* 2 Sam. 11. 25.

Two solemne yearly festivals;

14. This *sixt of August*, the day of their deliverance, is an high festival in the Almanack of *Exeter*. *Good cheer*, and

Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dusin-dale with blood of slaughtered bodies soon.

Ann. Dom. 1549.

It hath ever been charged on the *English*, as if they alwaies *carried an old Prophesie about with them in their pockets*, which they can produce at pleasure to promote their designes, though oft mistaken in the application of such equivocating Predictions, as here these silly folke were deluded. For, it being believed, that *Dusin-dale* must make a large and soft *pillow* for *Death* to *rest* thereon, these *Rebels* apprehended themselves the *Upholsters* to make, who proved onely the *stuffing* to fill the same.

12. The Earle glad that the enemy had quitted the Hill, fell with all his forces upon them, and here happened a most bloody Battle. The Rebels *disputed* the ground, with their *naturall Logick* (as I may term it) down-right blows, without much military Discipline. Here one might have seen young Boyes (*timely Traytours*) plucking the arrows wherewith they were wounded out of their own flesh, and giving them to those of their owne party to shoot them back againe. Here some thrust through with spears, wilfully engaged their Bodies the deeper thereon, onely striving to reach out their revenge on those who wounded them. But at last *rage* was conquered by *courage*, *number* by *valour*, *Rebellion* by *Loyalty*, and in the fight and pursuit *two thousand* at the least were slain.

13. Remarkable was Divine Providence in preserving the captive Gentlemen of the Countrey, whom the Rebels coupled together and set them in the front of the Fight. Now, although it be true what *David* saith, **The sword devoureth one as well as another*: yet so discreetly did *Captaine Drury* charge the *Van of the Rebels*, that most of these innocent Prisoners made their escape. The last *litter of Kets kennell* stifly standing out and fortifying themselves, accepted of *pardon* on the Earls *promise* it should be assured unto them.

14. On the *nine and twentieth of August* a solemn Thanks-giving was made in *Norwich* for their deliverance, and is annually

Ann. Reg. Edw. 6.

Ann. Dom. 1549.

and (thereby I juſtly gueſſe) their great gratitude being annually obſerved, with a publick Sermon to perpetuate the memory of Gods mercy unto them. Yet ſuch Solemnities doe daily decay, every new Generation being removed *one* degree farther from the *deliverance*. The King conferred the Manour of *Exetland*, (formerly belonging to the City, but wreſted from it by the Earls of *Devon-ſhire*) on their Corporation, in reward of their *loyalty* and *valour*.

15. *Humphrey Arundle*, *Winſlade*, *Bery*, and *Coffi* were executed, and as this Commotion began, it ended at *Sampford-Courtney*, where their laſt remnant was defeated. Six Popiſh Prieſts were hanged, with *Welſh* the Vicar of St. *Thomas*, though all this was but *mercy* to the *cruelty* of Sir *Anthony Kingſton* Provoſt-Marſhall in truſſing up many mean offenders.

annually continued. Indeed, this City being betwixt *weakneſſe* and *ſtrength*, is taxed for *wavering* at the *time* betwixt *Loyalty* and *Revolt*, though to give the Citizens their due, many expreſſed their *fidelity* to their Prince as farre as they durſt for fear of deſtruction. Yet better had it been had *Norwich* been *weaker* to be *quitted*, or *ſtronger* to be *defended*, whoſe *mongrell ſtrength* expoſed it to the *greater miſery*.

15. *Robert Ket* was hanged on *Norwich* Caſtle, *William* his brother on *Windham* Steeple, Nine others on the *Oake of Reformation*, which never till then brooked the name thereof. Amongſt theſe, *Miles*, a cunning Cannoneer, was much lamented, becauſe remorſe kept him from doing much miſchief to which his cunning did enable him.

The legal execution of the Rebels.

Thus by Gods *bleſſing* on Mans *endevours* both theſe *Rebellions* were ſeaſonably ſuppreſt. That of *Devon-ſhire* did openly avouch the advancing of Popery; the other was ſuſpected ſecretly fomented by ſome Papiſts, who ſtood behinde the *curtain*, but ready to *ſtep on the ſtage*, had Succeſſe of the Deſigne but given them the *Cue of Entrance*. As for the Rebellion at the ſame time in *York ſhire*, which from a ſmall *puſtle* might have proved a painfull *bile*, yea, a *fiſtulated ulcer* if neglected, it was quickly quelled on the execution of *Omler* and *Dale*, the chief promoters thereof.

1550.

22. By the favour of Sir *Thomas Cotton*, having obtained to make uſe of his Library (our Engliſh *Vatican*, for *Manuſcripts*) I ſhall tranſcribe King *Edwards Diurnall*, written with His own hand, of the *tranſactions* in His *Reigne*. True it is His Obſervations, for his two firſt years, are ſhort, and not exactly expreſſing the notation of time, but His *Notes as the Noter*, got perfection with His age. They moſt belong to *Secular affairs*, out of which we have ſelected ſuch as reſpect *Eccleſiaſticall matters*. May the Reader be pleaſed to take notice, that though my *obſervations*, as printed, goe a-breaſt in parallel *Columes* with thoſe of His Highneſſe, it is my intention they ſhould obſerve their *diſtance*, in their humble *attendance* thereupon.

Abſtracts of Church-matters out of K. *Edwards* own Diary.

Text Royall.

THe Lord Protectour by his own [a] agreement, and ſubmiſsion, loſt his [b] Protectourſhip, Treaſurerſhip, Marſhalſhip, all his Moveables, and neer 2000 li. Land by Act of Parliament.

Obſervations thereon.

[a] Thus the Pilot to ſave the Ship from ſinking, caſts out the rich lading into the Sea.

[b] *This* lay void ever after, whilſt the *Treaſurerſhip* was preſently conferred on *Will: Powlet* Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, and the *Marſhalſhip* on *John Dudley* Earle of *Warwick*.

The Bp. of [c] *Chicheſter* before a vehement affirmer of Tranſubſtantiation, did Preach againſt it at *Weſtminſter* in the Preaching-place.

My Lord *Somerſet* taken into the Counſel.

Order taken, that whoſoever had [d] Benefices given them, ſhould preach before the King, in or out of *Lent*, and every Sunday there ſhould be a Sermon.

Maſſe for the Lady *Mary* denied to the Emperours [e] Ambaſſadour.

It is granted that my Lord of *Somerſet* ſhould have all his moveable Goods, and Leaſes, except thoſe that be already [f] given.

Joane [g] *Bocher*, otherwiſe called *Joane of Kent*, was burnt for holding, *that Chriſt was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary*, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of converſion. The Biſhops of *London* and *Ely* were to perſwade her, but ſhe withſtood them, and reviled the Preacher that preached at her death.

The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *William Peter* came home from their journy, delivering both the Oath, and the Teſtimonial of the Oath, witneſſed by divers Noblemen of *France*, and alſo the [b] Treaty ſealed with the great Seal of *France*, and

[c] Namely, *George Day*, who (notwithſtanding this Sermon) remained a zealous Papiſt, and on that ſcore, was deprived of his Biſhoptick.

[d] Underſtand it, not by *Private Patrones*, but either preſented by the *King*, or *Lord Chancellour*.

[e] Theſe ingaged Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and Biſhop *Ridlye*, to preſſe the *King* with politick Reaſons for the permiſſion thereof. He unable to anſwer their Arguments fell a weeping.

[f] Courtiers *keep* what they *catch*, and *catch* what ever they *can* come by.

[g] An obſtinate Heretick, maintaining, That *Chriſt* aſſumed nothing of the Virgin *Mary*, but paſſed through *Her*, as a *Conduit-pipe*. She with one or two *Arians* were all, who (and that juſtly) died in this Kings Reign for their Opinions.

[b] Advantageous enough for the *French*, and diſhonourable too much to the *Engliſh*, whoſe covetouſneſſe was above their ſenſe of Honor, ſelling *Bologne*, bought with blood, for a ſumme of money.

Ann. Dom. 1549. Ann. Reg. Edw. 6.

The

Ann. Reg. Eliz. 3.

Ann. Dom. 1550.

and in both was confeſſed that I was [i] *ſupreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland.*

The Duke of *Somerſet*, Marqueſſe of *North-hampton*, Lord Treaſurer *Bedford*, and the Secretary *Peter*, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to know to what he would ſtick. He made Anſwer, that he would obey, and let forth all things ſet forth by Me, and My Parliament; and if he were troubled in conſcience, he would reveal it to the Councell, and not reaſon openly againſt it.

The Books of My Proceedings were ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to ſee whether hee would ſet his hand to it, or promiſe to ſet it forth to the people.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, with five others of the Councell, went to the Bp. of *Wincheſter*; to whom he made this Anſwer: I having deliberately ſeen the *Book of Common-Prayer*, although I would not have made it ſo my ſelf, yet I finde ſuch things in it as ſatisfieth my conſcience, & therefore both I will execute it my ſelf, and alſo ſee other my [l] Pariſhioners to doe it. This was ſubſcribed by the aforeſaid Counſellours, that they heard him ſay theſe words.

The Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord Treaſurer, Sir *William Herbert*, and

[i] The Controverſie about this *Title* lying not betwixt the *Crowns* of *England* and *France*, but betwixt *England* and *Rome*, no wonder if the *French* yeilded to any *Style* in a *Treaty* ſo gainfull to themſelves.

[k] For as yet this ſubtile-Statiſt ſcarce knew his own mind, often receding from his *Reſolues*, whoſe inconſtancy in this kinde, incenſed the King and Councell againſt him.

[l] *Pariſh* in the *Dialect* of a *Biſhop* is notoriouſly known to be his *Dioceſe*. Yet I deny not but that the numerous Pariſhioners of Saint *Mary Overies*, (wherein *Wincheſter-Houſe*) are herein particularly intended.

If

and Secretary *Peter*, went to the Bishop of *Wincheſter* with certain Articles, ſigned by Me and the Councel, containing the Confeſſing of his Fault, the Supremacy, the eſtabliſhing of Holy-daies, the aboliſhing of the ſix Articles, &c. whereunto he put his hand, ſaving to the Confeſsion.

Sir *William Herbert*, and the Secretary *Peter*, were ſent to him to tell him, *That I marvelled that he would not put his hand to the Confeſsion*: To whom he made Anſwer, *That he would not doe it, becauſe he was* [m] *innocent.*

The Biſhop of *London*, Secretary *Peter*, Mr. *Cecil*, and *Goode-rich*, were commanded to make *certain Articles according to the Laws, and to put them in the Submiſsion.*

It was appointed *that under the* [n] *ſhadow of preparing for Sea matters, there ſhould be ſent* 5000 lib. *to the Proteſtants to get their good wills.*

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* denied the [o] *Articles*, which the Biſhop of *London* and others had made.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was [p] ſequeſtred from his *fruits* for *three months.*

The Lady *Mary*, after long Communication was content to come

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[m] If conſcious of no crime, he is not to be condemned for juſtifying his own integrity.

[n] Such *Umbrages* of *Simulation* preſumed lawful by all Politicians. *Quare*, whether the Proteſtants in the *Netherlands*, or *France*, (thoſe of *High Germany* being beyond the *line* of *probability*) were here intended.

[o] They were drawn up in ſo punctual expreſſions, the other had neither *compaſſe* for *evaſion*, nor *covert* for *equivocation.*

[p] A *Rod* formerly in faſhion, but never ſo ſoundly *layd on*, as *of late*.

She

Ann. Dom. 1549. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 3.

come to *Lees*, to the Lord Chancellours, and then to *Hunsdon*, but She utterly denied to come to the q Court, or *Oking*, at that time.

Aug. 13. The Lord Chancellor fell sore sick, with 40 more of his r house, that the Lady *Mary* came not thither at this time.

Nov. 19. There were Letters sent to every Bishop to pull downe the Altars.

Dec. 15. Edw. excl. 4. There were Letters sent for the taking of certain s Chaplains of the Lady *Mary*, for saying Masse, which She denied.

Febr. 16 *Whaley* was examined for perswading divers Nobles of the Realm to make the Duke of *Somerset* t Protector at the next Parliament, stood to the Denial, the Earle of *Rutland* affirmed it manifestly.

17. The Bishop of *Winchester* after a long triall was deposed his Bishoprick.

q She loved to deale with the King her Brother *eminus* by *Letters*, but in no wise *comminus* by *discourse*. Besides, she hated coming to the Court, suspecting some harsh usage to her Person, and jealous of being put into *Restraint*.

r *Lees* in *Essex*, a County [generally] not very healthfull, where *Agues sit as close* (and sometimes *last as long*) as *a new suit*.

s Of these *Francis Mallet* (last * Master of *Michael-House* in *Cambridge*) was the chief. He having leave from the *Councell* to *officiate* Masse, onely *in the presence of the Lady* Mary, presumed on the same liberty in her absence. Whereupon, he was (notwithstanding his *Ladies* refusall to surrender him) fetcht from her by force and committed to prison.

* *Scelats Cant. MS.*

t Now where the *seeds sown*, and the *foundation laid*, of the *Protectours overthrow*, which ensued not long after.

It seems some legall formalities were pretended wanting in *Gardiner* his deprivation. For in my *memory* a *Suit* was *commenced*, to overthrow a *long Lease* made by Bishop *Poinet* (*Gardiner*'s successour in *Winchester*) on this *point*, that *Gardiner* still remained *lawfull Bishop*, but nothing therein was effected.

23. Come we now to the saddest difference that ever happened in the *Church of England*, if we consider either the time how long it continued, the eminent persons therein ingaged, or the dolefull effects thereby produced. It was about *matters of conformity*. Alas! that men should have lesse wisdome than locusts; which, when sent on God's errand, *Did not * thrust one another*: whereas here such shoving, and shouldring; and hoising, and heavings, and justleing, and thronging, betwixt Clergie-men of the highest parts, and places. For now nonconformity in the daies of King *Edward* was conceived, which afterward in the Reign of Queen *Mary* (but beyond Sea at *Frankford*) was born; which in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was nursed, and weaned; which under King *James* grew up a young youth, or tall stripling; but towards the end of King *Charles* His Reign, shot up to the full strength, and stature of a man, able, not onely to coap with, but conquer the Hierarchie its adversary.

The conception of non-conformity.

* Joel 2. 8.

The favourers and opposers thereof,

24. Two opposite parties now plainly discovered themselves, driving on different interests, under their respective Patrones; Ann. Dom. 1550. Ann. Reg. Edw. 6.

Founders of Conformity.	*Founders of Non-conformity.*
1. Such as remained here all the Reign of King *Henry the eighth*, and *weathered* out the tempest of His tyrannie at open Sea, partly by a politick compliance, and partly by a cautious concealment of themselves.	1. Such as fled hence beyond the Seas, chiefly into *Germany*, where, living in States, and Cities of popular Reformation, they suck'd in both the aire, and discipline of the place they lived in.
2. These, in the daies of King *Edward the sixt*, were possessed of the best preferments in the land.	2. These, returning late into *England*, were at a losse for meanes, and maintenance, onely supported with the reputation of being *Confessors*, rendring their *patience* to the *praise*, and their *persons* to the *pity* of all conscientious people.
3. And retained many ceremonies practiced in the *Romish Church*, conceiving them to be antient, and decent in themselves.	3. And renounced all ceremonies practiced by the Papists, conceiving, that such ought not onely to be clipt with the sheers, but to be shaved with a raizor; yea, all the stumps thereof to be pluckt out.
4. The authority of *Cranmer*, and activity of *Ridley* headed this party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest in defence of conformity.	4. *John Rogers*, Lecturer in S. *Pauls*, and Vicar of S. *Sepulchres*, with *John Hooper*, afterwards Bishop of *Gloucester*, were Ring-leaders of this party.

This *John Hooper* was bred in *Oxford*, well skill'd in Latine, Greek, and Hebrew, (a little of the last would go farre in this Age) and afterwards travelled over into *Switzerland*. Yea, he seemed to some to have brought *Switzerland* back with him, in his harsh, rough, and unpleasant behaviour, being grave into rigour, and severe into surlinesse. Yet to speak truth, all *Hoopers* ill nature consisted in other mens little acquaintance with him. Such as visited him once, condemned him of over-austerity; who repaired to him twice, onely suspected him of the same; who conversed with him constantly, not onely acquitted him of all morosity, but commended him for *sweetnesse of manners*: which, saith my Author, (*Godwin* in the Bishops of *Gloucester*) endeared him to the acquaintance of *Bullinger*. This *Hooper* was preferred to be Bishop of *Gloucester*, by the special favour of his Patrone, *John* Earl of *Warwick*, afterward Duke of *Northumberland*.

Hooper refuseth to wear the Episcopal habit.

25. The worst was, when *Hooper* came to be consecrated Bishop of *Gloucester*, he scrupled the wearing of certain Episcopall ornaments (Rochet, Chimere, Square-cap, &c.) producing a Letter from the Earl of *Warwick* (omniprevalent then at Court, in the declining of his Corrival, the Duke of *Somerset*) that he might be favourably dispensed with therein, according to the tenour ensuing, to Archbishop *Cranmer*.

After

Ann. Reg. Edw. 6. Ann. Dom. 1550.

After my moſt hearty commendations to your Grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable things, wherein this bearer, my Lord Elect of Gloceſter *craveth to be born withall at your hands, you would vouchſafe to ſhew him your Graces favour; the rather at this my inſtance. Which thing partly I have taken in hand by the Kings Majeſties own motion. The matter is weighed by His Highneſſe, none other, but that your Grace may facilely condeſcend thereunto. The principall cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid Bearer with* an Oath *burdenous to his conſcience. And ſo for lack of time I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God.*

Your Graces moſt aſſured loving friend.
John Warwick.

What this *Oath* was, (becauſe not expreſſed) is variouſly conjectured. *Parſons*, to render *Hooper* more odious, will have it the *Oath of Supremacy*; which, in my opinion, is improbable, it being utterly unlikely, that the King would diſpenſe with any from taking that *Oath*, wherein His owne Dignity was ſo neerly concern'd. I conceive it the *Oath of Canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop*; which conſequentially commanded ſuch *ceremonies*, which *Hooper* was willing to decline. For, in the Kings next Letter, wrote thirteen daies after to the ſame purpoſe, there is mention onely of *offenſive Rites, and Ceremonies*, and of no *Oath* at all, as coincident with the former, and obligatory to ſuch Canonical obſervances. But ſee the Letter.

Right Reverend Father, and right truſty, and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We, by the advice of Our Councel, have called & choſen Our right well-beloved, and well-worthy Mr. John Hooper, *Profeſſor of Divinity, to be Our Biſhop of* Gloceſter, *as well for his great learning, deep judgment, and long ſtudy, both in the Scriptures, and other profound learning; as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready utterance, and honeſt life for that kinde of vocation, &c. From conſecrating of whom, We underſtand you doe ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit, and let paſſe certain Rites and Ceremonies offenſive to his conſcience, whereby ye thinke, you ſhould fall in* Præmunire *of Laws: We have thought good by adviſe aforeſaid, to diſpenſe, and diſcharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures you ſhould run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe Our Letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant, and diſcharge therefore.*

¶ Given under Our Signet, at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the fourth year of Our Reign.

All would not doe. Reſolute *Ridley* ſtood ſtifly to his tackling, and here was old bandying of the buſineſſe betwixt them, and Arguments urged on both ſides. Ann. Dom. 1550. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6.

Pro.	*Con.*
1. The Ornaments were indifferent of themſelves, and of antient uſe in the Church.	1. The beſt thing that could be ſaid of them was, that they were uſeleſſe, being otherwiſe ridiculous, and ſuperſtitious.
2. Being enjoyned by lawfull authority, they became neceſſary, not to ſalvation, but to Church-unity; and it was ſcandalous to decline them.	2. *Curſed be he that removes the bound-marks.* Grant them indifferent in themſelves, and left ſo by Divine Wiſdome, it was preſumption in man to ſtamp neceſſity upon them.
3. It would bring the Papiſt over to our Church, beholding all things by them uſed, not totally aboliſhed by a ſpirit of contradiction, but ſome decent correſpondencies ſtill moderately continued.	3. Too much of the Serpent, nothing of the Dove herein, to offend thoſe within, to invite thoſe without to the Church, driving Proteſtants thence, to draw Papiſts thither.
4. It would caſt a ſlurre on the credit of ſuch Biſhops, who formerly had uſed thoſe Ornaments, as more remiſſe in Religion, than ſuch as refuſed them.	4. The credits of ſome good men were not to be preſerved, by deſtroying the conſciences of others.
5. Thoſe that have *ſtubborn wills*, pretend too often to *tender conſciences*; nor ought a private perſon to be indulged, with the diſturbance of the publick uniformity of the Church.	5. *Hooper* put himſelf upon the triall of the *Searcher of hearts*, that no obſtinacie, but meer conſcience made him refuſe thoſe Ornaments.

In a word, all thoſe Arguments, which later Ages have more amply enlarged, more clearly explained, more cunningly improved, more violently enforced, were then and there firſt ſolidly propounded, and ſolemnly ſet down on both ſides. Poſterity in this matter having diſcovered no new *Mine*, but onely refined, what formerly was found out in this Controverſie.

But is forced at laſt.

26. At laſt the great Earl of *Warwick* deſerted his Chaplain in open field, to ſhift for himſelf. Indeed, he had higher things in his head, than to attend ſuch trifles: not ſo much to procure a Mitre for his Chaplain, as a Crown for himſelf, even then ſecretly laying a deſign to derive the Scepter into his own family. Yea, *Hooper* was ſent to priſon, and kept ſome daies in * durance, till at laſt he condeſcended to conform himſelfe in his habit, to the reſt of his brethren, and ſo was conſecrated Biſhop of *Gloceſter*.

* His impriſonment not mentioned in Mr *Fox*, but in the Troubles of *Frankford*, pag. 35.

27. But that, which moſt opens the mouthes of Papiſts, and other adverſaries againſt *Hooper*, is, becauſe he, who ſcrupled the poor Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter*, afterward held the wealthy Biſhoprick of *Worceſter in Commendam* with it. We read of a [b] *wedge of gold*, and little wedges (ſay they) widen mens conſciences for the receiving of greater: yea, thus the haters of marriage, firſt become guilty of bigamie. But let ſuch know, Firſt, that the Dioceſes of *Gloceſter*, and *Worceſter*, lie both contiguous together. Secondly, many ſingle Biſhopricks in *England*, are larger than both for extent in Land, and number of Pariſhes. Thirdly, no worſe a man than S. *Dunſtan* himſelf, had the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and *London* with it, at the ſame time, being farre more diſtant, and remote. Fourthly, it is not the having of two Biſhopricks together, but the neglecting of one is the ſin; whereas

Defended for keeping *Worceſter* in *Commendam*.

[b] Joſ. 7 21.

Hooper

Ann. Reg. Eliz. 4. Ann. Dom. 1550.

Hooper in preaching, and viſiting, afforded double diligence in his double Dioceſs.

28. The mention of *Hooper* his holding of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter in Commendam*, mindes me of a difficulty, which (though I cannot anſwer) I muſt not omit. It is this, Seeing that *Latimer* was outed of that Biſhoprick in the daies of King *Henry the eighth*, on the account of the *Six Articles*, why was he not reſtored to the ſame under King *Edward the ſixt*? eſpecially, ſeeing *Nicholas Heath*, his ſucceſſour, was legally deprived; and the place actually void. Whereas on the contrary *Hugh Latimer* continued *Hugh Latimer*, without any addition of preferment. Here firſt we muſt largely trade in *negatives*. It was not for any want of favour from the King, ſeeing he ſtood *rectus in Curia*, in relation to His Majeſty. Nor was it becauſe his down-right Sermons diſobliged the Courtiers, who generally delight in *ſoft preaching*, as in [c] *ſoft cloathing*. Not was it out of ſullenneſſe, becauſe he would not be bedded again with that wife, which (though unwillingly) had in his abſence embraced another. Nor have we any cauſe to ſuſpect *Latimer* of *Hoopers* opinion, as diſtaſting Ceremonies, and ſo obſtructing his advancement. But we impute it, either to his conſcience (oft-times ſharpeſt in the blunteſt men) becauſe he would not be built on the ruines of another; eſpecially knowing *Heath*, one of a meek, and moderate nature: Or to his age, who, *Barzillai* [d] like, was ſuperannuated for earthly honour: Alas! what needed a *ſquare-cap* over the many *night-caps*, which age had multiplied on his Reverend head? Or, becauſe he found himſelf not ſo fit for government, better for preaching, than ordering Eccleſiaſtical affairs. Or laſtly, becauſe he prophetically foreſaw, that the ingratitude of the Engliſh Nation would ſhorten their happineſſe, and King *Edwards* life; and he was loth to come into a place, onely to goe out thereof. Sure I am, it was a loud lie, which * *Parſons* tells, that *Latimer* was *kept bare*, who *kept himſelf bare*, living, not in the want, but neglect, yea contempt of all worldly wealth. He was *Confeſſour-General* to all Proteſtants troubled in minde; yea, he was the *Corban*, or treaſurie, into which *reſtored-ill-gotten goods* were caſt, to be beſtowed on the poor, according to his diſcretion. And *Latimer* by the *courteſie of England* (once a Biſhop, and ever a Biſhop) was in civility ſaluted *Lord*, and honoured by all good people that knew him. This I conceive the true cauſe, why *Hooper* would not be tranſlated to *Worceſter*, but held it *in Commendam* with *Glouceſter*, becauſe *Latimer*, and *Heath*, were both ſurviving, each accounted a lawfull Biſhop by thoſe of their own Religion.

Why *Latimer* was not reſtored to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*.

[c] Mat. 11. 8.

[d] 2 Sam. 19. 35.

* In the Examen of *Fox's* Martyrs, Month of *Feb.* pag. 306.

29. But, when *Hooper* unwillingly willing wore thoſe Epiſcopal Ornaments, he put on with them a great grudge againſt *Ridley*, who enforced him thereunto. Yea, when thoſe his clothes may be preſumed half worn out, his anger was new, and freſh, as at the beginning: nor were they fully reconciled till their death, in the daies of Queen *Mary*. High time then to period their paſſion, before *the Sun* [of their life] *went down in their wrath*. Strange that their heart-burnings could not be quenched, till the fire was kindled, which was to burn both their bodies. But it matters not what is the cauſe, if amendment be the effect. The * Jeſuite challengeth the credit of this reconciliation to the Catholicks, bragging, that they made them friends. But we know, their cruell intention was not to make *friends*, but *aſhes* of them. Let the thanks be paid to that Divine Power, and Providence, which ſanctified their ſufferings into an agreement, beſides, beyond, above, againſt the deſigne, and deſire of thoſe, which inflicted them. Thus, when froward children fall out, and fight, a good parent, and a good rod, doe quickly make them friends. See the Letters at large in Maſter *Fox*, which paſſed betwixt them in priſon; wherein, as *Hooper* had the honour firſt to offer agreement, let *Ridley* receive his praiſe, that he did faſt embrace it. For, as *the ſecond blow makes the fray*: ſo, it is not the *tender*, but *acceptance* of peace, makes the reconciliation. As for their obſervation, that of all the Marian-Martyrs, *Hooper*, and *Ridley* ſuffered with moſt torture, and impute this to a Divine puniſhment, juſtly inflicted on them, for this their diſſention: there is ſomewhat of curioſity in the obſervation, and nothing of charity in the application.

Hooper, and *Ridley* reconciled by afflictions.

* *Parſons ut ſupra*, pag. 316.

Ann. Dom. 1550. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 4.

Three sorts of Non conformists.

30. We must not forget, that this earnest contest, was not about the *calling*, but *clothes*; not the *vocation*, but onely about the *vestments of Bishops*. Whereupon the juditious Reader will distinguish *three Ranks*, (or if the word be better liked) *three Classes* of *Non conformists*, according to their severall *dates*, and *designes*:

1. *Antient Non-conformists*, here in King *Edward*'s daies, who desired onely to shake down the *leaves* of *Episcopacy*, misliking onely some *garments* about them.
2. *Middle Non conformists*, in the end of Queen *Elizabeth*, and beginning of King *James*, who struck at the *branches* thereof; *Chancellours*, and *Officialls*, and other appendant *limbs*, which they endeavoured to remove.
3. *Modern Non-conformists*, who did *lay the axe to the root of the tree*, to cut down the *function* it self, as unlawfull, and Antichristian.

Thus *after-Ages* still made *new additions*, as if it would be accounted idleness in them, if the strong, and active legs of the sons, and nephews, should not goe faster, and farther, than the old, and feeble feet, of their fathers, and grandfathers.

The Psalmes translated into meeter. e *Balcim Cent. 9. pag. 728.*

31. About this time, *David*'s *Psalms* were *translated* into *English meeter*, and (if not publickly commanded) generally permitted to be sung in all Churches. The work was performed by *Thomas* e *Sternhold*, (an *Hampshire*-man, Esquire, and of the Privie Chamber to King *Edward the sixt*, who for his part translated *thirty seven* selected *Psalms*) *John Hopkins*, *Robert Wisedome*, &c. men, whose *piety* was better than their *poetry*; and they had drank more of *Jordan*, than of *Helicon*. These Psalms were therefore translated, to make them more portable in peoples memories (Verses being twice as light, as the self-same bulk in Prose) as also to raise mens affections, the better to enable them to practice the Apostles precept, *f* Jam. 5. 13. *Is any merry? let him sing Psalms.* Yet this work met afterwards with some frowns in the faces of great Clergy-men, who were rather contented, than well pleased, with the singing of them in Churches. I will not say, because they misliked so much liberty should be allowed the Laitie (*Rome* only can be guilty of so great envy) as to sing in Churches: rather, because they conceived these singing-Psalms erected in corrivality, and opposition, to the reading-Psalms, which were formerly sung in Cathedral Churches: or else, the childe was disliked for the mothers sake; because, such Translatours, though branched hither, had their root in *Geneva*.

The meanness of the Translation endeavoured to be excused.

32. Since, later men have vented their just exceptions against the baldness of the translation, so that sometimes they make the Maker of the Tongue to speak little better than barbarisme, and have in many Verses such poor rhime, that two hammers on a Smith's anvill would make better musick. Whilst others (rather to excuse it, than defend it) doe plead, that English poëtry was then in the non-age, not to say, infancy thereof: and that, match these Verses for their age, they shall goe a-breast with the best Poëms of those times. Some, in favour of the Translatours, alledge, that to be curious therein, and over-descanting with wit, had not become the plain song, and simplicity of an holy style. But these must know, there is great difference between painting a face, and not washing it. Many since have farre refined these Translations, but yet their labours therein never generally received in the Church: principally, because un-book-learn'd people have conn'd by heart, many Psalms of the old Translation, which would be wholly disinherited of their patrimony, if a new Edition were set forth. However, it is desired, and expected by moderate men, that, though the fabrick stand unremoved for the main, yet some bad contrivance therein may be mended, and the bald rhimes in some places get a new nap, which would not much discompose the memory of the people.

33. On

Ann. Reg. Edw. 6. Ann. Dom. 1550.

33. On the twenty fourth of *July*, King *Edward*, by His Letters patent, at the request of *John à Lasco*, free Baron of *Lasco* in *Poland*, did, by the *consent* of *His Counsell*, give, and grant the whole Church of S. *Augustine's*, neer *Broad-street* in *London* (the Quire excepted, formerly possessed by Marquesse *Pawlet*) unto the Superintendent, and Ministers of the Dutch-Church, and other strangers in *London*, to have, and to hold for them, their heirs, and successours in *Frank Almonage*, to be a meeting-place for them, therein to attend God's Word, and Sacraments. He ordered also, that hereafter it should be called by the new name of *the Church of the Lord IESUS*; and incorporated the said Superintendent, Ministers, and Congregation, to be a body politick, for all purposes, and intents; empowering them from time to time, in the vacancy of a Superintendent, to chuse, name, and substitute, any able, and fit person in that place: provided, that the person so chosen be first presented to the King, His Heirs, and Successours, to be approved, and confirmed by them in the Office of the Ministerie, enjoyning all Archbishops, Bishops, and other Officers, *Quòd permittant prafatis Superintendenti, & Ministris, & Successoribus suis, liberè, & quietè frui, gaudere, uti, & exercere ritus, & ceremonias suas proprias, & disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam & peculiarem, non obstante, quòd non conveniant cum ritibus, & ceremoniis in Regno nostro usitatis: That they permit the foresaid Superintendent, and Ministers, and their Successours, freely, and quietly to hold, enjoy, use, and exercise their own proper rites, and ceremonies, and their proper, and peculiar Church discipline, notwithstanding that they agree not with the rites, and ceremonies used in Our Kingdome.*

The first legal erection of the Dutch-Congregation in *London*.

34. Now followed the fatall tragedy of the Duke of *Somerset*, and we must recoile a little, to fetch forward the cause thereof. *Thomas Seymour* Baron of *Sudely*, and Lord Admirall, the Protectours younger Brother, had married the Lady *Katharine Parre*, the Relict of King *Henry the eighth*. A contest arose betwixt their Wives about place, the Protectresse (as I may call her) refusing to give it to the Kings Dowager. Yet was their precedencie no measuring cast, but clear in the view of any unpartiall eye. Nor needed other Herauld to decide the controversie than the Kings own Injunctions, [a] wherein after prayer for His own Royall person, Ministers were commanded to pray for the Queen Dowager even before the Kings Sisters, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*, the Protectour (under whom his Lady must claim place) being placed last in the List of their Devotions.

Womens brawles, Mens thralles.

a *Vide supra*, in the first of this King.

35. The Womens discords derived themselves into their Husbands hearts. Whereupon, not long after followed the death of the Lord *Thomas Seymour*, arraigned for designing to translate the Crown to himself, though having neither Title to pretend unto it, nor effectual Interest to atchieve the same. Let [b] *Adonijah*, and this Lord's example deterre Subjects from medling with the Widows of their Soveraigns, lest in the same match they espouse their own danger and destruction. This Lord thus cut off, the Protectour stood alone on his own bottome at which his enemies daily endevoured to undermine.

Lord *Thomas Seymour* executed for Treason.

b 1 King. 2.

36. Soon after the Lords of the Councel resolved to accuse him of many high offences. Of these Lords, some were Lawyers, as the Lord *Wriothesley*, lately, the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellour; Sir *Edward Montague* Chief Justice, &c. some Martialists, as Sr *Ralph Sadler* Treasurer to the Army, and some meer Statesmen, as *William Pawlet* Lord Treasurer, and their accusations participated of the severall conditions of the Accusers. The Lawyers charge him for bringing *Westminster-hall* into *Somerset-house*, keeping there a Court of Request, and therein determining Titles of Land to the apparent injury of the Subject. Military men taxed him for his Sumptuous buildings, having their Morter tempered with the tears of Souldiers Wives and Children, whose wages he detained; and for betraying *Bolloigne*, and other places in *France* to the Enemy. States-men chiefly insisted on his engrossing all power to himself, that whereas by the constitution of the Protectourship he was to act nothing without the advice of King *Henry's* Executours, he solely transacted matters of the highest consequence without their privity.

A tripartite accusation.

37. Here

Earle of *Warwick* the Protectors grand enemy.

37. Here I muſt ſet *John Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* (as a Tranſcendent) in a form by himſelf, being a competent Lawyer, (Son to a Judge) known Soldier, and able States-man, and acting againſt the Protector, to all theſe his capacities. Indeed, he was the very *ſoul* of the *Accuſation*, being *all in all, and all in every part thereof*. And ſeeing the Protector was *free ſpirited, open hearted, humble, hard to diſtruſt, eaſie to forgive:* The other *proud, ſubtle, cloſe, cruell,* and *revengefull*; it was *impar congreſſus* betwixt them, almoſt with as much diſadvantage as betwixt a *naked* and an *armed* perſon.

The Protector accuſed, and impriſoned, yet reſtored.

38. Hereupon, he was impriſoned at *Windſor*, in a place antiently called *Beauchamp's Tower*, it ſeems by a ſad *Prolepſis*, but never verified till now when this Vicount *Beauchamp* (by his original honour) was therein confined, and hence was he removed to the *Tower* of *London*. However, although all this happened in the worſt juncture of time, *viz:* in the disjuncture of his beſt Friend (the Lord *Ruſſell* Privie Seal) then away in the Weſt, yet by his own innocence, his other Friends endeavour, the Kings interpoſing, and Divine Providence, he was acquitted, and though outed his Protectorſhip, reſtored and continued Privie Counſellour, as in the *King's Diarie* was formerly obſerved.

[c] *Fox*, Acts & Mon. pag.

Accuſed the ſecond time.

39. But after two years and two months, his enemies began afreſh to aſſault him, hoping that as the firſt ſtroak ſhak'd, the next would fell him to the ground. Indeed, *Warwick* (who had too powerfull an influence upon all the Lords) could not erect his intended Fabrick of Soveraignty except he firſt cleared the ground-work from all obſtructive rubbiſh, whereof this Duke of *Somerſet* was the Principall: In whoſe abſence the Lords met at the Councell Table, where it was contrived how all things ſhould be ordered in relation to his Arraignment.

Lord *Rich* his Servants dangerous miſtake.

40. *R. Rich* Lord Chancellor (then living in great S. *Bartholomews*) though outwardly concurring with the reſt, began now ſecretly to favour the Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſent him a Letter, therein acquainting him with all paſſages at the Councell Board, ſuperſcribing the ſame (either out of haſte, or familiarity) with no other direction ſave, *To the Duke:* enjoyning his Servant a raw attendant, as newly entred into the family, ſafely to deliver it. The man made [e] more haſte than good ſpeed, and his Lord wondring at his quick return, demanded of him where the Duke was when he deliver'd him the Letter: In *Charter-houſe* (ſaid his Servant) *on the ſame token that he read it at the window, and ſmiled thereat.* But the Lord *Rich* ſmiled not at his relation, as ſadly ſenſible of the miſtake and delivery of the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolke*, no great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the Duke of *Somerſet*.

[e] This ſtory atteſted to me by his great grand childe the Earl of *Warwick*.

The Lord *Rich* reſigneth his Chancellors place.

41. Wonder not if this Lord roſe early up the next morning, who may be preſumed not to have ſlept all night. He higheth to the Court, and having gotten admittance into the Bed Chamber before the King was riſen up, fell down on his knees, and deſired that his old age might be eaſed of his burthenſome Office: pleading, That there ought to be ſome preparatory interval in States-men betwixt their Temporall buſineſſe and their Death; in order to which, he deſired to retire into *Eſſex*, there to attend his own Devotions. Nor would he riſe from the ground till the King had granted his requeſt. And thus he ſaved himſelf from being *ſtript by others* by firſt *putting off his own clothes*, who otherwiſe had loſt his Chancellours place for revealing the ſecrets of the Councell Board. Some daies after the Seale was ſolemnly fetcht from him, and conferred on Doctor *Goodrich* Biſhop of *Elie*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* impeached of Treaſon.

42. The Impeachment of the Duke went on nevertheleſſe, and two Nets were laid to catch him, that if one brake the other might hold. He was indicted of *Treaſon*, and *Fellonie*; the former was onely to *give the report*, the latter to *diſcharge the bullet*. So great a Peer could not be accuſed of leſſe than *High Treaſon*, that the *offence* might appear proportionable to the *Offender*. However, he was acquitted of *Treaſon*, whereat the *people* in *Weſtminſter-hall* gave ſuch a ſhout, that though the ſame was intercepted and circumſcribed by the *houſe*, it is reported to be heard as farre [f] as *Long-Acre*.

[f] *Stowes* Annals, p. 606.

43. But

Anno Dom. 1551. Anno Regis Ed. 6. 5.

43. But this *ſound* was ſeconded with a *ſad ſilence* when he was condemned for *Felony*, by a *new made Statute*, for plotting the death of a *Privie Counſellour*; namely, the Earle of *Warwick*. Here a ſtrange overſight was committed, that he craved not the *benefit of the Clergie*, which could not *legally* be denied him; on the granting whereof, the enſuing puniſhment had certainly been remitted: and not long after he was *beheaded* on *Tower-hill*, with no leſſe *praiſe* for his *piety* and *patience*, than *pity* and *grief* of the *Beholders*.

Sad ſilence.

44. *Poſterity* is much unſatisfied in the juſtneſſe of his ſuffering, and generally doe believe, That he himſelfe was the *ſheep* who was here condemn'd for the *ſlaughter*. A good Author tells us, That *he loſt his life for a ſmall crime, and that upon a nice* point, ſubtilly deviſed and packt by his enemies*. And yet that the good *King* Himſelfe was poſſeſſed of his guilt, may appeare by His enſuing *Letter* * written with His own hand to a dear Servant of His, as followeth:

A Quære for poſterity.

* *Cambd Brit. in Somerſetſhire.*

* Tranſcribed out of the Originall.

To Our well-beloved ſervant *Barnaby Fitz-Patricke*, one of the Gentlemen of Our Chamber.

EDWARD.

LIttle hath been done ſince you went, but the Duke of Somerſet's *arraignment for felonious Treaſon, and the Muſters of the new-erected Gendarmery. The Duke, the firſt of this Moneth was brought to* Weſtminſter-hall, *where ſate as Judge, or High Steward, my Lord Treaſurer, twenty ſix Lords of the Parliament went on his Triall, Indictments were read; which were ſeverall; ſome for Treaſon, ſome for trayterous Felony. The Lawyers read how Sir* Thomas Palmer *had confeſſed that the Duke, once minded, and made him privie, to raiſe the North, after to call the Duke of* Northumberland, *the Marqueſſe of* Northampton, *and the Earle of* Pembroke, *to a Feaſt, and ſo to have ſlain them. And to doe this thing (as it was to be thought) had levied men a hundred at his houſe at* London, *which was ſcanned to be Treaſon, becauſe unlawfull Aſſemblies for ſuch purpoſes, was Treaſon by an Act made the laſt Seſſions. Alſo how the Duke of* Somerſet *minded to ſtay the Horſes of the Gendarmery, and to raiſe* London. Crane *confeſſed alſo the murdering of the Lords in a Banquet. Sir* Miles Partridge *alſo confeſſed the raiſing of* London. Hamman *his man having a Watch at* Greenwich *of twenty weaponed men to reſiſt, if he had been arreſted, and this confeſſed both* Patridge *and*

Anno Dom. 1551. Anno Regis Ed. 6. 5.

Palmer. *He answered, That when he levied men at his House, he meant no such thing, but onely to defend himself. The rest very barely answered. After debating the matter from nine of the clock till three, the Lords went together, and there weighing that the matter seemed only to touch their lives, although afterward more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of High Treason, and condemned him of Felony, which he seemed to have confessed. He hearing the Judgment, fell down on his knees, and thanked them for his open Triall. After he asked pardon of the Duke of* Northumberland, *the Marquesse, &c. whom he confessed he meant to destroy, although before he swore vehemently to the contrary. Thus fare you well.*

¶ From *Westminster* the 20th of *December*, *Anno Domini* 1551. 1551. Dec. 20.

Hereby it plainly appeareth, that the *King* was possessed with a *perswasion* of His *Uncles guiltinesse:* whether or no so in truth, God knoweth; and generally *Men* believe *Him* abused herein. And it seemeth a wonder to me that six weeks (from *December* the 1, to *January* the 22.) interceding betwixt the *Dukes condemnation* and *execution*, no means were made during that time to the *King* for his *pardon*. But, it is plain, that his *foes* had stopped all accesse of his *friends* unto the *King*.

The Dukes character.

45. The Duke of *Somerset* was *religious* himself, a *lover* of all such as were so, and a great *Promoter* of *Reformation*. *Valiant*, *fortunate*, witnesse his victory in *Musleborrough field*, when the *Scots* filled many *carts* with *emptinesse*, and *loaded* them with what was *lighter* than *vanity it self*, *Popish Images*, and other *Trinkets*, wherein they placed the confidence of their *Conquest*. He was generally beloved of *Martiall men*, yet no marvell if some did grumble against him, seeing there is no *Army*, save that of the *Church Triumphant*, wherein the *Souldiers* at some time or other doe not complain against their *Generall*. Nor is the wonder great if he sometimes trespassed in matters of *State*, seeing the most *conscientious Polititian* will now and then borrow a *point of Law* (not to say, take it for their due) even with an intent never to pay it. He was better to *perform* than *plot*, *doe* than *design*. In a word, his self-hurting *innocence* declined into *guiltinesse*, whose soule was so farre from being open to causlesse suspitions, that it was shut against just jealousies of danger.

His great buildings.

46. He built *Somerset-house*, where many like the *workmanship* better than either the *foundation* or *materials* thereof: For the *Houses* of three Bishops, *Landaffe*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Worcester*, with the *Church* of St. *Mary le Strand*, were pluckt down to make room for it. The *stones* and *timber* were fetcht from the *Hospitall* of S. *Johns*. This *Somerset-house* is so tenacious of his name, that it would not change a *Dutchie* for a *Kingdome*, when solemnly proclaimed by King *James*, *Denmarke-house* from the King of *Denmarke*'s lodging therein, and His Sister Queen *Anne* her repairing thereof. Surely it argueth, that this *Duke* was well

Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 6. Ann. Dom. 1552.

wel-belov'd, because his name made such an indelible impression on this his *house*, whereof he was not full five years peaceably possessed.

47. We lately made mention of *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, to whom the *King* directed His Letter, as who was bred and brought up with Him from His infancy, though somewhat the older. He was Prince *Edward*'s PROXIE for CORRECTION, though we may presume seldome suffering in that kinde, such the Princes generall *innocence* and *ingenuity* to learn His book. Yet when such *execution* was done, as *Fitz-Patrick* was beaten for the *Prince*, the *Prince* was beaten in *Fitz-Patrick*, so great an affection did He bare to His Servant. Towards the end of His Reign He maintained him in the Court of *France* both to learn *fashions* there, and send *intelligence* thence. And it will not be amisse to insert the *King's private Instructions* unto him how he should behave himself in the *French Court*, partly for the *rarity*, partly for the *certainty* thereof, having it *transcribed* out of the *Originall* of the *King's own hand*, as followeth:

The Kings Instructions to *Fitz-Patrick* for his behaviour in *France*.

1. First, *he shall goe in the* Lord Admirals *Company, and at the same Lords departing he shall have a Letter to the* French King, *which the Lord Admirall shall deliver, and present him to the French King; and if it shall chance that the French King will give him any Pension, entertainment, or reward at his being there for the time he tarrieth there, he shall receive it, and thank His Majesty for it, and shall serve when he shall be appointed. Nevertheless, when he is out of the Court he shall be most conversant with Mr.* Pickering *.

* Afterwards Knighted, and supposed Suiter to Q. *Eliz.*

2. *And at his setting forth shall carry with him four Servants, and if the wages amount to any great summe (more than I give him) that the French King giveth him, to live there after that proportion, advertising Me of the same.*

3. *Also all this Winter he shall study the Tongue, and see the manner of the Court, and advertise Me of the occurrences he shall hear, and if he be desirous to see any place Notable, or Town, he may goe thither, asking leave of the King. And shall behave himself honestly, more following the company of* Gentlemen, *than pressing into the company of the* Ladies *there, and his chief pastime shall be Hunting and Riding.*

4. *Also his Apparell he shall wear it so fine as shall be comely, and not much superfluous. And the next Sommer, when either the King goeth or sendeth any man of name into the Warres to be His Lieutenant, or to lead an Army, he shall desire to goe thither, and either himself, or else shall will Mr.* Pickering *to declare to the French King, how he thinketh not himself to have fully satisfied nor recompensed neither His Majesties good entertainment nor Mine expectation who had sent him over if he should return, having so delicately and idlely almost spent the time, without he did at this time of service be desirous to goe himself into the Warres, by the which thing he might at this time doe His Majesty service, and also learn to doe Me service hereafter; yea, and His Majesty to if the case so required. And therefore seeing this Nobleman shall now goe that his request is to have leave to goe with him.*

5. *Having said this to the French King, he shall depart into the Warres, waiting on this Nobleman that shall be sent, and there he shall mark the divers fortifications of places, and advantages that the enemy may take, and the ordering and conduct of the Armies. As also the fashion of the skirmishes, battles, and assaults, and the plats of the chief Towns where any enterprises of weight have been done, he shall cause to be set out in black and white, or otherwise, as he may and shall send them hither to Me, with advertisement of such things as have passed.*

6. *Furthermore, he shall at all times when he taketh money advertise Me of it, and I shall send him. And so the next year being well spent, upon further advertisement, and taking leave of the French King, he shall return.*

7. *And if there arise or grow any doubt in any matter hereafter, in the which he shall need advise: he shall advertise by the Post, and shall have Answer thereof.* Ann. Dom. 1552. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6.

This *Barnaby Fitz Patrick*, after his return out of *France*, was created by the King, Baron of *upper Ossery* in *Ireland*, and died a most excellent Protestant, as hereafter we shall shew in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Little Church-work in this Parliament.

48. On the 15th of *April*, the Parliament ended which had sate *three Moneths* at *Westminster*, though therein nothing of *Church matters* determined, save a *Penalty* imposed on such who should *strike* or *draw weapon* in *Church*, or *Church-yard*, with the *abolishing* of the generall Holy daies of S. *Mary Magdalen*, and S. *George*: yet so, that it should be lawfull for the latter to be *solemnly celebrated* by the Knights of the Right honourable Order of the Garter. The Orders of which Order were about this time reformed and purged from some antient superstitions. April 15.

An ill presage: Bishop *Godwins* Annals in this year.

49. *Six* k *Dolphins* were taken in the *Thames* (*three* neer *Quinborough*, and *three* above *Greenwich*, where the *Thames* is scarce tainted with brackishnesse) in so much that many grave men dispensed with their wisdome, and beheld them with wonder, as not seen before on our shores. A fish much loving man and musick, swifter than all other fishes, and birds too: yea, than the Swallow it self (if *Pliny* say true) though all their celerity besteaded them not here to escape the nets of the fisher-men. Their coming up so farre was beheld by Mariners as a presage of fowl weather at Sea; but by States-men, as a prodigious *omen* of some tempestuous mutations in our Land. And particularly, they suspected the *Kings death*, though for the present He was very pleasant and merry in His progresse about the Countrey, as by his ensuing Letter to His former favourite, written in the next *August*, doth appear.

k *Nat. Hist. l. 9. cap. 8.*

Aug. 12.

EDWARD.

THE cause why we have not hitherto written unto you have partly been the lack of a convenient Messenger, partly because we meant to have some thing worthy writing ere We would write any thing. And therefore being now almost in the midst of Our journey which We have undertaken this Sommer, We have thought good to advertise, now since Our last Letters dated at Greenwich, *We departed from thence towards a thing farre contrary to that wherein as We perceive by your diligent advertisement you and all the Countrey you are in are occupied; for whereas you all have been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in painfull journeys, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, and divers assaults; We have been occupied in killing of wilde Beasts, in pleasant journeys, in good fare, in viewing of faire Countreys, and rather have sought how to fortifie Our own, than to spoil another mans. And being this determined came to* Gilford, *from thence to* Petworth, *and so to* Coudray (*a goodly House of Sir* Anthony Brownes) *where we were*

mar-

Ann. Dom. 1551. Ann. Reg. Ed. 6. 6.

marvellously, yea rather excessively banquetted. From thence *We* went to Halvenaker (*a pretty House besides* Chichester.) *From thence We went to* Warblington (*a faire House of Sir* Richard Cottons.) *And so to* Walthan (*a faire great old House, in times past the Bishop of* Winchesters, *and now my Lord Treasurers house.*) *In all these places, We had both good hunting, and good cheer. From thence we went to* Portsmouth *Town, and there viewed not onely the Town it selfe and the Haven, but also divers Bulwarks, as* Chatertons, Waselford, *with other; in viewing of which We finde the Bulwarks chargeable, massey, well rampared, but ill-fashioned, ill-flanked, and set in unmeet places, the Town weak in comparison of that it ought to be, too huge great (for within the Walls are faire and large Closes, and much vacant room) the Haven notable great, and standing by nature easie to be fortified. And for the more strength thereof We have devised two strong Castles on either side of the Haven at the mouth thereof: For at the mouth the Haven is not past ten score over, but in the middle almost a mile over, and in length for a mile and a half able to beare the greatest ship in Christendome. From thence We went to* Tichfield (*the Earl of* South-Hampton's *House*) *and so to* South-Hampton *Town. The Citizens had bestowed for Our coming great cost in painting, repairing, and rampairing of their Walls. The Town is handsome, and for the bignesse of it as fair houses as be at* London. *The Citizens made great cheer, and many of them kept costly tables. From* South-Hampton *we came to* Bewly *a little Village in the middle of the new Forrest, and so to* Christ-Church (*another little Town in the same Forrest*) *where We now be. And having advertised you of all this, We thinke it not good to trouble you any farther with news of this Countrey, but onely that at this time the most part of* England (*thanks be to God*) *is clear of any dangerous or infectious sickenesse. We have received all your Letters of the* 26 *of* May, *of the* 19 *of* June, *and the first of* August. *Thus fare you well.*

From *Christ-Church* the 22 of *August.*

A threefold division of Bishops.

But leaving the *King* in His *Progresse*, we come to behold the *Bishops* in their *Visitations*, and finde them divided into three sorts:

1. *Zealous Protestants*, as Archbishop *Cranmer*, Bishop *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Farrer*.

Zealous Papists, as *Gardner*, *Tunstall*, *Bonner*: which three alone, were deprived of their Bishopricks, and confined.

3. *Papists* in *heart*, but outwardly conforming to the *Kings Lawes*, as *Heath* Archbishop of *York*, and many other *Bishops*.

Here it is worthy our inquiry why this latter sort, which so complied under King *Edward the sixt*, should be so stubborn and obstinate under Queen *Elizabeth*, whereof I can give but this reason assigned: That growing older and nearer their graves, they grew more conscientious and faithfull to their own (though erroneous) principles, it being in vain to dissemble now death did approach, though their younger years had been guilty of such prevarications.

Ann. Dom 1552

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SECTION

SECTION II.

DIGNISSIMO VIRO

CAROLO CHENEY

De Comitatu *BUCK*: Armigero,

Mecœnati ſuo munificentiſſimo.

ETHELSTANUS, Saxonum Monarcha, decreto ſanxivit, *ſi* maſſere aſcenderet, ut ter*, Magnum mare *transfretaret, per proprium negotium ſuum, fuit deinde* TAINI *dignus rectitudine.* In qua lege enucleanda, mihi aliquantillum immorandum; quum licet tibi (ut alia omnia) expedita, aliis forſitan aliquid nodi ei ſubeſſe videatur.

* *Regius Codex fol.* 143. *col.* 4. *Spelmanni Concilia, p.* 406.

1. *Maſſere*) Mercatorem deſignari in confeſſo eſt.

2. *Magnum mare*) Mediterraneum intenditur, quo nomine Sacræ Scripturæ * ſepiùs innoteſcit.

*Num. 34. 6. Joſh. 1. 4. & 15. 12.

3. *Proprium negotium*) quâ clauſulâ excluditur ſervile genus, (FACTORES dicimus) qui non ſui juris, ſed Dominis rationem reddituri.

4. *Taini*)

4. *Taini*) intelligimus melioris notæ Generosum.

5. *Dignus rectitudine*) Olet hoc sæculi barbariem.

Sed his verbis voluit Rex, ut censeatur *Iso-Tainus*, atq; eundem honoris gradum sortiatur.

Quod si, Vir clarissime, illi seculo tanta contigisset felicitas, ut tu tunc temporis vixisses, quibus titulis te decorandum Rex ille censuisset? qui, ortu tuo Nobilis, *Mare parvum, medium, magnum, omnia*, (multis aquarum terrarumque montibus superatis) transivisti. Idq; non turpis *lucri* causa, ut *navem mercibus*; sed *scientiæ* ergo, *ut mentem dotibus* instructam reportares.

Te igitur in ipsissimo Libri mei *umbilico* (quantum paginas *scriptas*, nondum *impressas*, æstimare potui) collocandum curavi, eo consilio, quo provida *natura Soli* inter *Planetas medium locum* assignavit, ut ex æquo, utrinque totum opus nomine tuo illustraretur.

Deus Te, tuamque *Conjugem* (non magis natalium *splendore*, quam propriis *virtutibus* spectabilem) eousque protegat, dum in dubium venerit, longiorve an beatior vestra vita sit reputanda.

Ann. Dom. 1552. Ann. R. E. Ed. 6. 6. June 10.

LAtely information was given to the Kings Councell, that much coſtly furniture, which was embezelled, might very ſeaſonably (ſuch the Kings preſent occaſions) and profitably be recovered. For, private mens halls were hung with *Altar-cloathes*; their tables and beds, covered with *copes*, inſtead of carpets, and coverlets. Many drank at their daily meals in *chalices*; and no wonder, if in proportion it came to the ſhare of their horſes to be watered in rich *coffins* of marble. And, as if firſt laying of hands upon them were ſufficient title unto them, *ſeizing on them* was generally the price they had payed for them. Now, although four years were elapſed, ſince the deſtruction of Colledges & Chanteries, and much of the beſt Church ornaments was tranſported beyond the Seas, yet the Privie Councel thought, this very gleaning in the ſtubble, would richly be worth the while, and that, on ſtrict inquiſition, they ſhould retrive much plate in *ſpecie*, and more money for moderate fines of offenders herein. Beſides, whereas Pariſh Churches had ſtill many rich Ornaments left in the cuſtody of their *Wardens*, they reſolved to convert, what was *ſuperfluous*, or *ſuperſtitious*, to the Kings uſe. To which purpoſe, Commiſſions were iſſued out, to ſome ſelect perſons in every County, according to the * tenour following:

Commiſſioners ſent to enquire about Church-Ornaments.

Inſtructions given by the King's Majeſtie to His right truſty and right welbeloved Couſin and Counſellour the Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, and to the reſt of His Highneſs Comiſsioners appointed for the Survey of Church-goods within His Majeſties County of *Northampton*.

EDVVARD.

FIrſt, *Upon the receipt of the ſame Commiſſion by any one of the ſame Commiſsioners, he that ſo ſhall firſt receive the Commiſsion, ſhall forthwith with all convenient ſpeed, give knowledge to the reſt named in the ſame Comiſsion, and with them ſhall agree to meet and aſſemble with that ſpeed they can for the execution of the ſame Commiſsion and theſe Inſtructions. And if any of the ſaid Commiſsioners ſhall be dead, ſick, or otherwiſe, be ſo abſent out of the Countrey for the ſervice of the King, that he cannot with ſpeed attend the ſame in that caſe; The reſt of the ſame Commiſsioners, ſo that they be to the Number appointed, by the Commiſsion, ſhall not make any delay from the proceeding in the ſame Commiſsion, but ſhall forthwith allot their ſittings, Aſſemblies and meetings for the ſame Commiſsion, as in like caſes hath been, or ſhall be meet to be uſed.*

Item, *For their better and more certain proceeding, the ſaid Commiſsioners ſhall in ſuch caſes, where none of the Commiſsioners be* Cuſtos Rotulorum *of that County, ne hath been ſince the beginning of Our Reign, command the ſaid* Cuſtos Rotulorum, *or their Deputy, or the Clerk of the Peax of theſe parts, to bring or ſend unto them ſuch Books, Regiſters, and Inventories, as hath heretofore any wiſe come to their hands, by Indenture, touching the Summes, Numbers and Values of any Goods, Plate, Iewels, Veſtments, and Bells, or Ornaments of any Churches, Chappels, and ſuch like. And likewiſe the ſaid Commiſsioners ſhall ſend to the Biſhops of every Dioceſe wherein the ſaid County is Situate, or to their Chancellours, Commiſſaries, or other Eccleſiaſticall Officers in whoſe hands, or cuſtody, the like of the aforeſaid Inventories and Regiſters have command of them, and every of them, They ſhall receive and take the ſaid Books, Regiſters, and Inventories. And that done, the ſaid Commiſsioners ſhall compare both the ſame Inventories, (that is*

* The originall under the King's hand was lent me by Mr. *Thomas Treſham* late of *Giddington* in *Northampton-ſhire.*

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to say) as well such as they shall receive and take of the Custos Rotulorum, or their Deputy, or the Clerk of the Peax, as of the Bishops, or other under-Officers, and according to the best, richest, and greatest Inventories of the said Commissioners shall proceed to make their survey and enquirie. And by the same make the searches of the defaults and wants that shall be found. And generally the same Commissioners shall not onely by the view of the said Registers and Inventories, but also by any other means they can better devise, proceed to the due search and inquisition of the wants and defaults of any part of the said Goods, Plate, Iewels, Vestments, Bells, or Ornaments.

Item, For the more speedy obtaining of the said Registers and Inventories, the said Commissioners shall receive speciall Letters of commandement from our Privie Councell for the deliverie thereof, which Letters the said Commissioners shall deliver as they shall see occasion.

Item, The said Commissioners shall upon their view, and survey taken, cause due Inventories to be made by Bills or Books indented, of all manner of Goods, Plate, Iewels, Bells, and Ornaments, as yet remaining, or anywise forth coming, and belonging to any Churches, Chappels, Fraternities, or Gilds, and the one part of the same Inventories to send and return to Our Privie Councell, and the other to deliver to them in whose hands the said Goods, Plate, Iewels, Bells, and Ornaments shall remain to be kept preserved. And they shall also give good charge and order that the same goods and every part thereof be at all times forth coming to be answered, leaving nevertheless in every Parish Church or Chappell of common resort, one, two, or more Chalices or Cups, according to the multitude of the People in every such Church or Chappell, and also such other Ornaments as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine Service in every such place for the time.

And, because We be informed, that in many places great quantities of the said Plate, Iewels, Bells, and Ornaments be imbecilled by certain private men contrary to Our expresse commandements in that behalf; The said Commissioners shall substantially and justly enquire and attain the knowledge thereof; by whose default the same is, and hath been, and in whose hands any part of the same is come. And in that point the said Commissioners shall have good regard, that they attain to certain names, and dwelling-places of every person and persons, that hath sold, alienated, imbezilled, taken or carried away, and of such also as have councelled, advised, and commanded any part of the said Goods, Plate, Iewels, Bells, Vestments, and Ornaments to be taken or carried away, or otherwise imbezilled. And these things they shall as certainly and duly as they can cause to be searched and understand.

Upon a full search and enquiry whereof, The said Commissioners, four or three of them shall cause to be called before them. Also the persons by whom any of the said Goods, Plate, Iewels, Bells, Ornaments, or any other the premisses, have been alienated, embezilled, or taken away, or by whose means or procurement the same, or any part thereof hath been attempted, or to whose hands or use any of the same or any profit for the same hath grown. And by such means as to their discretions shall seem best, cause them to bring into their the said Commissioners hands to Our use the said Plate, Iewels, Bells, and other the premisses so alienated, or the true and just value thereof, certifying unto Our Privie Councell the names of all such as refuse to stand to, or obey their Order touching the re-delivery, and restitution of the same, or the just value thereof. To the intent that as cause and reason shall require, every man may answer to his doings in this behalf.

Finally, Our pleasure is, that the said Commissioners in all their doings shall use such sober and discreet manner of proceeding as the effect of this Commission may goe forward with as much quiet and as little occasion of trouble or disquiet of the multitude as may be, using to that end, such wise per-

swasions

Ann. Dom. 1552. Ann. Reg. Ed 6. 6.

ſwaſions in all places of their Seſions as in reſpect of the place, and diſpoſition of the People may ſeem to their wiſdomes moſt expedient. Giving alſo good and ſubſtantiall order for the ſtay of the inordinate and greedy covetouſneſſe of ſuch diſordered people, as have or ſhall goe about the alienating of any the premiſſes, So as according to reaſon, and order ſuch as have, or ſhall contemptuouſly offend in this behalf may receive reformation, as for the quality of their doings ſhall be requiſite.

In purſuance of theſe their *Inſtructions*, the Kings Commiſſioners in their reſpective *Counties*, recovered much, and diſcovered more of Church-wealth and Ornaments: For, ſome were utterly imbeziled by perſons not *reſponſible*, and there *the King muſt loſe his right*. More were concealed by parties not *detectable*, ſo cunningly they carried their ſtealths, ſeeing every one who had *nimmed* a *Church-Bell*, did not *ring it out* for all to hear the ſound thereof. Many potent perſons well known to have ſuch goods, ſhufled it out with their greatneſſe, mutually connived at therein, by their equalls, fellow-offenders in the ſame kinde. However, the Commiſſioners regained more than they expected, conſidering the diſtance of time, and the *cold ſcent* they followed ſo many years after the *Diſſolution*. This Plate, and other Church-Utenſils, were ſold, and advanced much money to the Exchequer. An *Authour telleth us, That (amongſt many which they found) they left but *one ſilver Chalice* to every Church, too narrow a proportion to populous Pariſhes, where they might have left *two* at the leaſt, ſeeing for expedition-ſake, at great Sacraments, the Miniſter at once delivereth the *wine* to two *Communicants*. But they conceived one *Cup* enough for a ſmall Pariſh, and that greater and richer were eaſily able to purchaſe more to themſelves.

* Sir *John Hayward.*

2. All this *Income* rather ſtayed the ſtomack, than ſatisfied the hunger of the Kings Exchequer: For the allaying whereof, the Parliament, now ſitting, conferred on the Crown, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. This may be called the *Engliſh Herbipolis*, or *Wirtz-burge*, it being true of both,

Dunelmia ſola, judicat Enſe & Stola.

Durham Biſhoprick diſſolved.

The *Biſhop* whereof was a *Palatine*, or Secular Prince, and his *Seal* in form reſembleth *Royalty* in the *Roundneſſe* thereof, and is not *Oval*, the badge of plain *Epiſcopacy*. Rich, and entire the *revennes* of this See, ſuch as alone would make a conſiderable addition to the Crown, remote the ſcituation thereof, out of *Southern ſight*, and therefore, if diſſolved, the ſooner out of mens mindes. Beſides, *Cuthbert Tunſtall* the preſent *Biſhop of Durham*, was in durance, and deprived for his obſtinacy, ſo that ſo ſtubborn a Biſhop gave * *the State* the fairer quarrell with ſo rich a *Biſhoprick*, now annexed to the Kings revenue.

* yet the Duke of *Northumberland*, either was, or was to be poſſeſſour thereof.

3. Well it was for this *See*, (though diſſolved) that the *lands* thereof were not diſperſed by ſale unto ſeverall perſons, but preſerved whole and entire (as to the main) in the *Crown*. Had ſuch a diſſipation of the parts thereof been made, no leſſe than a *State-miracle* had been requiſite for the recollection thereof. Whereas now within two years after, Queen *Mary* reſtored *Tunſtall* to this *Biſhoprick*, and this Biſhoprick to it ſelf, re-ſetling all the lands on the ſame.

Afterwards reſtored by Qu. *Mary*.

4. By this time, ſuch Learned men as were employed by the King, to reform the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, had brought their work to ſome competent perfection. Let me enlarge my ſelf on this ſubject of concernment, for the Readers ſatisfaction. When the Pope had ingroſſed to his Courts the cognizance of all *cauſes*, which either looked, glanced, or pointed in the leaſt degree, at what was reduceable to Religion, he multiplied Laws, to magnifie himſelf: Whoſe principal deſigne therein, was not to make others *good*, but himſelf *great*; not ſo much to direct, and defend the good, to reſtrain and puniſh the bad, as to enſnare and entangle both. For, ſuch the number of their *Clementines*, *Sextines*, *Intra-* & *Extravagants*, *Provincialls*, *Synodalls*, *Gloſſes*, *Sentences*, *Chapters*, *Summaries*, *Reſcripts*, *Breviaries*, *long* and *ſhort Caſes*, *&c.* that none could carry themſelves ſo cautiouſly, but would be rendred obnoxious, and caught within the compaſſe

A wood, rather a wilderneſſe, of the Popes Canons.

of offending. Though the best was, for money they might buy the Popes pardon, and thereby their own innocence.

Two and thirty Regulatours of the Canon-Law.

5. Hereupon, when the Popes power was banished out of *England*, his Canon-Law, with the numerous Books and branches thereof, lost its authority in the Kings Dominions. Yet, because some gold must be presumed amongst so much drosse, grain amongst so much chaffe, it was thought fit, that so much of the Canon-Law should remain as was found conformable to the Word of God, and Laws of the Land. And therefore King *Henry the eighth* was impowred by Act of Parliament, to elect two and thirty able persons, to reform the Ecclesiastical Laws, though in His Reign very little to good purpose was performed therein.

Contracted to eight by King *Edward* the 6.

6. But the designe was more effectually followed in the daies of King *Edward the sixth*, reducing the number of two and thirty to eight, thus mentioned in His Letters-Patents dated at *Westminster*, the last year, *Novemb:* 11.

Bishops { *Thomas Cranmer*, of *Canterbury*. / *Thomas Goodrich*, of *Elie*. } Divines { *Peter Martyr*. / *Richard Cox*. }

Civilians, and Canonists { Dr. *William May*. / Dr. *Rowland Taylor*, of *Hadley*. } Common Lawyers { *John Lucas*. / *Rich: Goodrick* } Esquires.

It was not onely convenient, but necessary, that *Common-Lawyers* should share in making these *Church Constitutions*, because the same were to be built, not onely sure in themselves, but also symmetricall to the Municipall Lawes of the Land. These Eight had power by the Kings Patents, to call in to their assistance what persons they pleased, and are said to have used the pens of Sir *John Cheeke*, and *Walter Haddon*, Dr. in Law, to turn their Lawes into Latine.

Laws no Laws not stamped with Royall Authority.

7. However, these had onely a *preparing*, no *concluding* power; so that, when they had ended their work, two things were wanting, to make these *Ecclesiastical Canons* (thus by them composed) have the validity of Laws. First, an exact review of them by others, to amend the mistakes therein. As where * they call the *Common-Prayer-Book* then used in *England*, *proprium & perfectum omnis divini cultus judicem, & magistrum*: a title truly belonging onely to the Scripture. Secondly, a Royall ratification thereunto; which this King, prevented by death, nor any of His Successours ever stamped upon it. Indeed, I finde in an * Author, (whom I am half-ashamed to alledge) that *Doctor* Haddon *Anno* 12 *or* 13 Elizabeth, *delivered in Parliament a Latine Book, concerning Church-Discipline, written in the daies of King* Edward *the sixt, by Mr.* Cranmer, *Sir* John Cheek, *&c.* which could be no other than this lately mentioned. *Which Book was committed by the House, unto the said Mr.* Haddon, *Mr.* George Bromley, *Mr.* Norton, *&c. to be translated*, I conceive into English again, and never after can I recover any mention thereof, save that some thirteen years since * it was printed in *London*.

* *Titulo de Divinis Officiis, cap. 6.*

* John Pearl, at the end of his Preface to his Book, intituled, [Reformation no enemy to Her Majesty.]

* *Anno* 1640. A silent Convocation.

8. A Parliament was called in the last of this Kings Reign, wherein no Church-matter was medled with, save that therein a Subsidie, granted by the Clergy, was confirmed. Such moneys being the *Legacie of course*, which all Parliaments (fairly coming to a peaceable end) bequeath to their Sovereign. As for the *Records* of this *Convocation*, they are but one degree above *blanks*, scarce affording the names of the Clerks assembled therein. Indeed, they had no Commission from the King to meddle with Church-businesse, and every *Convocation* in it self, is born deaf, and dumb, so that it can neither hear complaints in Religion, nor speak in the redresse thereof, till first *Ephata, be thou opened*, be pronounced unto it by Commission from Royall Authority.

The true reason thereof.

9. Now, the true reason why the King would not intrust the diffusive body of the Convocation, with a power to meddle with matters of Religion, was a just jealousie

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jealouſie which He had of the ill affection of the major part thereof: who under the *fair rinde* of Proteſtant profeſſion, had the *rotten core* of Romiſh ſuperſtition. It was therefore conceived ſafer for the King to relie on the ability and fidelity of ſome ſelect *Confidents*, cordiall to the cauſe of Religion; than to adventure the ſame to be diſcuſſed, and decided by a ſuſpitious *Convocation*.

10. However, this barren Convocation is intituled *the parent of thoſe Articles of Religion*, (*fourty two* in number) which are printed with this Preface, *Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinenſi, Anno Domini* 1552. *inter Epiſcopos, & alios eruditos viros convenerat.* With theſe was bound a *Catechiſme*, younger in age (as bearing date of the next year) but of the ſame extraction, relating to this Convocation, as authour thereof. Indeed, it was firſt compiled (as appears by the Kings Patent prefix'd) by a ſingle Divine, (* charactred *pious and learned*) but afterwards *peruſed and allowed by the Biſhops, and other learned men*, (underſtand it, the Convocation) *and by Royall Authority commended to all Subjects, commanded to all School Maſters to teach it their Scholars.*

Forty two Articles of Religion, and the Kings Catechiſme.

* *à pio quodam & erudito viro conſcripta*, in the Kings Patent.

11. Yet very few in the *Convocation* ever ſaw it, much leſſe, explicitly conſented thereunto: but theſe had formerly (it ſeems) paſſed over their power (I ſhould be thankfull to him, who would produce the originall inſtrument thereof) to the ſelect Divines appointed by the King, in which ſenſe they may be ſaid to have done it themſelves by their Delegates, to whom they had deputed their authority. A caſe not ſo clear but that it occaſioned a cavill at the next *Convocation* in the firſt of * Queen *Mary*, when the *Papiſts* therein aſſembled, renounced the legality of any ſuch former tranſactions.

Conſented, and not conſented to by the Convocation.

* See more thereof in the next year.

July 6.

Pretious King *Edward the ſixt* now changed his Crown of Gold for one of Glory: we will ſomething enlarge our ſelves, to give poſterity His true Character, never meeting more virtues in ſo few years. For His Birth, there goeth a conſtant tradition, that *Cæſar*-like, He was cut out of the belly of His Mother, *Jane Seymour*: though a great perſon of Honour, (deriving her Intelligence mediately from ſuch as were preſent at Her Labour) aſſured me of the contrary. Indeed, ſuch as ſhall read the calm, and ſerene ſtyle of that Letter, which I have ſeen written, (though not by) for that Queen, and ſigned with Her own Signet after Her delivery, cannot conjecture thence, that any ſuch violence was offered unto Her. But ſee the Letter.

The death of K. *Edward* the ſixt, who was not cut out of His Mothers belly, as is commonly reported.

Queen *Janes* Letter after Her Delivery to the Lords of the Councell.

RIght truſty and welbeloved, We greet you well; and foraſmuch as by the ineſtimable goodneſſe, and grace of Almighty God, We be delivered and brought in Childe-bed of a PRINCE, conceived in moſt lawfull Matrimony, between my Lord the Kings Majeſtie, and Us. Doubting not, but that for the love and affection which you bear unto Us, and to the Common-wealth of this Realm, this knowledge ſhall be joyous, and glad tidings unto you: We have thought good to certifie you of this ſame: To the intent ye might not onely render unto God condigne thanks and praiſe for ſo great a benefice, but alſo continually pray for the long continuance, and preſervation of the ſame here in this

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life, to the honour of God, joy, and pleasure of my Lord the KING and Us, and the universall weal, quiet, and tranquility of this whole Realm.

¶ [a] Given under our Signet at my Lords Manour of *Hampton-Court*, the 22 day of *October*.

a Extant in Sir Tho. Cottons Library, sub Ner. cap. 10.

And although this Letter was soon after seconded with [b] another of a sadder subject, here inserted, subscribed by all the Kings *Physitians*; yet neither doth that so much as insinuate any impression of violence on Her person, as hastening Her death, but seems rather to cast the cause thereof on some other distemper.

b Extant, *ibid.*

A sadder Letter of Her Physitians unto them.

THese shall be to advise your Lordships of the Queens estate: Yesterday afternoon She had a natural Lax, by reason whereof She began to lighten, and (as it appeared) to amend, and so continued till towards night. All this night She hath been very sick, and doth rather appare, than amend. Her Confessour hath been with Her Grace this morning, and hath done that to his office appertaineth, and even now is preparing to minister to Her Grace the Sacrament of Unction.

¶ At *Hampton-Court* this Wednesday morning at eight a clock.

Your Lordships at Commandement,

Thomas Cutland. ℭ John Chambers, *Priest.*
Robert Karhold. ℭ William Butts.
Edward Bayntam. ℭ George Owen.

Impute we here this *Extreme Unction* administred to Her, partly to the over-officiousness of some superstitious *Priest*, partly, to the good *Ladies* inability; perchance insensible what was done unto her, in such extremity: otherwise we are confident, that Her judgment, when in strength, and health, disliked such practices, being a zealous *Protestant*. Which *Unction* did her as little good, as the *twelve Masses* said for Her *soul* in the City of *London*, at the Commandement of the *Duke* of *Norfolk*; whether he did it to credit their Religion with the countenance of so great a *Convert*, or did it out of the Nimiety of his own Love and Loyaltie to the *Queen*, expressing it according to his own judgment, without the consent, (if not against the will) of the *Queens* nearest *kindred*.

Prince Edw. towardliness in learning.

12. But leaving the *Mother*, let us come to the *Son*, who, as he saith of himself in the *Manuscript* of His Life, was for the first six years bred and brought up amongst the *Women*, and then consigned to masculine Tuition under Doctor *Richard Cox*, and Sir *John Cheeke*, who taught Him *Latine*; and *John Belmain*, who instructed Him in the *French Tongue*. How great and sudden His proficiency in Learning was, will appear by this *Letter*, written with His own hand to His *Father*, when about *eight years* old. And although some may cavill this *Letter* not to be the *Princes*, but *Cheeke*'s or *Cox*'s in the *Prince*, yet the very matter and style will attest it the genuine Issue of His *infant-Genius*.

Literæ

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Literæ meæ semper habent unum Argumentum, Rex Nobilissime, atq; Pater Illustrissime, id est, in omnibus Epistolis ago tibi gratias pro beneficentia tua erga me maxima; si enim sæpius multò ad te literas exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo potui pervenire officio literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirum nullus qui non est tam magnus Rex ac nobilis Princeps, ac tu es, cujusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem Pietas tua in me, multo gratior est mihi, quod facis mihi, quæ nullo modo compensare possim, sed tamen adnitar, & faciam quod in me est, ut placeam Majestati, atque præcabor Deum, ut diù te servet incolumem. Vale Rex Nobilissime atque Pater Illustrissime.

His Letter to his King-Father. e See it in Sir Tho. Cotton's Libr.

Hatfeldiæ, vicesimo septimo Septemb:

Majestati tuæ observantissimus Filius,
EDWARDUS Princeps.

With the increase of His Age, His Writing was improved, both in the Letter, Matter, and Phrase thereof, as appeareth by what He wrote in Latine some moneths after, to His Mother-in-Law, Queen *Katherine Parre*; in thankfulnesse for the *New-yeares-gift* (the *Kings* and Her own *Picture*) She had sent unto Him; One may charitably believe that so Learned a Lady, understood the Letter without an Interpreter; but sure it is, She communicated the same to the King, who joyfully accepted thereof.

Another to Qu. *Katharine Parre.*

d *Quod non ad te jamdiu scripserim Regina illustrissima, atque Mater charissima, in causa fuit, non negligentia, sed studium.*

d in Sir Tho. Cotton's Library, whence I transcribed it.

Non enim hoc feci, ut numquam omnino scriberem, sed ut accuratiùs scriberem. Quare spero te futuram contentam & gavisuram, quod non scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni honestate & Pietate, quod est signum insignis & diuturni tui Amoris erga me, atque hunc amorem multis beneficiis mihi declarasti, & præcipuè hac strena, quam proximè ad me misisti, in qua Regiæ Majestatis, & tua effigies ad vivum expressa continetur. Nam plurimum me delectat vestras Imagines Abscentium contemplari, quos lubentissimè

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ſimè videre cupio præſentes, ac quibus maximè tum Naturâ, tum Officio devinctus ſum. Quamobrem majores tibi gratias ago, ob hanc ſtrenam, quàm ſi miſiſſes ad me precioſas veſtes, & Aurum cælatum, aut quidvis aliud Eximium. Deus tuam Celſitudinem, quam me brevi viſurum ſpero, ſervet incolumem.

Hartfordiæ,
decimo Januarii.

Filius Celſitudini tuæ
obſequentiſsimus,
EDVARDUS Princeps.

A Letter to the Earle of *Hartford.*

Now our hand is in, but one Letter more (but in date ſome moneths before the laſt) to His Unckle, Earl of *Hartford*, and we have done. For if Papiſts ſuperſtitiouſly preſerve the Fingers, Teeth, yea Locks of Haire of their pretended Saints; wonder not if I prize the ſmalleſt Reliques of this gracious Prince, never as yet preſented to publique view.

NAtura movet me ut recorder tui Avuncule Chariſſime, etſi negotia tua impediunt te ne videas me, ideo de literas ad te, quæ literæ forent teſtimonium Recordationis meæ, quam habeo de te. Quòd ſi haberem ullum melius monumentum Benevolentiæ meæ erga te, quam literæ ſunt, illud ad te mitterem. Puto autem te acceptarum literas meas bene non pro bonitate literarum, ſed pro Benevolentia ſcriptoris. Et tu non erus adeo lætus in accipiendis literis à me, ut ego gaudebo, ſi intellexero te in bonam partem accepiſſe illas, quod puto te facturum. Optimè valeas in Chriſto Jeſu.

Hunſdoniæ,
octavo Novemb: E. Princeps.

An inſtance of His piety.

Such was the Piety of this young Prince, that being about to take down ſomething, which was above his reach, one of His *Play-fellows* proffered Him a boſſed-plated *Bible* to ſtand upon, and heighten Him to take what He deſired. Perceiving it a *Bible*, with holy Indignation, He refuſed it, and ſharply reproved the Offerer thereof; it being unfit, He ſhould trample that under His *feet*, which He was to treaſure up in His *head* and *heart*. How many now adaies, unable in themſelves to atchieve their own wicked ends, make Gods Word their *Pedeſtall*, that ſtanding thereon, they may be (not the *holier*, but) the *higher*, and the *better advantaged*, by abuſing a *piety*, to attain their own *deſignes*.

And an extraordinary one of the prevalency of His Prayer.

13. When *Crowned King*, His *goodneſſe* increaſed with His *greatneſſe*, conſtant in His *private devotions*, and as *ſucceſſfull*, as *fervent* therein, witneſſe this particular: Sir *John Cheeke*, His *School-Maſter*, fell deſperately ſick; of whoſe condition

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tion the *King* carefully enquired every day: At last his *Physitians* told Him, That *there was no hope of his life, being given over by them for a dead man. No*, saith King *Edward*, *he will not die at this time, for this morning I begg'd his life from God in my Prayers, and obtained it:* which accordingly came to passe; and he soon after, against all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This was attested by the old Earle of *Huntingdon*, bred up in his Childhood with King *Edward*, unto Sir *Thomas Cheeke*, still surviving about 80 years of age.

His exact Diary.

14. He kept an exact Account, written with His own hand, (and that a very Legible one) of all Memorable accidents, with the accurate Date thereof. No high Honour was conferred, Bishoprick bestowed, State-Office disposed of, no old Fort repaired, no new one erected, no Bullion brought in, no great Summes sent forth of the Land, no Ambassadours dispatched hence, none entertained here; in a word, no matter of moment transacted, but by Him, with His own hand it was recorded: Whose *Notes* herein, though very particular, are nothing triviall, though short, not obscure, as formerly we have made use of some of those which concern our History.

His good Archery and quick wit.

15. Whilst in health, His *body* was no lesse active in *exercise*, than His *minde* quick in *apprehension*. To give one Instance of both together. One day being shooting at *Butts*, (a manfull, and healthfull Pastime, wherein He very much delighted) He hit the very *mark*. The *Duke* of *Northumberland*, being present, (and, as I take it, *betting* on His Side) *Well shot my Liege*, quoth he. *But you shot nearer the mark*, (returned the King) *when you shot off my good Unkle* Somerset's *head*. And it is generally conceived that *grief* for his *death* caused K. *Edwards Consumption*, who succeeded not to any *Consumptive Inclination*, as hereditary from His Extraction, from a Father but little past, and a Mother just in the strength of Their Age.

An uncertain report.

16. However, I finde in a * *Popish Writer*, that it was said, That *the Apothecary who poisoned him, (for the horrour of the offence, and the disquietnesse of his conscience) drowned himself. And that the Landresse who washed His shirt, lost the skin off her fingers.* But if his *History* be no better than his *Divinity*, we that justly *condemn* the *one*, can doe no lesse than *suspect* the *other*.

* Image of both Churches, page 423.

The Prayer of K. *Edward* on his death-bed.

17. We will conclude this Kings most *Pious life* with that His most *devout Prayer* on His Death-Bed, which God heard and graciously answered, for the *good* of the *Church of England*.

d Fox Acts & Mon. p. 1395.

d LOrd God, deliver Me out of this miserable, and wretched life, and take Me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosens sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. Oh my Lord God, blesse thy people, and save thine inheritance. Oh Lord God, save thy chosen People of *England*. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy holy Name, for Jesus Christs sake.

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Oppoſers of the Liturgie grow ſtrong. * *Latimers* Sermons, printed *Anno* 1607. pag. 83.

17. One of the laſt *Sermons* King *Edward* heard, was preached before Him by *Hugh Latimer*, at what time their party began to ſpread and increaſe, who oppoſed the *Liturgie*, witneſſe this paſſage in his *Sermon*: * *I have heard ſay, when that the good Queen that is gone, had ordained in her Houſe daily Prayer, both before Noon, and after Noon; the Admirall getteth him out of the way, like a Mole digging in the earth. He ſhall be* Lots *Wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard ſay, a Covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in* England. *He was, I heard ſay, an Ambitious man: I would there were no more in* England. *He was, I heard ſay, a Seditious man, a Contemner of Common-Prayer: I would there were no more in* England. *Well! he is gone, I would he had left none behinde him.* A paſſage ſo informative to the *Church-Hiſtory* of that Age, muſt not paſſe without ſome obſervation thereon.

The good Queen is gone:] this was Queen *Katharine Par*, (the Relict of King *Henry the eighth*) who ſome two years ſince died in Child-bed.

The Admirall:] This was *Thomas* Lord *Seymour* her Husband.

Getteth himſelf out of the way:] Here is the queſtion, on what terms he abſented himſelf, whether on

Popiſh,	or	*Non-Conformiſt.*
In proof whereof he is compared to *Lots Wife*, which importeth a looking back, and reflexion on former practiſe.		Being termed herein *Seditious*, and not *Superſtitious*; it intimates, that a factious Principle made him diſtaſt the Common-Prayer.

A Contemner of the Common Prayer, I wiſh there were no more:] This probably relates unto a potent Party diſaffected to the *Liturgie*, which now began to be very conſiderable in *England*, but (if the premiſſes be rightly collected) much too blame in the judgment of godly Maſter *Latimer*.

18. The *diſlikers* of the *Liturgie*, bare themſelves high upon the *judgment* of Maſter *Calvin*, in his *Letter* (four years ſince) to the Duke of *Somerſet* Lord Protectour, now no longer a *privacie*, becauſe publickly printed in his *Epiſtles*.

Mr. *Calvin's* 3 Reaſons for a ſet Form of Prayer. * *Libro Epiſt: pag.* 69.

And yet Maſter *Calvin* is therein very poſitive for a *ſet Forme*, whoſe words deſerve our *Tranſlation* and *obſervation*.

* *Formulam precum, & rituum Eccleſiaſticorum valde probo, ut certa illa extet.*	*I doe highly approve that there ſhould be a certain Form of Prayer and Eccleſiaſticall Rites.*
A quâ ne Paſtoribus diſcedere in functione ſua liceat.	*From which it ſhould not be lawfull for the Paſtors themſelves to diſcede.*
1. *Ut conſulatur quorundam ſimplicitati & imperitiæ.*	1. *That proviſion may be made for ſome peoples ignorance and unskilfulneſſe.*
2. *Ut certius conſtet omnium inter ſe Eccleſiarum conſenſus.*	2. *That the conſent of all Churches amongſt themſelves may the more plainly appear.*
3. *Ut obviam ineatur deſultoriæ quorundam levitati, qui novationes quaſdam affectant.*	3. *That order may be taken againſt the deſultorie levity of ſuch who delight in innovations.*
Sic igitur, ſtatum eſſe Catechiſmum oportet, ſtatam Sacramentorum adminiſtrationem, publicam item precum formulam.	*Thus there ought to be an eſtabliſhed Catechiſme, an eſtabliſhed Adminiſtration of Sacraments, as alſo a publick Form of Prayer.*

So

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So that it seems not *a Form*, but *this Form* of *Prayer* did displease, and exceptions were taken at certain passages still in the *Liturgie*, though lately reviewed by the *Bishops*, and corrected.

19. Whilst mutuall *animosities* were heightned betwixt the *Opposers* and *Assertors* of the *Liturgie*, Providence put a period for a time to that Controversie in *England*. Such who formerly *would not*, soon after *durst not* use the *Common-Prayer*, *Masse* and *Popery* being set up by Queen *Mary* in the room thereof. Thus when *Children fall out* and *fight* about the *candle*, the *Parents* comming in and taking it away, leave them to decide the differences in the *dark*.

Wanton frowardnesse justly punished.

The end of the Reign of King EDWARD *the sixt.*



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To the Right Honourable,

FRANCIS GREVILL,

BARON

BROKE

OF

BEAVTHAMPS-COVRT.

My Lord,

THere is a Generation of People in our Age called QUAKERS, which they disclaim as a Nick-name, though I see not how handsomely they can wave the Name, whilst they weare the thing, having contracted a Habit of QUAKING wherein they delight; Of their Practises no less Ridiculous then Erroneous, two most remarkable.

First, the casting off of their Cloaths, which, did it not more wound the Modesty of others, then their own, I could wish that their going naked might be their

Puniſhment for their going naked; *that what ſometimes they* affect *of* Fancy, *ſhould alwayes be* enjoyned them by Authority; *till the* Cold *converted them into more* Civility.

In vain do they plead for their Practiſe, *the* Precedent *of the* Prophet * Iſaiah, going naked for three years, *whoſe act was* extraordinary *and* myſtical, *having an immediate command from* God *for the ſame. As well may they in Imitation of* * Hoſea, take a known harlot to their wives, *which I beleeve they would not willingly do, though they have made* Harlots *of other* mens wives, *if all be true reported of them.*

* Iſaiah 20.3.

* Hoſea 1.2.

Their other Opinion is, that THOU *and* THEE *is the* Omer of Reſpect *to be meaſur'd out to every ſingle perſon; (allowing the* hieſt no more, *the* loweſt no leſs) *be he (to ſpeak in their own* * Phraſe) *either* King, Lord, Judge, *or* Officer.

* Pamphlet called the Language of truth. pag. 2.

We will take their words aſunder (as the wheels *of a* watch) *only* ſcowre *them, and then put them together again.*

Written 1648.9

King) *though none at this preſent in the Land, yet becauſe theſe pretend to a* Prophetical ſpirit, *and there may be one in due time, their words are conſiderable.*

Lord) *here your* Honour *with thoſe many perſons your* Peers *are concerned.*

Judge) *in this place the* ſhooe pinches them, *becauſe they* * *bear the* Sword *to puniſh* Offendors.

* Rom. 13.4.

Officers) *I ſuppoſe either* Civil *or* Military, *if they allow of the diſtinction.*

No mention here of Miniſters: *It ſeems* THOU *and* THEE, *is too good language for us, who are* Cains, *and* Balaams, *and* Dogs, *and* Devils *in their mouths. The beſt is, the* ſharpeſt railing *cannot pierce, where* Guiltineſs *in*

the

the perſon railed on, *hath not firſt* wimbled *an hole for the entrance thereof.*

Their Principall Argument *for their* Practice, *is drawn from many places in* * Scripture, *where* THOU *and* THEE *are uſed by* God *to* Man, *and* Man *to* God, *and* Man *to* Man, *which cannot be deni'd.*

* Exod. 33. 12. five times in one verſe.

In Oppoſition whereunto we maintain, that THOU *from* Superiors *to* Inferiors *is* proper, *as a* Signe *of* Command; *from* equals *to* equals *is* paſſable, *as a* note *of* Familiarity; *but from* Inferiors *to* Superiors, *if proceeding from* Ignorance *hath a* ſmack *of* Clowniſhneſs, *if from* Affectation, *a* tang *of* Contempt.

But in anſwer to their Objection from Scripture, *we return* foure things.

Firſt, THOU *is not ſo diſtaſtful a term in* Hebrew *and* Greek, *as it is in the Engliſh,* cuſtom of every Country *being the* grand Maſter *of* Language *to appoint what is* honourable, *and* diſgraceful *therein. The* Jews *had their* * Racha *or terme of contempt* unknown to us; *we, our* THOU, *a* ſigne *of* ſlighting unuſed by them.

* Matth. 5. 22.

Secondly, It followeth not, becauſe THOU *and* THEE *only are* ſet down, *that therefore no other* Additions *of* Honour *were* then and there given *from* Inferiors *to their* Superiors. *A negative Argument cannot be framed in this Caſe, that* more reſpect was not uſed, becauſe no more expreſt in ſcripture; *it being the deſigne of* Hiſtories, *chiefly to repreſent the* ſubſtance *of* deeds, *not all* verbal Formalities.

Thirdly, what Inferiors *in* Scripture *wanted in* words, *they ſupplied in* Poſtures *and* Geſtures *of* Submiſſion; *even to* * Proſtration *of their bodies, which would be condemned for* Idolatry, *if uſed in* England.

* Gen. 33. 3. 1 King. 1. 16. & 23. as alſo 1 King. 18. 7.

Laſtly, There are extant in Scripture, expreſſions *of* reſpect, *as when* Sarah *termed her* Husband Lord, *which* (*though but* * once *mentioned in the text*) *was no*

doubt

doubt her constant Practise, or else the holy Spirit would not have took such notice thereof, and commended it to others imitation.

* 1 Pet. 3. 6.

But they follow their Argument, urging it unreasonable, that any should refuse that Coine in common discourse, which they in their solemn Devotions pay to God himself. THOU and THEE are Currant in the Prayers of Saints clean thorough the Scripture, as also in our (late admired) Liturgy, we Praise THEE, we Bless THEE, we Worship THEE, we Glorifie THEE, we give THEE Thanks for THY great Glory.

* Said or sung after the Communion.

It is answered; those Attributes of Greatness, Goodness, &c. given to God in the Beginning of every Prayer do Vertually and Effectually extend and apply themselves to every Clause therein, though for Brevities sake not actually repeated.

Thus OUR FATHER in the Preface of the Lords Prayer, relateth to every Petition therein; OUR FATHER hallowed be thy Name; OUR FATHER thy Kingdom come; OUR FATHER thy will be done &c. And this qualifieth the harshness and rudeness of THOU, THEE and THY, when for expedition and expressiveness sake they are necessarily used.

Your Honour will not wonder at the Practise of these QUAKERS, having read in the Prophetical Epistles of * S. Peter, and * S. Jude (last placed, because last to be performed) that towards the end of the world some shall NOT BE AFFRAID to speak evil of Dignities. These Feare, where no feare is, and QUAKE where they need not; but feare not, where feare is; being bold and impudent where they ought not. They are NOT AFRAID, not only to speak against Dignities (which in some case may be done, where they are Vitious men) but against Dignities, the lawful, useful, needful, Ordinances of God himself.

* 2 Pet. 2. 10.
* Jude 8.

God

God *grant these may* ſeaſonably *be* ſuppreſſed, *before they grow too* numerous, *otherwiſe ſuch who now* quarel *at the* Honour, *will hereafter* queſtion *the* wealth *of others. Such as now* accuſe *them for* Ambition *for being* higher, *will hereafter* condemne *them for* Covetouſneſs, *for being* broader *then others*; *yea and produce* Scripture *too*, proper *and* pregnant *enough for their* purpoſe, *as* abuſed *by their* Interpretation. *In a word, it is ſuſpicious ſuch as now introduce* THOU *and* THEE, *will* (*if they can*) *expel* MINE *and* THINE, *diſolving all* propriety *into* confuſion.

And now, my Lord, *how ſilly a thing is that* Honour, *which lies at the* mercy of ſuch mens mouths, *to tender or deny the ſame. The beſt is* Mens Statures *are not* extended *or* contracted, *with their* ſhaddows; *ſo as to be* ſtretched out *into* Giants *in the* morning; ſhrunk up *into* Dwarfes *at* Noone, *and* ſtretch'd out *at* Night *into* Giants *again*. Intrinſecal worth *doth not* increaſe *and* abate; Wax *and* Waine, Ebb *and* Flow, *according to the* Fancy *of others. May* your Lordſhip *therefore labour for that* true Honour, *which conſiſteth in* Vertue *and* God's Approbation *thereof*; *which will laſt and remain how furiouſly ſoever the* wicked rage, *and* imagine *vain things againſt it.*

Here I preſume, to preſent your Honour *the* Lives *and* Deaths *of ſome* worthies, *contrary to thoſe* QUAKERS *in their* Practiſe, *and* Opinion; *I mean the* Martyrs *in the* Reign *of* Queen Mary. *Theſe deſpiſed not their* Superiors, *giving due* Reverence *to thoſe who* condemned *them, honouring* lawfull Authority, *though* unlawfully *uſed*: *Theſe* caſt not off their Cloaths, *but modeſtly* wore *their* Linnen *on them at their* Suffering. *Theſe counterfeited no* Corporall QUAKING, (ſtanding *as firme as the ſtake they were faſtned to*:) *though in a* Spirituall ſenſe working out their ſalvation with

Feare

Feare and Trembling: *Whose* admirable Piety *and* Patience *is here recommended into* your Lordships consideration; *by*

Your humble Servant to be commanded in all Christian Offices,

THOMAS FULLER.

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THE CHVRCH-HISTORY OF BRITAINE.

CENT. XVI.

July 6. 1. KIng *Edward*, tender in yeers, and weak with ſickneſſe, was ſo practiced on by the importunitie of others, that, excluding His two Siſters, he conveyed the Crown to the Ladie *Jane* His Kinſwoman, by that which we may well call the *Teſtament* of King *Edward*, and the *Will* of the Duke of *Northumberland*. Thus, through the pious intents of this Prince, wiſhing well to the *Reformation*; the Religion of Queen *Marie*, obnoxious to exception; the ambition of *Northumberland*, who would do what he liſted; the ſimplicity of *Suffolke*, who would be done with as the other pleaſed; the dutifulneſſe of the Ladie *Jane*, diſpoſed by her Parents; the fearfulneſſe of the Judges, not daring to oppoſe; and the flattery of the Courtiers, moſt willing to comply, matters were made as ſure, as mans policy can make that good which is bad in it ſelf. But the *Commons* of England who for many yeers together had conn'd loyalty by-heart, out of the *Statute of Succeſſion*, were ſo perfect in their leſſon, that they would not be put out of it by this new ſtarted deſigne: ſo that every one proclaimed *Mary* next Heir in their conſciences: and, few daies after King *Edwards* death, all the project miſcarried: of the plotters whereof ſome executed, more impriſoned, moſt pardoned, all conquered, and Queen *Mary* crowned. Thus, though the ſtreame of Loyalty for a while was violently diverted, (to runne in a wrong channell,) yet with the ſpeedieſt opportunitie it recovered the right courſe again.

Queen Mary in deſpight of the Duke of *Northumberland's* oppoſition, crowned.

2. But now in what manner this *Will* of King *Edwards* was advanced, that the *greateſt blame* may be laid on them who had the *deepeſt guilt*, the following anſwer of Sr. *Edward Mountagu*, *Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas* (accuſed for drawing up the *Will*, and committed by Queen *Mary* to priſon for the ſame) will truly acquaint us. The original whereof under his own hand, was communicated unto me, by his great *grandchilde*, *Edward Lord Mountagu* of *Boughton*, and here faithfully exemplified;

The truth of the carriage of Sr. *Edward Mountagu* in his drawing up the Will of *King Edw.* the ſixth.

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SR. Edward Mountagu, *Knight, late Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, received a letter from* Greenwich, *dated the eleventh day of* June *last past, signed with the hands of the* Lord Treasurer, *the Duke of* Northumberland; John *Earl of* Bedford, Francis *Earl of* Shrewsburie, *the Earl of* Pembroke, *the Lord* Clynton, *the Lord* Darcie, John Gate, William Peter, William Cecill, John Cheke: *whereby he was commanded to be at the Court on the morrow by one of the clock at after-noon, and to bring with him* Sr. John Baker, *Justice* Bromley, *the* Attorney, *and* Solicitour General, *and according to the same, all they were there at the said hour of one of the clock. And, after they were brought to the presence of the King, the* Lord Treasurer *the* Marquesse of Northampton, Sr. John Gate, *and one or two more of the Councill, whose names he doth not now remember, were present.*

And then and there the King by His own mouth said, that now in His sickneſſe he had considered the state of this His Realm and Succession, which, if He should decease without Heir of His body, should go to the Lady Mary, *who was unmarried, and might marry a stranger-borne, whereby the Laws of this Realm might be altered and changed, and His Highnesse proceedings in Religion might be altered. Wherefore His pleasure was, that the state of the Crown should go in such forme, and to such persons as His Highnesse had appointed in a Bill of Articles not signed with the Kings hand, which were read, & commanded them to make a Book thereof accordingly with speed. And they, finding divers faults not onely for the incertainty of the Articles, but also declaring unto the King, that it was directly against the Act of Succession, which was an Act of Parliament which would not be taken away by no such devise. Notwithstanding His Highnesse would not otherwise, but that they should draw a Book according to the said Articles, which he then* took them, *and they required a reasonable time of His Highnesse for the doeing thereof, and to consider the Laws and Statutes made for the Succession, which indeed were and be more dangerous then any of them, they did consider and remember, and so they departed commanding them to make speed.*

And on the morrow all the said persons met, and, perusing the said Statutes there grew this question amongst them, whether it were presently treason by the words of the Statute of Anno primo Edvardi Sexti, *or no treason till it were put in execution after the Kings death? because the words of the Statute are, the King His Heirs and Successours, because the King can have no Successours in His life; but to be sure they were all agreed that it were the best and surer way to say to the Lords, that the execution of this devise after the Kings decease was not onely treason, but the making of this devise was also presently treason, as well in the whole Councell as in them, and so agreed to make their report without doing any thing for the execution thereof.*

And after Sr. William Peter *sent for the said* Sr. Edward *to* Eely-place, *who shewed him that the Lords required great speed in the making of the said Book, and he told him,* there were none like to be made for them for the danger aforesaid. *And after that, the said* S. Edward, *with the rest of his company, went to the Court, and before all the Councell, (the Duke of* Northumberland *being not in the Council-chamber,) made report to the Lords, that they had considered the Kings Articles, and also the Statutes of Succession, whereby it appeared manifestly, that if they should make any Book according to the Kings commandment, they should not onely be in danger of treason, but also their Lordships all, wherefore they thought it their bounden duties to declare the danger of the Laws unto them, and for avoiding of the danger thereof they had nothing done therein, nor intended to doe, the Laws being so dangerous and standing in force.*

The Duke of Northumberland, *having intelligence of their answer,* either

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either by the Earle of Huntington, *or by the Lord Admiral, cometh into the Council-Chamber before all the Council there, being in a great rage and fury, trembling for anger, and amongst his ragious talk called the said* Sr. Edward *Traitour; and further said, that he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel (as all the whole Council being there will report) whereby the said* Sr. Edward, *with the rest were in great fear and dread, in special* Mr. Bromley, *and the said* Sr. Edward, *for* Mr. Bromley *told the said* Sr. Edward *after, that he dread then that the Duke would have striken one of them: and after they were commanded to go home, and so departed in great fear, without doing any thing more at that time, wishing of God they had stood to it, as they did then, unto this time.*

And after the said Sr. Edward *received another letter dated at* Greenwich *the* 14th. *of* June *last past, signed with the hands of the* Lord Treasurer, *the Earl of* Bedford, *the Marquesse of* Northampton, *the Earle of* Shrewsburie, *the Lord* Clynton, *the Lord* Cobham, *the Lord* Darcy, William Peter, John Gate, John Cheeke, *whereby he was commanded to bring with him* Sr. John Baker, *Justice* Bromley *and* Mr. Gosnolde, *and to be at the Court on the morrow by one of the clock at after-noon, where all they were at the same houre, and conveyed into a chamber behinde the Dining-Chamber there, and all the Lords looked upon them with earnest countenance, as though they had not known them. So that the said* Sr. Edward, *with the other, might perceive there were some earnest determination against them: and at length they were brought before the King Himself, there being present all the whole Council.*

And the King demanded of them why they had not made His Book, according to His commandment, and refused that to doe? with sharp words and angry countenance; and the said Sr. Edward *opened unto His Highnesse the cause why they did it not; and he and other had before declared and opened to the Councill, that if the writings were made, they were of no effect nor force, but utterly void when the* King *should decease, and the Statute of Succession not impaired nor hurted, for these will not be taken away, but by the same authority they were made, and that was by Parliament. To that said the King we minde to have a Parliament shortly, not telling when, which was the first time that the said* Sr. Edward *heard of any Parliament to be had. Whereunto he said, if His pleasure were so, all might be deferred to the Parliament, and all dangers and perils saved. Whereunto the* King *said, he would have this done, and after ratifie it by Parliament. And after commanded them very sharply upon their allegiance to make it; and there were divers of the Lords, that stood behind the said* Sr. Edward *said, and if they refused to do that, they were Traitours. And the said* Sr. Edward *was in great fear as ever he was in all his life before, seeing the King so earnest and sharpe, and the said Duke so angry the day before, who ruled the whole Councill as it pleased him, and were all affraid of him (the more is the pitty) so that such cowardnesse and feare was there never seen amongst honourable men, as it hath appeared.*

The said Sr. Edward, *being an old weak man and without comfort, began to consider with himself, what was best to be done for the safeguard of his life, which was like to chance in that fury and great anger presently. And, remembring that the making of the said writing was not presently treason by the Statute of Anno primo, because this word* Successour *would take no place while the King was living, and determined with himself not to meddle nor execute any thing concerning the same, after the death of the King, which he hath truly kept hereunto. And also remembring that the Queens Highnesse that now is should come by* Act of Succession, *as a purchaser by the law, might not lawfully punish treason or contempt committed in the Kings life, he said unto the King, that he had served His most noble Father many yeers, and also His Highnesse during His*

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time, and loth he would be to disobey His commandment; for his own part he would obey it, so that His Highnesse would grant to them His commandment, license and commission under His great Seal, for the doing, making, and executing of all things concerning the same, and, when the things were done, that they might have a general pardon. All which Commission and pardon was as much as the said Sr. Edward could invent to help this danger over, and besides the things above remembred; which Commission and pardon the King granted them, saying, it was but reason that they should have them both, and the Commission is passed the Great Seal, and the Pardon was signed, and (as far as he knew) sealed.

All the said matters considered, the said Sr. Edward said, for his part he would obey the Kings commandment, and so did M. Bromley say the same; and the King said to Sr. John Baker, what say you? you said never a word to day; who (as I take it) agreed to the same. Mr. Gosnold required a respite, for he was not yet perswaded to do the thing required. How the said Duke and the Earl of Shrewsburie handled him, he can tell best himself. And after upon the said Sr. Edwards motion the King gave him licence to be advised untill upon the morrow, who of himself being in great fear was content to obey the Kings commandment; and so the doers and makers of the said Book, with sorrowfull hearts, and with weeping eyes, in great fear and dread devised the said Book, according to such Articles as were signed with the Kings proper hand, above and beneath, and on every side. And their said Commission, with Articles so signed with the Kings hand, and the Book drawn in paper, were conveyed from the Court to the Lord Chancelors, to be ingrossed in parchment and to passe the great Seal, which was done accordingly.

And on the morrow next after the last Terme ended, the said Sr. Edward and all the Judges were sent for; he puts his hand to the Book in parchment sealed with the Great Seal, and so did many others. The said Book of Articles so signed remaineth with the Lord Chancellour, Bishop of Eely; but, who conveyed the said Paper Book into the Chancery, or who wrot them, or who set their hands to the same Book, the said Sr. Edward till he see them he cannot tell: but he will not denie but he was privie to the making of them, as he hath before said: and that he came to the knowledge of the matter by the Articles unsigned, and by the Articles signed, with the Kings hand, and both delivered unto him by the Kings own hands. Who put the King in minde to make the said Articles; or who wrote them, or any of them; or by whose procurement or counsell they were made: or by what means he and others were called unto this matter: he knoweth not, but he thinks in his conscience the King never invented this matter of Himself, but by some wonderfull false compasse: he prayeth God the truth may be known, as he doubts not it will be.

And further, he and all his company, as well before the King as before the Lords at all times, said, that their writings (before they were made, and after they were made) were of no value, force, nor effect, to any intent, constitution, or purpose, after the Kings death, and there is no remedy to help this but by Parliament. And that after the said Thursday, being the morrow after the Terme last past, that he by any writing, printing, overt, deed or act, never did any thing sithence the same day, in the Kings life, ne sithence the death of the King, for he determined with himself to be no executour of the said devise, whatsoever should chance of it: nor ever medled with the Councill in any thing, nor came amongst them, untill the Queens Grace that now is, was proclaimed Queen in London, nor never executed Commission, Proclamation, or other commandment from the Ladie Jane nor Her Councill, but commanded my son to serve the Queens Grace that now is, and to go to Sr. Thomas Tresham, and Buckingham-

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Buckingham-ſhire-*men that went to her Grace to defend Her, which he ſo did to my no little coſt.*

The caſe thus ſtated, theſe notes follow written with the ſame hand.

Now that it is to be conſidered the great fear the ſaid Sr. Edward *was in, as well by the Duke of* Northumberland *on the one day, as by the King on the other day.*

Alſo it is to be conſidered the Kings commandment upon their allegiance, by His own mouth, and the Articles ſigned with His Highneſſe own hand, and alſo His Commiſſion, licenſe, and commandment under His Great Seal to the ſaid Sr. Edward *and others, for the making of the ſaid Booke.*

Alſo the Kings pardon ſigned with His Highneſſe hand.

Alſo it is to be conſidered, that the ſaid Books were made in the Kings life, ſeaven or eight dayes before His death: and the Queens Highneſſe being Succeſſour, by Act of Parliament, to the Crown, and having the ſame, as a Purchaſer, may not lawfully by the Laws of the Realme puniſh the ſaid offence done in the Kings time.

Alſo the ſaid Sr. Edward *hath humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Queen Highneſſe, and to the order of the Commiſſioners: Which Commiſſioners have ordered the ſaid* Sr. Edward *to pay to Her Highneſſe a thouſand pounds, who hath already paid thereof five hundred pounds, and the other five hundred pounds are to be paid at the Feaſt of* All-Saints *come Twelvemoneth. And alſo to ſurrender his letters Patents of lands to the yeerly value of fifty pounds called* Eltyngton, *which he had of the gift of King* Edward *the Sixth, which was all the reward he had of the ſaid King* Edward *for his ſervice, coſts and expences.*

Alſo, it is to be conſidered, that the ſaid Sr. Edward *is put from his office of the Chief Juſtice-ſhip of the Common-Pleas, being of the yeerly value of ſix hundred marks, which office the moſt noble King of famous memorie King* Henry *the Eighth gave him in conſideration of his long ſervice, and alſo had ſix weeks impriſonment.*

Alſo it is to be conſidered, that the ſame Sr. Edward *hath ſeaventeen children, viz. eleven Daughters, and ſix Sons: whereof one of the ſaid Sons had his legge ſtriken off by the knee in* Scotland *at* Muſcleborough-field, *the Duke of* Sommerſet *being there. And his Son and Heire, by his commandment, ſerved the Queens Highneſſe with twenty men, to the coſt of the ſaid* Sr. Edward *of one hundred pounds, as the Gentlemen of* Buckingham-ſhire *can report.*

SO far the late Judge with his own hand: Wherein he affirmeth that he medled not with the *Councell* in any thing afterward, as may appear by his not ſubſcribing the letter of the Lords to Queen *Mary* (enjoyning, ſhall I ſay? or) adviſing Her to deſiſt from claiming the Crown, whereto all the Privie * Councellours ſubſcribed, onely the hand of *Sr. Edward Mountagu* is wanting. And, ſeeing in the whole tranſaction of this matter, the obedience rather then invention of Judge *Mountagu* was required, not to deviſe, but draw things up according to Articles tendred unto him, I cannot believe his * report relating *that the King uſed the adviſe of Juſtice* Mountagu *in drawing up the Letters Patents, to furniſh the ſame with reaſons of Law, as Secretary* Cicil *with arguments from Policie.*

* See them extant in Mr. Fox. Act. & Mon. Anno 1553.

* Sr. John Heywood in his *Edward 6*

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Sr. R. *Cholmley* comes off with losse.

3. Some will wonder that no mention herein of *Sr. Roger Cholmley*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings Bench*, and in dignity above Sr. *Edward Mountagu* (at this time but Judge of the *Common-Pleas*,) that he was not employed to draw up the Book. But it seems Judge *Mountagu* his judgement was more relied on, who had been formerly *Lord Chief Justice* of the *Kings-Bench*, and deserted it. Yet the said *Sr. Roger Cholmley* was imprisoned for bare subscribing this Will, and (as it seems) lost his place for the same. For Justice *Bromley*, though equally guilty with the rest (so far favour extends in matters of this nature) was not onely pardoned, but, from an inferiour Judge, * advanced to be successour to *Sr. Roger Cholmly*, and made Judge of the *Kings-Bench*.

* See Sr. H. Spelman. Glossary in *Justiciarius* p. 417.

Sr. *James Hales* his honesty.

4. Whereas *Sr. Edward* saith that all the Judges were sent for and that many put their hands to the Book, it intimateth that all did not but that some refused the same, it being eminently known to the everlasting honour of *Sr. James Hales* that no importunity could prevail with him to underwrite this will as against both law and conscience.

Contest betwixt two Religions *a* Neh. 13. 24.

5. Eight weeks and upwards passed between the proclaiming of *Mary Queen*, and the *Parliament* by her assembled: during which time two religions were together set on foot, *Protestantisme* and *Poperie*, the former hoping to be continued, the later labouring to be restored, And as the *Jews* Children *a* after the *captivity* spake a middle language betwixt *Hebrew* and *Ashdod*, so during the aforesaid *interim* the *Churches* and *Chappels* in *England* had *mongrell celebration* of their *Divine services* betwixt *Reformation* and *Superstition*. For the *Obsequies* for *King Edward* were held by the *Queen* in the *Tower August* the seaventh, with the *Dirige* sung in *Latin*, and on the morrow a *masse* of *Requiem*; and on the same day his *Corps* were buried at *Westminster* with a *sermon service*, and *Communion* in *English*. No small *justling* was there betwixt the zealous *Promoters* of these contrary *Religions*. The *Protestants* had possession on their *side*, and the *Protection* of the *Laws* lately made by *King Edward* and still standing in free and full force unrepealed. Besides, seeing by the fidelity of the *Suffolk* and *Norfolke* Protestant Gentry, the *Queen* was much advantaged for the speedy recovering of her *Right*, they conceived it but reason, that as she by them had regained the *Crown*, so they under her should enjoy their *Consciences*. The *Papists* put their *Ceremonies* in Execution, presuming on the Queen her private practice and publique countenance, especially after she had imprisoned some *Protestant*, and enlarged some *Popish Bishops*: advancing *Stephen Gardiner* to be *Lord Chancelour*. Many which were *Newters* before conceiving which side the *Queen* inclined would not expect, but prevent her authority in Alteration: So that *Superstition* generally got ground in the *Kingdome*. Thus it is in the *Evening Twi-light*, wherein *light* and *darknesse* at first may seem very equally matcht, but the later within little time doth solely prevail.

Aug. 7.

Mr. *Jewell* pens the first Congratulatory letter to the Queen.

6. What impressions the Comming in of *Queen Mary* made on *Cambridge*, shall, God willing be presented in our particular *History* thereof. The sad and sudden alterations in *Oxford*, thereby are now to be handled. *Ma. John Jewel* was chosen to pen the first *Gratulatorie Letter* to the *Queen*, in the *Name* of the *University*; an office, imposed on him, by his enemies, that either the refusall thereof should make him incurre danger from his foes, or the performance expose him to the displeasure of his friends; Yet he so warily penned the same in *Generall* termes, that his Adversaries missed their *marke*. Indeed all, as yet, were confident, that the *Queen* would maintain the *Protestant Religion* according to her solemne promise, to the Gentry of *Norfolke*, and *Suffolke*, though (she being composed of *Courtship* and *Popery*,) this her unperformed promise was the first *Court-holy-water*, which she sprinkled amongst the *People*.

7. And, because every one was counted a *Truant* in *Popery*, who did not out

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out-run the Law, *Dr. Treſham*, an active *Papiſt*, and a *Van-Currier* before *Authority*, repaired the great *Bell* in *Chriſt Church*, which he new *nam'd*, and baptized MARY. And whilſt Mr. *Jewel* was reading the *Letter* he had penned, to *Dr. Treſham*, for his approbation thereof, preſently that *bell* tol'd to *Maſſe*, (a *Parentheſis* which was not in the *Letter*) and *Treſham* breaking off his *Attention* to what was written, excla'med in a zealous Extaſie. *Oh ſweet Mary! how muſically, how melodiouſly doth ſhe ſound* [c]. This *Bell* then *rung* the *knell* for that time to the *truth* in *Oxford*, henceforward fill'd with *Proteſtant* Tears, and *Popiſh* Triumphs.

Mary the new Baptized maſſe Bell in Chriſts Church.

8. Then *Stephen Gardiner viſitor* of *Maudlins*, (as ſucceſſour to *William Wainfleet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* founder thereof) ſent *Commiſſioners* to the *Colledge*, (whereof Sr. *Richard Read* the chief, and Dr. *Wright Arch-Deacon* of *Oxford*,) whereby ſtrange effects were produced.

Alteration by *Gardiners* viſitors in *Maudlin* Colledge.

1. Walter Haddon, *then* [a] Preſident *of the* Colledge, (*though omitted by* Brian Twine *for what cauſe I know not, in their* Catalogue) *willingly quitted his place.*
2. Thomas Bentham (*that yeer* Cenſor) *being required to* Correct *the* Schollers *for their abſence from* Popiſh Prayers, *ingenuouſly confeſſed his* ſorrow *for his Complyance in the* Reign *of* King Henry *the* 8th. *and conſtantly profeſſed that he would not accumulate ſin on ſin, adding moreover, that he accounted it not equall, to puniſh that in others, which he himſelf did willingly and wittingly commit, and thereon was outed of his place.*
3. Thomas Bickley *was ſerved in the ſame manner. This was he who formerly ſnatching the* Hoſt *out of the* Pixe *at evening* Prayer, *firſt rent it with his hands, then trampled it under his feet, and now expelled, with great difficulty eſcaped into* France.
4. Henry Bull, *who about the ſame time openly in the quire ſnatched the* Cenſer *out of his hands, who was about to offer Idolatrous Incenſe therein, was likewiſe by the viſitors put out of his Fellowſhip.*

[a] *Laurence Humphery* in his Lattin life of Dr. *Jewel.* p. 71.

What ſhall I ſpeak of learned *Laurence Humphery*, painfull *John Fox*, ſtudious *Michael Reuniger*, ſweet natur'd *John Molins*, Arch-Deacon of *Paul's*, *Arthur Saul*, *Peter Morvin*, *Hugh Kirke*, *and Luke Puriſie*, dear brethren in Chriſt, all at this time forced to forſake their Colledge: So that then *Magdalen wept* indeed for the loſſe of ſo many worthies. All this extremity was executed by theſe viſitors, not as yet impowred by law, the ſtatutes of King *Edward*, ſtanding hitherto unrepealed. But ſome are ſo deſirous to *Worſhip* the *riſing Sun*, that, to make ſure work, they will adore the *dawning day*: And many of the *Oxford* Schollers thought *Prolepſis* the beſt *figure* in their *Grammer* to foreſee what the *Queen* would have done, and to ingratiate themſelves by antedating the doeing thereof.

9. Of all the viſitors in *Magdalen* Colledge, *Arch-Deacon Wright* was moſt moderate, ſeeking to qualifie the cruelty of the reſt, as farre as he could or durſt appear. Blinde he was in one eye, but acute and clear-ſighted in his minde, and though his compliance for the preſent cannot be excuſed, yet commendable was his forwardneſſe, that preſently on the Crowning of *Queen Elizabeth*, he confeſſed his *errours*, and with a weak *voice* but ſtrong *Arguments* in his *Sermon* preached in *All-hallows*, ſolidly confuted the *maine* of *Popiſh* opinions; This was his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*, being at the preſent much decayed in his Body, his ſtrength onely ſerving him, to give a ſolemn account of his *Faith*. For ſoon after he fell ſick, and at the end of eight dayes, in *perfect* * *minde* and *memory*, peaceably departed this life. Wherefore lying * *Sanders* is not to be liſtned to, when reporting that this *Wright* dyed raving and diſtracted. It being uſuall with him, to account all thoſe *ſtaring mad*, who are not *ſtarke blinde* with *ignorance* and *ſuperſtition*: Let not *Sanders* be too buſie in traducing Gods dying Servants, leſt what he wrongfully

Arch-Deac. *Wright* a moderate viſitor who afterwards recanted his errours and died peaceably.

* *Laurence Humph. ut prius* p. 76.
* In defence of the Popes monarchy.
* *Camb. Brit.* in the yeer 1583.

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wrongfully chargeth on others, justly befall himself, as it came to passe accordingly. For a learned * *Pen* tells us, that he died in *Ireland*, *Mente motus*, which if it amounts not to a Madnesse, I understand not the propriety of that expression.

* *Camb. Brit.* in the year 1583.

Masse set up in *Corpus Christi Colledge.*

10. Passe we now from *Maudlins* to *Corpus Christi* Colledge, where behold a sudden *Alteration*; *Masse* being presently brought up in the place of the *Communion*. It may seem a wonder, seeing so many *Superstitious Utensils* are required thereunto, where the *Papists* got *attiring Cloaths* for the *Theatricall Pompe* thereof; yet so it was, that they who to day [visibly] had nothing, next day wanted nothing for the *Celebration* of the *Masse*. Surely these *Trinkets* were never dropt down from *Heaven*; but such who formerly had been cunning in concealing, were now forward in produeing their wicked *Wardrobe*; and one *Colledge* afforded enough, not onely to suffice it self, but for the present to supply the whole *University*.

Jewel driven out of *Corpus Christi Colledge.*

11. But how well soever any *Colledge* kept their superstitious *Trifles*, sure I am *Corpus Christi Colledge* lost an essentiall *Ornament* thereof, namely Mr. *John Jewel*, fellow therein, who, on his refusall to be present at *Masse*, and other *Popish Solemnities*, was driven out of the *Colledge*, and retyred himselfe to *Broadgates Hall*; where he continued for a short time in great Danger.

Peter Martyr departs the Realme.

12. It was now high time for Mr. *Peter Martyr* seasonably to provide for his own security, who being by Birth a *stranger*, and invited over hither, and placed here by *King Edward* the sixth, to be *Professour of Divinity* in *Oxford*, had the *Warrant* of the *Publique faith*, and the *Law of Nations*, for his safety. Whereupon he solicited for leave to return, which was granted unto him. Well it was that he had *protection of proof*; otherwise such was the enmity of the *Papists*, and so sharp set were the Teeth of some persecuting *Bishops* against him, that they would have made this *Martyr* brook his own *name*, and have sacrificed his life to their fury.

The Dutch Congregation depart into *Denmarke.*

13. About the time of his Departure, (pardon a short digression) the *Dutch congregation* in *London* was also dissolved, gaining *Licence* with much adoe to *transport* themselves. These taking the opportunity of two *Danish* Ships, then lying in *Thames* mouth, adventured themselves therein even in the beginning of *Winter*, uncertain were to get any habitation. One hundred seaventy and five were embarqued in one vessell, from which the other was divided with Tempest, and with much danger got at last to * *Elsinore* in *Denmarke*. Had they stai'd longer in *England*, untill the *Queens marriage* with King *Philip* of *Spaine* (being most of them his *Native Subjects* in the *Netherlands*) it had been difficult, if not impossible for them to have procured their safe, and publique *departure*.

* John Utinhow *in Narratione de dissipata Belgarum Ecclesia, cap. 2.*

14. As for Mr. *Jewell*, he continued some weeks in *Broad-Gates Hall*, whither his Schollers repaired unto him, whom he constantly instructed in *Learning*, and *Religion*. Of all his *Pupils*, *Edward* * *Tear* in this one respect was most remarkable, who by his *tutour* being seasoned with the love of the Truth, made a double *Copie* of *Verses*, against the *Superstition* of the *Masse*, which so enraged Mr. *Welsh*, the *Censor*, as I take it of *Corpus Christi Colledge*, against him, that he publikely and cruelly *whipt* him, laying on *one lash*, for every *verse* he had made, which I conceive were about *eighty* in all: Part of them, I have here thought fit to insert; and blessed be God I may *Translate*, and the *Reader* peruse them without any pain and perill, and not at the dear *rate*, whereat the *Author* composed them. I have the rather presented them, because they proved as well *Prophetical* as *Poetical*, comfortably *foretelling*, what afterwards certainly *came to passe*.

A dear Copie of Verses.

* So I conceive his name whom *Laurence Humphery* in *Jewels* life p. 77. calls *Edvardum Annum.*

Supplex

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Supplex oro Patris veniam cœlestis ad aures
Ex animo pauca quas recitabo preces:
Ecce patent aditus, patet alti janua Cœli
Ad summum votis jam penetrabo Deum.
Summe Pater, qui cuncta vides, qui cuncta gubernas,
Qui das cuncta tuis, qui quoque cuncta rapis,
Effice ne maneat longævos Missa per Annos:
Effice ne fallat decipiatve tuos;
Effice ne cæcos populorum reddat ocellos
Missa, docens verbo dissona multa tuo:
Effice jam rursus Stygias descendat ad Undas,
Undè trahit fontem principiumque suum.

Respondet Dominus spectans de sedibus Altis,
Ne dubites rectè Credere parve puer:
Olim sum passus mortem, nunc occupo dextram
Patris, nunc summi sunt mea regna poli:
In cœlis igitur toto cum corpore versor,
Et me Terrestris nemo videre potest;
Falsa Sacerdotes de me mendacia fingunt,
Missam quique colunt, hi mea verba negant:
Dura Cervicis populus me mittere Missam
Fecit, & è medio tollere dogma sacrum;
Sed tu crede mihi, vires Scriptura resumet,
Tolleturque suo tempore Missa nequam.

Accept O heavenly Father I request
These few Devotions from my humble Breast:
See ther's Accesse, Heaven's gate open lyes,
Then with my Prayers I'le penetrate the skyes;
Great God, who all things seest, dost all things sway,
And All things giv'st, and all things tak'st away,
Let not the present Masse long-lived be,
Nor let it those beguile belong to thee:
Thy peoples eyes keep it from blinding quite,
Since to thy word it is so opposite,
But send it to the Stygian Lakes below: (flow.
From whence it's rise and source doth spring and

The Lord, beholding from his Throne, reply'd,
Doubt not, young Youth, firmly in me confide
I dy'd long since, now sit at the right hand
Of my blest Father, and the world command
My body wholy dwels in heavenly light,
Of whom no earthly Eye can gain a sight:
The shamlesse Priests of me forge truthlesse lies
And he that worships Masse, my word denyes
A stiffeneck'd people for their sins did make
Me send them Masse, my word away to take
But trust me, Scripture shall regain her sway,
And wicked Masse in due time fade away.

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15. But to return to Mr. *Jewel*: he had not lived long in *Broadgates Hall*, when, by the violence of the Popish *Inquisitors* being assaulted, on a sudden, to *subscribe*, he took a *pen* in his hand, and, smiling, said, *have you a minde to see how well I can write?* and thereupon under-writ their *Opinions*. Thus the most *orient Jewel* on earth Hath some *flawes* therein. To conceal this his *Fault*, had been partiality; to excuse it, flattery; to defend it, impiety; to insult over him, Cruelty; to pitty him, Charity; to admire God, in permitting him, true devotion; to be wary of our selves, in the like occasion, Christian discretion.

Mr. *Jewell* his great fall.

16. Such as go out when God openeth them a Doore to escape, do peaceably depart; But such who break out at the window, either stick in the passage, or bruise themselves by falling down on the out-side. *Jewell* may be an instance hereof, whose cowardly compliance, made his foes no fewer without him; and one the more (*a guilty Conscience*) within him. The *Papists* neither loved, nor honoured, nor trusted him any whit the more, for this his *Subscription*, which they conceived not Cordiall; forced from him by his feare: Yea thereby he gained not any degree of more safety: and his life being *way-laid* for, with great difficulty, he got over into *Germanie*.

Carnall Compliance never profits.

17. *Rejoyce not over me O mine Enemy, for though I fall, yet shall I rise again*, as here it came to passe: Comming to *Francfort*, he had Dr. *Edwin Sandys*, (afterwards *Arch-Bishop* of *Yorke*,) for his *Board*, and *Bedfellow*, who counselled Mr. *Jewell*, with the joynt advice of Mr. *Chambers*, and Mr. *Sampson*, his bosome *friends*, to make a publicke *Confession* of his sorrow for his former *Subscription*: whereupon on a *Sunday*, after his fore-noons *Sermon*, in the *Congregation* of *Francfort*, he bitterly bewailed his *fall*, and heartily requested *pardon* from *God* and his *People*, whom thereby he had offended. *Wet* were the *eyes* of the *Preacher*, and those not *drie* of all his *Auditors*: what he fairely requested was freely given: and hence forward all

Mr. *Jewels* seasonable and sincere Recovery.

all embraced him, as a *Brother* in *Christ*, yea as an *Angell of God*. Yea whosoever seriously considereth the high *Parts* Mr. *Jewell* had in himselfe, and the high *opinion* others had of him, will conclude his *Fall* necessary for his *Humiliation*.

The Issu-lesse issue of a disputation at *Oxford*.

18. But to return to *Oxford*, whither, about this time, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, were brought to be *baited* in *Disputation*, by the fiercest *Papists*, of both *Universities*; Which worthy *Bishops*, restrained in *Liberty*, debarred from *Books*, depriv'd of *Friends*, and streightned for *time*, were brought out of the *Prison*, to *dispute*, and after the end thereof thither *remanded*. Here it is sad to recount those *Legions* of *Taunts*, which were passed upon them: They who had three *Logicall termes* in every *Syllogisme*, had far more railing *ones* after it, in *following* their *Argument*, and opprobrious improving thereof against the *Prisoners*. Wherefore when *Weston*, the *Prolocutor* (or *Obloquutor* rather) closed all with his vain glorious brag, *Vicit veritas*, many of the unpartiall *Auditors* conceived, that *Vicit vanitas*, was a truer *Conclusion* of the *Disputation*; though indeed there could be no proper *victory*, where there was no fair *Fight*: things not being methodized with *Scholasticall Formality*, but managed with tumultuous *Obstreperousnesse*. See all at large in Mr. *Fox*: to transcribe which would be *tedious*, exscribe something, *imperfect*, Contract all, *obscure*: may the *reader* therefore be remitted thither, for his perfect *Satisfaction*. Onely, I will adde; this *Disputation* was but a *preparative*, or *Prologue* to the *Tragedy* of these *Bishops Deaths*: as it were to *drie* their Bodies, the more *afore-hand*, that afterwards they might *burn* the *brighter*, and *clearer* for the same.

Some *Oxford* man invited to undertake a proper task.

19. But we leave the prosecution hereof with the *impression* made by the *Alteration* of *Religion* on every severall Colledge in *Oxford*, to some *learned men* of that *University*, as an *office* proper for them to performe, having as their education therein, so their advantage thereby in consulting the *Registers* of their severall *Colledges*. I have hitherto, and shall hereafter be the shorter in Matters of this Vniversity, remembring two profitable *Precepts*, for this purpose; the one *Minus notis, minus diu insistendum*: the other ΞΕΝΟΣ ΩΝ ΑΠΡΑΓΜΩΝ ΙΣΘΙ, *Being a stranger be not over-busie*: Who confesse my selfe bred in another *Seminary* of learning. Wherefore if my *tongue*, long acquainted with *CAMBRIDGE Sibboleth*, have or shall chance to faulter in pronouncing the *termes* of *Art*, or *Topicall Titles*, proper to this *University*, I hope the Readers *Smile* shall be all the writers *Punishment*. For as I heartily protest the fidelity of my Affections to my *Aunt*, and humbly request that my *Weaknesse* or want of *Intellegence*, may no way tend to her *Prejudice*, so I expect that my *Casuall mistakes* should meet with a *Pardon of Course*: And if any of her own *Children* (which is much to be desired) Will hereafter write a particular *History* of *Oxford*, I should be joyfull if the best *Beames* I can bring will but make him *Scaffolds*, and the choicest of my *Corner-stones*, but serve to fill up the *Walls* of his more beautifull Building.

Protestant Bishops withdraw themselves from the Parliament.

20. We have something trespassed on time to make our *Story* of *Oxford* intire, and must now go a little backward. The *Queen* being crowned on the first of *October*, her first *Parliament* began the fifth day following, wherein Godwot a poor appearance of *Protestant Bishops*. For *Cranmer* of *Cant.* was in the *Tower* for *treason*. *Ridley* of *London*, and *Poynet* of *Winchester* were displaced on the restitution of *Bonner* and *Gardiner*, *Holegate* of *Yorke*, *Bush* of *Bristoll*, *Bird* of *Chester*, *Hooper* of *Worcester* and *Glouncester*, *Barlow* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Scory* of *Chicester*, *Ferrar* of St. *Davids*, *Coverdale* of *Exeter* were already deprived either for being married, or delivering some *displeasing doctrines*. Onely two *Protestant Bishops*, viz. *John*[a] *Taylour* of *Lincolne*, and *John Harley* of *Hereford* (on what score I know not) found the favour to be last undone, as remaining un-deprived at the beginning of the *Parliament*, where they presented themselves according to their duty, & took their place amongst the

a Fox Acts & Mon. pag. 1410.

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the *Lords*. But presently began *solemne Masse* after the *Popish manner*, which these two *good Bishops* not abiding withdrew themselves, and shortly both of them died their *naturall deaths*; Providence graciously preventing their *violent destructions*.

5. 21. All the rest of the *Bishops* present in *Parliament*, as *Samson* of *Coventry*, and *Litchfield*, *Capon* of *Salisbury*, *Thirleby* of *Norwich*, *Bulkley* of *Bangor*, *Parfew* of *St. Asaph* [b] *Kitchin* of *Landaffe*, though dissembling themselves *Protestants* in the dayes of *King Edward*, now returned to their *Vomit*, and the advancing of *Popery*. No wonder then if all things were acted according to their pleasure, the *Statute* of *Premunire* made by *King Henry* the *Eight*, and many other *good laws* of *Edward* the *Sixth* repealed. *Masse* and *Latine service* with the maine of *Popery* reestablished.

Popery restored by the rest.

b *Ely* and *Oxford* I conceive void at this time.

18. 22. But in the *Convocation* which began few dayes after, amongst all the *Clergy* therein assembled there were found but six which opposed the *Reduction* of *Popery*, Viz.

1. *Walter Philips* Dean of *Rochester*. 3. *John Philpot* Archdeacon of *wincheſt*.
2. *James Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*. 4. *Richard Cheyney* Archdeacon of *Hereford*.
5. *John Ailmer* Archdeacon of *Stow*.
6. One whose name is not recorded.

Sixe Protestant Champions in the Convocation.

Of these Mr. *Philpot* one of a fervent spirit (but not to any distemper as some suspect) was so zealous against *Transubstantiation*, that he offered to maintain the negative by *Gods word*, and confound any six who should withstand him in that point, *or else saith he*, [c] *let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London before the Court gates*.

25. c *Foxe* Acts & Mon pag. 1413.

23. But *Weston* the *Prolocutor* in the *Convocation* threatened him with the *Prison*, adding that he was a mad man, meeter to be sent to *Bedlam* then continue there. *Philpot* returned he would think himself happy to be out of that company. Nay, lest you slander the *house* said *Weston*, and say we will not suffer you to declare your minde, we are content you come into the *house* as formerly on two conditions. First, that you be apparelled in a *long gown* and *Tippet* as we are. Secondly, that you speak not but when I command you. Then said *Philpot*, I had rather be absent altogether, and so it seems departed the place, and soon after the *Convocation* ended, having concluded all things to the hearts desire of the *Papists* therein.

Weston his railing on Mr. *Philpot*.

30. Dec. 13.

24. Afterwards *Philpot* was troubled by *Gardiner* for his words spoken in the *Convocation*. In vain did he plead the *Priviledge* of the *Place*, commonly reputed a part of *Parliament*, alledging also how *Weston* the *Prolocutor* once and again assured them, that the *Queen* had given them leave and liberty, fully and freely to debate of matters of *Religion* according to their own conscience. Once at his *Examination* the *Lord Rich* [d] affirmed, that the *Convocation* was no part of the *Parliament House*, and we must believe him herein, because a *Lawyer*, and a *Lord Chancelour*: Otherwise we have the Statute 8. *Hen. 6. That the Clergy of the Convocation shall have such liberty as they that come to the Parliament*. In fine *Philpot*, in defence of the Truth acted the valiant part of a *Martyr* according to his promise, though the *Scene* was altered from the *Court-gates* to *Smithfield*.

Philpot sealeth the truth with his blood.

d *Foxe* Acts & Mon. pag. 1806.

Jan. 20. — 53. 15. — 54.

25. The *match* of *Queen Mary* with *Philip King of Spain* was now as commonly talked of as generally distasted. To hinder the same *Sr. Thomas Wyat* a *Kentish Knight* took *Armes* with a great party assisting him. *Saunders* saith, and that very truly, that he was *Vir magnæ potentiæ*, being indeed *well borne*, *well allied*, *well learned*, *well landed*, *and well loved*, wanting neither *wit*, *wealth*, nor *valour*, though at present all were ill imployed by him. Indeed this his *Treason* may be said to *fall in labour*, some weeks before the *full time* thereof (occasioned by a sudden fright) and therefore no wonder if the *issue* thereof proved *abortive*. For *Wyat* hearing that one of his *Dear Friends* was cast into the *Fleet* (though for a cause unrelating to this *Plot*, to which the

Wyat rising to hinder the Spanish match.

Party

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Partie was *privy*) ſuſpected, as guilt is ever jealous, that this his *Friend* had betrayed the deſigne, which made *Wyat* anticipat the due date thereof, and break our the ſooner into open hoſtility.

The *Queens Herauld* ſent unto him.

26. The *Queen*, hearing of his *commotion*, ſent an *Herauld* unto him to deſiſt, which *Herauld* came to *Sr. Tho. his houſe* deeply moated round about, the *Bridge* being drawn up, yet ſo that a place like a *Ford* pretended a ſafe paſſage thereunto. On the inſide thereof walked the proper caſe of a man well habited, and his face carrying no deſpair of wiſdome therein. The *Herauld* asked him whether he might ſafely go over there, to whom the other ſlightly anſwered, Yea, Yea; but had not the ſtrength of his *Horſe* been more then ordinary, he either had been drowned in the water, or buried in the mudde.

Almoſt drowned with falſe directions.

27. The *Herauld* hardly eſcaping fills all the *Houſe* with complaints, that being an *Officer* ſent from the *Queen* under the protection of the *publike faith* (having his *coate*, his conduct upon him) he ſhould be ſo wilfully abuſed by falſe directions to the danger of his life by one of *Sr. Tho.* his ſervants. The *Knight* highly offended at the fault (as *Gentleman* enough, and enemy to actions of baſeneſſe) ſummons all his *Servants* to appear before the *Herauld*, vowing that the *Offendour* ſhould be ſent *Priſoner* to the *Queen* with his leggs bound beneath his *Horſe* belly, to receive from her the reward of his wickednesse.

But all ends in merriment.

28. The *Herauld* challengeth the party at the firſt ſight of him. Alaſſe ſaid *Sr. Tho.* he is a meer *Naturall*, as will appear, if you pleaſe to examine him. Why *Sirrah* ſaid the *Herauld* did you direct me to come over where it was almoſt impoſſible to paſſe without drowning? To whom the other anſwered, *the* Duckes *came over not long before you, whoſe leggs were ſhorter then your horſes.* Hereat the *Herald* ſmiled out his anger, adding withall, *Sr. Thomas*, hereafter let your *Foole* wear the *Badge* of his *Profeſſion* on him, that he may deceive no more in this kinde. But paſſe we to matters of more moment; *Wyat* courteouſly diſmiſſed the *Herauld*, but denying to deſiſt, marched to *Rocheſter* to meet his *Complices* out of the *Weſt* of *Kent*, who came ſhort unto him, as intercepted and routed, with *Sr. Henry Iſley* their *Conductour*, by the *Lord Abergaveny*, though this loſſe was preſently repaired.

Jan. 29.

The *Londoners* revolt to *Wyat*.

29. For when *Thomas Duke* of *Norfolke* marched down with five hundred *Londoners*, in *white Coats* to reſiſt *Wyat*, and was now come to *Strond*, on the other ſide of *Rocheſter*, the *Londoners* revolted to *Wyat*. Thus the moſt *Valiant Leader* cannot make his *Followers Loyall*. Yet theſe *Londoners falſe* to forſake the *Duke* were *faithfull* not to betray his *perſon*, which they might eaſily have done if ſo diſpoſed. *Wyat* is much elated with this ſupply, as more in the *omen* then in it ſelf, who concluding all *Londoners* of the *ſame lump*, hereby promiſed himſelf eaſie enterance into that *City*, and hearty entertainment therein.

Wyats inſolence, and *Q. Mary* her oration.

30. His inſolency is ſaid to riſe with his ſucceſſe, ſo that having a *Treatie* with ſome of the *Privie Councellours* in his paſſage to *London*, he demanded unreaſonable conditions, affirming that he would rather be truſted then truſt, and therefore requiring the *perſon* of the *Queen*, the *Tower* of *London* to be committed unto him, with power to diſplace *evill Councellours*, not propounded with more pride, but that with as much ſcorne they were refuſed. Mean time, *Queen Mary* came to *Guild-Hall*, and there made a long oration, and indeed if on juſt occaſion ſhe could not ſpeak confidently and pertinently, *She* was neither *Daughter* to her *Father*, nor to her *Mother*.

Febr. 1.

e Act. & Mon pag. 1419.

Mr. *Foxe* e addeth that *ſhe ſeemed to have perfectly conned her ſpeech without book*; which if ſo, ſounds nothing to her diſgrace, ſome being for *extempory prayers*, but none to my knowledge for *extempory policy*. This her oration ſecured the affections of the Citizens unto her, as by the ſequell will appear.

31. Entring

Anno Regni Mar. 1. Anno Dom. 3. 155. 4.

31. Entring *Southwarke* he enjoyneth his *Souldiers* to offer no violence, or take any thing without payment, yet *Winchester House* soon felt their fury, though such by his command (a *Generall* can but *proclaim* and punish the *Breakers* of his *Proclamation*) were made exemplary for their rapine. Then were the *Prisons* (and *Southwarke* is well stored with houses of that kinde) set open for such who were guilty onely of pretended heresie, not *Felonie* and *murther*. But those who thanked him for his curtesie, refused the acceptance thereof, (a *tender conscience* is a stronger obligation then a *Prison*) because as they were legally committed they would be legally discharged.

Southwark entred and Prisons opened.

32. But now all the *Towers* of the *Tower*, and the topps of the *square Steeples* neer the *Bridge-Foot*, on the other side were planted with *Ordnance* (so that both *Church* and *State* threatened his ruine) ready to be discharged into *Southwarke*, either to beat down the *Barrough*, or to force *Wyat* to depart, who perceiving it impossible to force his passage into *London* over the *Bridge*, and moved with the miserable moans of the *Southwarkers*, left their *Barrough*, and though towards the evening marched swiftly, silently, secretly to *Kingston* upon *Thames*. Speed begets speed, quickness causeth successe in matters of execution, as here in *Wyat* his comming to *Kingston* before any almost had notice of his motion.

Southwarke left, *Kingston* marched to.

Feb. 6.

33. But *Wyat* was not so much advantaged with his own expedition, as with the coincident oversights of the *Queens* party (whose carelessenesse and cowardise met together) enough to destroy her cause, had not *Divine Providence* resolved with finall successe to rectifie all humane mistakes. First, such set to order *Kingston Bridge* did their work by halves, breaking and not breaking it down, so that the substantialls standing, the rest were easily repaired for *Wyat* his safe passage over. Secondly, two hundred men set to defend the opposite banke quitted their Station [a], the very sight of two pieces of Ordnance planted against them. Thirdly, the *Queens Scouts* lost their *eyes*, (and deserved to lose their *Heads*) who could not discover a *Body* of four thousand men marching with a *large train of Artillery* so that the Queen had notice thereof, by the *Kentish Fugitives* sooner then by her own *Scouts*.

The carelessenesse of the Queene her Souldiers.

a B. *Godwins* annalls of *England* in Q. *Mary* pag. 394

34. but time soon gained by *Wyat* was as soon lost, on the accident of a *piece* of *Ordnance* breaking its carriage. Now whilst the Army waited the leasure of bringing up this *broken piece* (an houre to *Wyat* being of greater consequence then the *greatest Gun*) he came short of the time prefixed to such *Citizens* as were *Fautours* of his cause. Otherwise he had been at *London* in the night (taking his enemies napping before they dreamt of him) and all terrour is most active in the darke, when the lesse men see, the more they suspect, whereas now it was break of day before they had gotten to *Knights-Bridge*.

Wyat his march how retarded.

35. *Wyat* had a double designe, and performed them both alike. One violently to take *White-Hall*, the other peaceably to be taken into *London*. *Captain Vaughan* with five hundred Welsh-men (and one would wonder how they should straggle into *Kent*) embraced the right-hand way towards *Westminster*, and then wheeled away to *White-Hall*, his men shooting their arrows (regardlesse where they lighted) into the windows of the *Court*, but could not force their passage into it. *Wyat* went directly to *Charing-Crosse*, where he met with some opposition, but continued his resolution for *London*.

His double designe.

36. Here one might have observed, that within three hours the tongue of the multitude in *London* thrice altered their tunes. First they cryed,

Three tunes of *London* in three hours.

1. A *Wyat*, a *Wyat*, every mouth giving the alarme to the next man he met. The next note was
2. *Treason*, *Treason*, all suspecting that the *Earle* of *Pembroke* the *Queens Generall* had revolted, because hovering aloofe in the fields he suffered

suffered *Wyat* his *Van* and *main Battell* (cutting off some of the *Reare*) to march undisturbed save with one shot, from *Knights-Bridge* to *Charing Chrosse*. Their next tune was

3. Downe with the *Draggle tails*, Downe with the *Draggle-tails*.

And indeed no wonder if these *Kentish-men* marching in the darke, to avoid discovery in the depth of winter through durty wayes were richly landed in their cloaths, and well fringed with mire and mud about them.

Wyat stopped at Ludgate.

37. *Wyat* himself marched directly up the *Strand* and *Fleetstreet* with the losse of lesse then twenty men, and comming to *Ludgate* promised himself entrance into the *City*. But there he found nothing forbid his admission save a *strong gate close shut* and *well fortified* against him with *men* and *Ammunition*. From that minuite he went backward both in motion and successe. Returning to *Fleetstreet* He sate down on a *Bench* over against the *Bell Savage* (an Inne so called, because given by one *Isabell* * *Savage* to the *Company* of *Cutlers*) and there too late began to bemoan and accuse his own rashnesse. Retreating to *Temple-Barre* he was faced with some horse, and after a fight being moved by a *Herauld* to submit himself. *Then will I yeeld saith he to a Gentleman*, and so submitted himselfe (say [a] most) to Sr. *Maurice Berkley*, say [b] others to Sr. *Clement Paston* being in neither of them mistaken for their *Gentle extraction*.

* *Stows* survey of *London*.

a *Hollinshed*, Stow, Speed.
b Fox. pag. 1419.

Penitent at his execution

38. Hence was he carried to *White-Hall* to be examined, thence to the the *Tower* to be committed; Entring therein Sr. *John Bridges Livetenant* thereof taking him by the *collar* with his *Dagger* in his hand; *Ah Traitour, saith he, I would stab thee my self, but that I know thou wilt be executed*, to whom the other calmly replied, Sr, *now it is no mastery*. Some dayes after he suffered penitently and patiently on the *Scaffold*, condemning his own *act*, and therefore we have spoken the lesse against him, for speaking so much against himself. Fifty of his *Complices* were hanged, four hundred led with ropes about their necks, pardoned by the *Queen*, and all things stilled and quieted.

c *Holinshed*.

The Emperour why jealous of Cardinall *Poole*.

39. Long since had *Queen Mary* sent for *Cardinall Poole* in *Italie*, to come over into *England*. But *Charles* the *Emperour* by the *Popes* power, secretly retarded his return, fearing it might obstruct the propounded marriage betwixt *King Philip* his *Son* and *Queen Mary*. Indeed the *Queen* bare *Poole* an unfeighned affection, and no wonder to him that considereth

1. Their age. He being about tenn yeers older, the proportion allowed by the *Philosopher* betwixt *Husband* and *Wife*.
2. Parentage. She being *Daughter* to *King Henry* the *eighth*. He (by his *Mother Margaret*, *Daughter* to *George Duke* of *Clarence*) *Grandchild* to *Edward* the *Fourth*.
3. Education. Both when young brought up together, the aforesaid *Lady Margaret* being *Governesse* of *Queen* Mary in her infancy.
4. Religion. Both *zealous Catholicks*, and suffering, the *Queen* confinement, the *Cardinall* exile for the same.

His person also and nature was such as might deserve love, and though a *Cardinall Deacon*, yet that shallow character might easily be shaved off by the *Popes* dispensation, so that there was some probability of their *marriage*: and Oh how *Royally Religious* would their *Offspring* have been, extracted from a *Crown* and a *Cardinalls Cap*.

Poole at last gets leave for *England*.

40. But now when the *marriage* with *Prince Philip* was made up; *Poole* at last got leave for *England*, and to wipe away all superstition of *Lutheranisme* wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a *Cruell*, that he might be beleeved a *Cordiall Papist*. For meeting in *Brabant* with *Emanuel tremellius*, requesting some favour from him, he not onely denyed him relief, but also returned him railing termes, though formerly he had been his *familiar Friend*. Yea his *Godfather* [d] giving him his name at the *Font*, when *Tremellius* from a *Jew* first turned *Christian*.

d *Antiq. Brit. in Polo pag.* 351.

41. Arrived

Anno Dom. 1554 | Anno Regni Mar. 3.

April 11. & May 2.

Anno Regin Mar. 2 Mart. 22. 1555

Anno Dom. 4. 155.- 5. 25.

41. Arrived in *England*, he was first ordained *Priest* (being but *Deacon* before) and then consecrated *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* by *Heath*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Yorke*, and sixe other *Bishops* the *Queen* her selfe being present thereat, in the *Franciscan Church* at *Greenwich*, one of those *Bankrupt Covents* which her *grace* had set up again, Three dayes after he was *dedicated* in *Bow Church* in *Cheapside*, where rich in *costly robes* and sitting on a *guilded Throne* his *Pall* was presented unto him. Adorned herewith, *Poole* presently mounts the *Pulpit* and makes [a] a *drie Sermon* of the use and honour of the *Pall* without good language or matter therein (may they all make such who take for their *Text* what is not in *Scripture*) many much admiring the jejuneness of his discourse, as if putting off his *parts* when putting the *Pall* upon him.

Is ordained Priest, and consecrated Arch-Bishop.

a Ant. Brit. in *Polo* pag. 353.

42. Now sate the second *Parliament* in this *Queens Reigne*, wherein she parted with her Supremacy to the *Pope*, and *Poole* by his *power Legatine* solemnly *reconciled England* to the *Church* of *Rome*, that is, set it at open oddes and enmity with God and his *Truth*. Then did he dispense with much irregularity in severall persons, confirming the *Institution* of *Clergie-men* in their *Benefices*, legitimating the *Children* of forbidden marriages, ratifying the *Processes*, and *Sentences* in *matters Ecclesiasticall*, and his *Dispensations* were confirmed by *Acts* of *Parliament*, as in the *Statutes* at large appear. Then was *Anthonie Brown*, *Vicount Mountacute*, *Thirleby Bishop* of *Eli*, and *Sr. Edward Carne* sent on a *gratulatorie Embassie* to *Pope Paul* the fourth to tender *Englands* thanks for his great favours conferred thereon: A sad and certain presage of heavie persecution which immediately did ensue.

England reconciled to *Rome*.

Anno Dom. 1555 | Anno Regni Ma. 3

SECTION. II.

To Mr. THOMAS BOWYER of the *Old Jury* Merchant.

YOu may with much joy peruse this sad story of Persecution presented unto you, whose Grandfather Francis * Bowyer *brought no fewel to these flames, but endeavoured to quench them. The* Church *is indebted to him for saving reverend* Dr. Alexander Nowel, *(then School-master of* Westminster, *designed to Death, by* Bonner *) and sending him safe beyond the Seas. Thus he laid* a good foundation, *to which I impute the firm-standing of your family, it being rare, to see, (as in yours)* the third Generation *in* London *living in the same Habitation. May many more of* the stock, *succeed in the same, the desire of your obliged friend* T F.

* Afterward Sheriffe of *London* Anno. 1577.

The disposing of the future matter.

I. WE come now to set down those particular Martyrs that suffered in this Queens Reigne. But this point hath been handled already so curiously, and copiously by *Mr. Fox*, that his industry herein hath starved the endeavours of such as shall succeed him, leaving nothing for their penns, and pains to feed upon. [a] *For, what can the man doe that cometh after the* King? *even that which hath been already done*, saith *Solomon*. And *Mr. Fox* appearing sole Emperour in this subject, all posterity may despair to adde any remarkable discoveries, which have escaped his observation. Wherefore to handle this subject after him, what is it, but *to light a candle to the Sunn?* or rather (to borrow a metaphor from his book) *to kindle one single stick to the burning of so many faggots?* However, that our pains may not wholy be wanting to the Reader herein, we will methodize these Martyrs, according to the several Dioceses, and make on them some brief observations.

[a] Eccles. 2. 12.

Persecution in the Dioceſs of *Exeter*.

[b] *Fox.* 2052.

[c] Holinshed pag. 1309.

2. In the Dioceſse of *Exeter* (containing *Cornwall* and, *Devonshire*) I finde but one Martyr, namely *Agnes* [b] *Priest*, condemned by *William Stanford* then Judge of the Assise of *Lancester*, but burned at *Exeter*. The tranquility of these parts is truly imputed [c] to the good temper of *James Turbervile* the Bishop; one, as *gentilely* qualified, as extracted; and not so cruel to take away the lives from others, as carefull to regain the lost livings to his Church: and indeed he recovered to him and his successours, the Fee-farme of the Manour of *Credston*. Yet to shew his sincerity in Religion, that he might not seem to do nothing, he dipp'd his fingers in this poor womans blood, but did not afterwards wash his hands in the persecution of any other Protestant for ought we can finde in any history.

3. The

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3. The like quiet diſpoſition of *Gilbert Bourn*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* ſecured *Somerſet* ſhire. Indeed, he owed his life under God, to the protection of a Proteſtant (for Mr. *Bradford* at *Pauls-croſſe*, ſaved him from a dagger thrown at him in a tumult) and this perchance, made him the more tender to Proteſtants lives. Yet in the Regiſter of his Church, we meet with one [a] *Richard Luſh* condemned by him, though his execution doth not appear, and yet it is probable, that this poor *Iſaac*, thus bound to the Altar, was afterward ſacrificed, except ſome intervening Angel ſtaied the ſtroak of the ſword. In the Dioceſs of *Bath* and *Wells*. a Fox. pag. 2004.

4. So alſo the Dioceſs of *Briſtol*, made up of *Dorſet*-ſhire, and part of *Gloceſter*-ſhire, enjoyed much quietneſſe, *John Holyman* the Biſhop did not, for ought I can finde, prophane himſelf with any barbarous cruelty. But Mr. *Dalby* [b] his Chancellour (as an active Lieutenant to a dull Captain) ſent three, namely, *Richard Sharpe*, *Thomas Benion*, and *Thomas Hale*, to the ſtake at *Briſtol*, for the teſtimony of the truth. This *Dalby* knowing himſelf to be low in parts and learning, and deſpairing otherwiſe to appear in the world, thought, the onely way to recommend himſelf to mens notice, was, to do it by his cruelty. In the Dioceſs of *Briſtol*. b Fox. pag. 2052.

5. More ſparks of perſecution flew into the Dioceſs of *Sarisbury*, in *Wiltſhire* and *Barkſhire*, under *John Capon* the Biſhop, and *Dr. Geffray* his Chancellour, for, this *Dreg* was worſe then *Saul* himſelf. At *Nubery* he ſent three Martyrs to heaven in the ſame charriot of fire, [c] *Julius Palmer*, *John Gwin*, and *Thomas Askin*. Yea, this was but a light flouriſh, in reſpect of that great blow he intended, had not heaven prevented him, and many others of his bloody crew, by the death of Queen *Mary*; whereby, to uſe *Davids* phraſe, God *ſmote them* [d] *on the cheek-bone, and brake the teeth of the ungodly*. In the Dioceſs of *Sarisburie*. c Fox. pag. 1940. d Pſal. 3. 7.

6. In the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, conſiſting of *Hantſhire*, and *Surrey*, I finde no great impreſſion from *Stephen Gardiner* the Biſhop, and much marvell thereat. It may be this politician, who managed his malice with cunning, ſpared his own Dioceſs, fox-like preying fartheſt from his own den. Indeed he would often ſtay behind the traverſe, and ſend *Bonner* upon the ſtage (free enough of himſelf without ſpurring to do miſchief) to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may ſay of *Gardiner*, that he had an head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent Proteſtant; plotting, though not acting, their deſtruction. And, being Lord Chancellour of *England*, he counted it his honour, to *flie at ſtout game* indeed, contriving the death of the Ladie *Elizabeth*, and uſing to ſay, that it was vain to ſtrike at the branches, whileſt the roote of all Hereticks doth remain. And this good Lady was appointed for the ſlaughter, and brought to the ſhambles, when the ſeaſonable death of this butcher, ſaved the ſheep alive. In the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*.

7. However (as bloody as he was) for mine own part, I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this *Stephen Gardiner*, and here I ſolemnly tender the ſame. It is on the account of Mrs. *Clarke* my great Grandmother by my mothers ſide, whoſe huſband rented *Farnham-Caſtle*, a place whither Biſhop *Gardiner* retired, in *Surrey*, as belonging to his Sea. This Biſhop, ſenſible of the conſumptionous ſtate of his body, and finding phyſick out of the Kitchin more beneficiall for him, then that out of the Apothecaries ſhop, and ſpeciall comfort from the Cordialls ſhe provided him; did not onely himſelf connive at her *Hereſie*, as he termed it, but alſo protected her during his life, from the fury of others. Some will ſay, this his curteſie to her, was founded on his kindeneſſe to himſelf. But however, I am ſo far from detaining thanks from any, deſerved on juſt cauſe, that I am ready to pay them, where they are but pretended due on any colour. The Authours gratitude to *Stephen Gardiner*.

8. *Suſſex* ſmarted more than all the forenamed Counties together, under *John Chriſtopherſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. This man was well learned, and In the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*.

Anno Dom. 3. 155... 4. Anno Regni Mar. 1.

and had turned *Eusebius* his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory into latine, with all the perſecutions of the Primitive Chriſtians. What he tranſlated in his youth, he practiſed in his age, turning Tyrant himſelf, and ſcarce was he warme in his Biſhoprick, when he fell a burning the poor Martyrs. Ten in one fire at [a] *Lewis*, and ſeaventeen others at ſeverall times in ſundry places.

a *Fox.* pag. 2003. & pag. 2024.

In the Dioceſs of *Canterbury.*

9. In the Dioceſs of *Canterbury*, Cardinal *Poole* appeared not perſonally active in the proſecution of any to death. Whileſt others impute this to his ſtatelineſſe, not ſtooping to ſo ſmall matters; we more charitably aſcribe it to his favouring of the Proteſtant party, having formerly loſt the Papacy under that imputation. But, ſeeing it is a true Maxime, which an heathen man layeth down; *It is enough for a private man, that he himſelf do no wrong; but a publique perſon muſt provide, that thoſe under him do no injury to others*; I ſee not, how the Cardinal can be excuſed, from the guilt of that innocent blood, which *Thornton* his Suffragan, and *Harpſfield* his Arch-Deacon, ſhed like water, in, and about the City of *Canterbury*.

In the Dioceſs of *Rocheſter.*

10. The Dioceſs of *Rocheſter* (containing the remainder of *Kent*) was of ſmall extent. But, that *flock* muſt be very little indeed, out of which the *ravenous Wolfe* cannot fetch ſome prey for himſelf. *Morris* the Biſhop played the tyrant therein, being the firſt in Queen *Maries* dayes that condemned a woman (*Margery Polley* by name) to be burnt for religion; with many moe who at *Dartford*, or *Rocheſter*, ſealed the truth with their lives.

In the Dioceſs of *London* under *Bonner.*

b 1 Cor. 15. 32

11. Croſſe we the *Thames* to come into *Middleſex*, and *Eſſex*, the Dioceſs of *London* under Biſhop *Bonner*, *whom all generations ſhall call* Bloody. St. *Paul* [b] mentioneth his *fighting with beaſts at* Epheſus *after the manner of men*, which ſome expound, his encountering with people, *men* for their ſhape, and ſex; but *beaſts* for their cruell mindes, and manners. In the ſame ſenſe we may ſay, that *Lion*, *Tiger*, *Wolfe*, *Bear*; yea, a whole foreſt of wilde beaſts met in *Bonner*, killing two hundred in the compaſſe of three yeers. And, as if his cruelty had made him Metropolitan of all *England*, he ſtood not on diſtinction of Dioceſſes, but martyred all, whereſoever he met them. Thus Mr. *Philpot* belonged to *Gardiners* Juriſdiction, and often pleaded in vain, that *Bonner* was none of his Ordinary, yet *Bonner* (Ordinary, or Extraordinary) diſpatch'd him, who cared not whence men came, but onely whither he ſent them. No ſex, quality, or age, eſcap'd him, whoſe fury reached from *John Fetty* a lad of eight yeers old, by him ſcourged to death; even unto *Hugh Laverock*, a Creeple, ſixty eight yeers old, whom he cauſed to be burnt.

Under Dr. *Story.*
* quer. for he is not in B. *Godwins* catologue.

12. Dr. *Story* Dean of * *Pauls* muſt not be forgotten, being under *Bonner* a moſt cruell perſecutour. Was not this falſe Herauldry, *cruelty* on *cruelty*? Well; So it ſeemed good to Divine Providence, as conducing moſt to the peace of the Church, that one place rather then two, ſhould be troubled with ſuch damnable Tyrants. *Bonner* perſecuted by *whole-ſale*, *Story* by *Retail*; the former enjoyned, the later attended the execution; What *Bonner* bade, *Story* beheld to be performed. Yea, ſometimes he made cruel additions of his own invention; As, when he cauſed a faggot to be toſſed in the face of Mr. *Denlie* the Martyr, when he was ready to be burnt. How he was rewarded afterwards for his cruelty, by Gods bleſſing in due place.

In the Dioceſs of *Norwich.*

13. Under the ſame Torrid Zone of perſecution (but a little more temperate) lay *Norfolke*, and *Suffolke*, in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*. Biſhop *Hopton* was unmercifull in his Viſitations; but *Downing* the Chancellour plai'd the Devill himſelf; enough to make wood deare in thoſe parts, ſo many did he conſume to aſhes, whoſe ſeveral examinations are at large ſet down in the Book of Martyrs.

In the Dioceſs of *Elie.*

14. *Elie* Dioceſs [Cambridge-Shire] ſucceeds, whoſe Biſhop Dr. *Thirlby* was a learned, diſcreet, and moderate man; witneſſe his meek behaviour at the degrading of Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, ſhedding plentifull

tears

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tears thereat. But, can water, and fire, weeping, and burning, come from the ſame perſon? Surely ſo it did here; for afterwards he fingled out *John Hallier* (as the *Repreſentative* for all the Proteſtants in his Dioceſs) whom he cauſed to be burnt at *Cambridge*. The ſhedding his blood was as *giving earneſt* of his zeal in the Popiſh cauſe, though afterward he made no farther payment in this kinde; juſtly offending the Proteſtants for doing ſo much, yet ſcarcely pleaſing the Papiſts, becauſe he did no more. As for the execution of *William Woolſey*, and *Robert Pigot*, in this Dioceſs: *Thurlby* was no whit intereſted therein, but the guilt thereof muſt be ſhared, betwixt *Dr. Fuller* the Chancellour, and other Commiſſioners.

15. In *Peterborough* Dioceſs (conſiſting of *North-hampton-ſhire*, and *Rutland*) I finde but one, *John Kurde*, a Shooe-maker, burnt at *Northhampton*. But, this his death I cannot charge on the account of *David Poole* the Biſhop, as conſenting thereunto, becauſe *William Binſley* Batchelour of law, and Chancellour of *Peterborough*, was onely his active Proſecutor. In the Dioceſs of *Peterborough*.

16. *Lincolne* Dioceſs is next, the largeſt of the whole Kingdome, containing *Lincolne*, *Leiceſter*, *Huntington*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, beſides parts of *Hartford* and *Warwick*-ſhires. Now, according to the rules of proportion, who could expect otherwiſe, but, *the moe men*, *the moe Martyrs*? The greater the Province, the more grievous the perſecution? But, it fell out the clean contrary, finding but one Martyr in all that ſpace of ground (a * Merchants ſervant burnt at *Leiceſter*.) Frivolous is their reaſon, who impute this to the diſpoſition of *White*, Biſhop of this Dioceſs (the firſt half of Queen *Maries* Reign) whom they behold, as poetically given; of more phanſie, then fury, which vented it ſelf in verſes; more pleaſed to laſh the Hereticks with a Satyr, then ſuck their blood by deſtructive courſes. As little credit is to be given to their conceit, who aſcribe the following tranquillity of this Dioceſs to Biſhop *Watſon*, *Whites* ſucceſſour therein; becauſe he was a man ſo buried in the ſpeculations of School-Divinity, that it unactiv'd him to be practical in perſecution. I ſay again, both theſe reaſons amount not to any partiall cauſe, of the peace of this Dioceſs. For we know full well, that after the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, this *White*, and this *Watſon* diſcovered keenneſs, and fierceneſſe of ſpirit againſt Her, more then any other Biſhops; in ſo much, that they threatned Her with an excommunication. I conceive the true cauſe was this; *Lincolne* Dioceſs, in the Reign of *Henry* the eighth, had *borne the heat of the day*, when *Buckingham-ſhire* alone (as we have formerly [a] obſerved) afforded more Martyrs then all *England* beſide. God therefore thought it fit, that other Dioceſſes ſhould now *take their turnes*; that this of *Lincolne*, harraged out before, ſhould now lie fallow, whileſt other Countries, like *reſt-ground*, ſhould ſuffer perſecution, whereon indeed the *plowers plowed, and made long furrows*. In[e] the Dioceſs of *Lincolne*.

* *Fox. Volum.* 3. pag. 706.

a *Lib.* 4. *Cent.* 16. *Parag.* 2.

17. The Dioceſſes of *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*, under their reſpective Biſhops, *Robert Kinge*, *James Brook*, *Robert Parſew*, and *Richard Pates*, enjoyed much quiet, It being true of them, what is ſaid of *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, after the converſion of [b] *Paul*, *Then had the Churches reſt throughout all thoſe places*. This principally flowed from Gods gracious goodneſſe, who would not have all places at once equally embroyled. It is not fit, that all the rooms in the houſe, ſhould onely be *chimney*, *furnace*, or *oven*, but that it ſhould alſo afford ſome other places for quiet repoſe. And yet I wonder much, that we finde no fire (and very little ſmoke) in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, ſeeing *Brook*, the Biſhop thereof is [c] charactered to be *A great Perſecutor of Proteſtants*. Indeed his fury ſpent it ſelf moſt abroad; who, either being, or accounting himſelf a great Scholar, ſtickled much at *Oxford* againſt Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, pretending himſelf to be a Commiſſioner immediately Delegate from the Pope, and venting his malice againſt that good Prelate, in two Orations, onely remarkable for their length, and bitterneſs. Quiet in foure Dioceſſes.

b Acts. 9. 31.

c *Haddons* Chronologie of Biſhops pag 477.

18. *Ralph*

Anno Dom. 1555. Anno Regin. Mar. 3. 4.

In the Dioceſs of *Coventrie*, and *Lichfield*.

18. *Ralph Baynes* was Biſhop of *Coventrie*, and *Lichfield*, late Profeſſour of Hebrew in *Paris*, who alſo [a] wrote a Comment on the Proverbs, and dedicated it to *Francis* the firſt King of *France*. Sure I am, he forgat a paſſage of *Solomons* therein Prov. 14. 21. *But he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he.* This *Baines* proving a blodie perſecutour of Gods poor ſervants in his Juriſdiction. The gentile birth and breeding of Mrs. *Joyce Lewes*, was not too high for him to reach at, and the poor condition of *Joan Waſt*, a blinde woman in *Darbie* was not too low for him to ſtoop to, condemning them both to death, with many other faithfull witneſſes of the truth.

a *Pitſeus de Angliæ Scriptoribus pag.* 759.

In the Dioceſs of *Yorke*.

19. The Arch-Biſhoprick of *Yorke* enjoyed much peace, and tranquillity under Dr. *Nicolas Heath*, a meek, and conſcientious man. It is enough to intimate his moderate temper, equal, and diſingaged from violent extremities, that *Primo Elizabethæ* in the Diſputation between the Papiſts, and Proteſtants, he was choſen by the Privie Councel, one of the Moderatours. And, as he ſhewed mercy in proſperity, he found it in adverſity, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, though depos'd from his dignity, repos'd in a peacable quietneſſe. So that his impotent age might rather ſeem ſeaſonably eaſed of troubleſome greatneſſe, than abridged of any requiſites for his comfortable ſupportation.

In the Dioceſs of *Cheſter*.

20. Dr. *Cotes* was Biſhop of *Cheſter*, who waſhed his hands in the blood of Mr. *George March* burnt at *Cheſter*. At whoſe execution, I underſtand not the addition of a pitch'd barrell placed above his head, certainly to enflame the flame; but, whether out of kindneſſe, to haſten his death; or cruelty, to encreaſe his pain, I dare not decide. Sure I am, *Cotes* died ſoon after, and *Cuthbert Scot* ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick, one very buſie about the burning of *Bucers* body in *Cambridge*, but otherwiſe I finde no perſecution raiſed by him in his own Dioceſs.

Peace in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.

21. The Biſhoprick of *Durham* had *Halcyon dayes* of eaſe, and quiet, under God, and good *Cuthbert Tonſtall* the Biſhop thereof. A learned man, of a ſweet diſpoſition, rather devout to follow his own, than cruel to perſecute the conſcience of others. Indeed, he being preſent in *London* at the examination of divers Martyrs, would ſometimes flie out in baſe and unbeſeeming language (as when he called Biſhop *Hooper beaſt* for being married) yet his paſſion herein may the rather be pardoned, becauſe politickly preſumed, to *barke* the more, that he might *bite* the leſſe, as appeared by his courteous carriage in his own Dioceſs. For, I meet with the marginal note in [b] Mr. *Fox*, which indeed juſtly deſerved even in the faireſt letters, to be inſerted in the body of his book. *Note that Biſhop* Tonſtall *in Queen* Maries *time was no great bloody perſecutor. For*, Mr. Ruſſel *a Preacher was before him, and* Dr. Himner *his Chancellour would have had him examined more particularly. The Biſhop ſtayed him, ſaying, Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours, I pray you bring not this mans blood upon my head.* But more of this *Cuthbert Tonſtall* hereafter.

b *Volum.* 3. *pag.* 958.

And of *Carlile*.

22. The Dioceſs alſo of *Carlile* was not moleſted with any great troubles under *Owen Oglethorp*, the Biſhop thereof, one qualified with a moderate temper. It argueth no leſſe, becauſe afterward he crowned Queen *Elizabeth*, an office which all other Biſhops, then ſtiffly denied to performe. But, *to ſpeak plain Engliſh*, though the peaceableneſs of theſe northerne Biſhopricks, proceeded partly from the mildeneſs of thoſe that ſate in the Epiſcopal chairs thereof; yet it muſt be remembred, that even want of matter for perſecution to work on, conduced much to the peace of thoſe places. The beams of the Goſpel being neither ſo bright, nor ſo hot in theſe parts, where ignorance, and ſuperſtition generally prevailed.

The ſingularity of the B. of *Landaffe*.

23. The ſame may be ſaid of all *Wales*, where caſting over our eye, we diſcover no conſiderable perſecution, under the Biſhops of *Aſaph*, and *Bangor*. But, as for the Biſhop of *Landaffe*, his proceedings againſt good

Raulins

Anno Regin Mar. 3. Anno Dom. 1555.

Raulins White (whom he cauſed to be burnt at *Cardiffe*) was remarkable, as ſtanding alone without precedent. For, He cauſed his Chaplain to *ſay a maſs* (the firſt I beleeve, that found out, and laſt that uſed that way) for the converſion of the ſaid *Rawlins*, though the ſame proved ineffectuall.

24. But Dr. *Morgan*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, is paramount for his cruelty, paſſing the ſentence of condemnation on *Robert Farrar*, his immediate predeceſſour, whom he cauſed to be burnt at *Carmarthen*. We know whoſe counſell it was; [a] *This is the heire, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. And *Morgan* never thought himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of his Biſhoprick, whileſt *Farrar* was as yet in poſſeſſion of his life. However, herein, *Morgan*, *Out-Bonnered* even *Bonner* himſelf, who (though not out of pitty, of pollicy) did not himſelf condemne *Ridley* his Predeceſſour, but procured him to be ſent to *Oxford*, to be ſentenced by others; whereas this Biſhop himſelf pronounced the ſentence on *Farrar*; an act which no good man could, and no wiſe man would have done. Thus have we briefly ſurveyed all the Dioceſſes in *England*; The Univerſities of *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* onely excepted; which, being *Peculiars*, and exempt from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, are reſerved for a particular deſcription, by Gods bleſſing, at the end of this book. Nor do we forget, (though acted out of the Continent of *England*) that cruel murder in the Iſle of *Garnſey*; where, the infant burſting out of the mothers wombe (the cruell fire being ſo mercifull, as to be the midwife, to ſeparate, and tender the innocent babe, from the condemned mother, to the charity of the beholders) was firſt taken out of the [b] fire, and then caſt in again, and burnt with the mother thereof.

The cruelty of the B. of *Bangor*.

a Luk. 20.14.

b *Fox. Volum.* 3. *pag.* 747. The firſt and laſt of the Martyrs.

25. In all this *Army of Martyrs*, Mr. *John Rogers*, burnt in *Smithfield* Februarie the 4th. 1555. led the *Vann*; and five Martyrs burnt at *Canterbury*, November the 10th. 1558. (namely *John Cornford*, *Chriſtopher Browne*, *John Herſt*, *John Snoth*, and *Katharine Knight*) brought up the *Rere*, according to their own prayer (not to ſay propheſie) at the ſtake, that they might be the laſt, as by Gods mercy it ſo proved. All theſe were executed in the foure laſt yeers of *Queen Maries* Reigne, none ſuffering in the firſt yeer thereof. In which time, the Butchers under Her, did onely prepare their ſhambles for ſlaughter, whet their knives, and make ready their *inſtruments of cruelty*. Compariſons, I know, are odious, and the more, when made betwixt perſons of eminencie. However, to ſuch as peruſe the whole ſtory, theſe proportions will appear true. Of all the *Marian Martyrs*, Mr. *Philpot* was the beſt borne Gentleman; *Biſhop Ridley* the profoundeſt Scholar; Mr. *Bradford* the holieſt, and devouteſt man; *Arch-Biſhop Cranmer* of the mildeſt, and meekeſt temper; *Biſhop-Hooper* of the ſterneſt, and auſtereſt nature; Dr. *Taylor* had the merrieſt, and pleaſanteſt wit; Mr. *Latimer* had the plaineſt and ſimpleſt heart; &c. Oh the variety of theſe ſeveral inſtruments! Oh their joynt harmony in a conſort to Gods glory!

26. It is obſervable, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the main touch-ſtone, to diſcover the poor Proteſtants. Many indeed, are the differences betwixt us and the Romiſh Church, but on this point the examiners pinched moſt. Haply, becauſe in other controverſies, Proteſtants (hunted after by thoſe blood-hounds) might *take covert* under ſome tolerable diſtinction, and thereby evade the danger. Whereas this point of the real, corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, the ſelf ſame body that was crucified, was ſuch downe-right falſehood, it was incapable of any palliation, and was the compendious way to diſover thoſe of the contrary opinion. This *neck-queſtion* (as I may terme it) the moſt dull and duncicall Commiſſioner was able to aske; and thanks be to God, the ſillieſt Proteſtant-ſoule brought before them, was able to anſwer, firſt by denying it, then by dying in the defence of his denyall.

The Sacrament of the Altar, the greateſt ſnare to Proteſtants.

Anno Dom. 1555. Anno Regis Mar. 3.

Cruelty of Papists in pretorturing Martyrs.

27. Remarkable was their cruelty in pretorturing of many, whom afterwards they put to death. Herein akinn in their proceedings to *Pilate*, first scourging, then crucifying Christ. By what law did *Edmond Terrill* first burne the hand of *Rose Allen*, and her body afterwards? Even by the same that *Bonner* first burnt the hand of *Thomas Tomkins*, and then commanded him to be dispatch'd out of the way: By the same law, that *Cuthbert Simpson* was first cruelly rack'd, and then burnt, even by the law of their own might, and malice, not having otherwise any rag of legality, to cover the shame of their cruelty. Nature was mercifull in appointing that all men should [a] *once die*; whereas, had these Tyrants had the ordering thereof, they would have made divers to have died sundry times: yea, such was their cruelty, that, after once they had [b] *eat up* Gods servants, if possible, they would have *chew'd the cud* upon them the second time.

a Heb. 9. 27.

b Psal. 14. 4.

Some Cõmissioners of and by themselves courteous.

28. Some Commissioners privately were courteous to the Martyrs, who notwithstanding publikely concurr'd to their condemnation. It is *Luthers* observation, that in Scripture, *son of man* is alwayes taken in a good sense, but *sons of men* generally in the worst acception. Sure I am, take some of these men sole, and single by themselves, they were well natur'd, pittifull, and compassionate; but, when in conjunction with others, they became (at least by consenting) as cruel as the rest. What favour did Dr. *Fuller*, Chancellour of *Elie*, offer *William Woolsey*, and *Robert Piggot*, when alone? yet, when in complication with other Commissioners, pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon them.

Ministerial Persecutours.

29. Passe we now from the Judicial, to the Ministerial Persecutours; *Sheriffs*, *Under-sheriffs*, *Bayliffs*, *Promoters*, *Summoners* &c. The locusts [c] *had tails like unto Scorpions, and there were stings in their tails.* So here in officers, the baser, the bloodier; the meaner the more malicious; though by particular exception, some happened to be more mercifull then others. Of the Twin-Sheriffs in *London* (Mr. *Woodroffe*, and Mr. *Chester*) the former like *Esau*, had his hands rough, and hairy, being rugged and surly to Gods servants; whilest Mr. *Chester Jacob*-like, had smooth hands, kinde, and curteous to such as suffered. Thus *Amrie* (as I take it) the Sheriffe of *Chester*, was most cruel to Mr. *George Marsh*, whilest the Sheriffe of *Stafford-shire* (pitty it is, Mr. *Fox* hath not recorded his name) was afterward persecuted, for shewing so much favour to Mrs. *Joyce Lewes* at her execution, when he said [d] Amen to her prayer, *desiring God to deliver this Realme from Papistrie.*

c Revel. 9. 10.

d Mr. Fox Vol. 3. pag. 839.

Difference in prisons.

30. One prison may, comparatively, be a paradise in respect of another, and generally 'tis the Jaylour puts the difference betwixt them. How passionately did poor *Jeremy* [e] plead? *Cause me not to return to the house of* Jonathan *the Scribe lest I die there.* And therefore he took it for a speciall favour to be sent to the *Court of the prison.* How nastie a place was the dungeon of *Malchiah*, into which *Jeremiah* was afterward [f] cast? till *Ebed-melech* the blackmore drew him out thence? Now, amongst the fruitfull generation of Jayles in *London*, there were (though never a better) some lesse bad amongst them. I take the *Marshalls-see* to be in those times, the best for usage of prisoners. But, oh the misery of Gods poor Saints in *Newgate*, under *Alexander the* Jaylour, more cruell than his namesake the copper-smith was to St. *Paul*; in *Lollards-Tower*, the *Clinke*, and *Bonners Cole-house*; a place which minded them of the manner of their death, first kept amongst coles, before they were burnt to ashes.

e Jer. 37. 20.

f Jer. 38. 6.

Dr. Gefferie his illegal proceedings.

31. It is more then suspicious, that many of these silly souls were hurried to the stake, even against those laws which then stood in force in the Realm, before the Writ *De Haretico comburendo* was issued out against them. For, what the Jews said to [g] *Pilate*, *It is not lawfull for us to put any man to death*; The Ecclesiastical censures may say to the Secular Power in *England*, We have no power of life or limbe, but the inflicting punishments on both, must be devolv'd to the civill Magistrate. Yet Dr. *Gefferie* Chancellour of

g John 18. 31.

Anno Regni Mar. 3. Anno Dom. 1555.

of *Sarisburie* ſtood not on ſuch legal niceties, but haſtned them to the [a] ſtake, more minding the end to which, than the juſtice of the proceedings, whereby he ſent them thither.

[a] *Fox Vol.* 3. pag. 895.

32. All who met at laſt in final conſtancy, manifeſted not equal intermediate chearfulneſs. Some were more ſtout, bold, and reſolute; others more faint, fearfull, and timorous. Of the later was Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, who firſt ſubſcribed a recantation, but afterwards recanted his ſubſcription, and valiantly burned at the ſtake. Thus he that ſtumbleth, and doth not fall down, gaineth ground thereby, as this good mans ſlip mended his pace to his martyrdome. It is alſo obſervable, that married people, the parents of many children, ſuffered death with moſt alacrity. Mr. *Rogers*, and Dr. *Taylour* may be the inſtances thereof. The former of theſe, if conſulting with fleſh and blood, had *eleven* ſtrong reaſons to favour himſelf, I mean, a wife, and tenn children, all which abated not his reſolution.

All the Martyrs not alike chearfull.

33. Beſides theſe who were put to death, ſome ſcores (not to ſay hundreds) dyed, or rather were kill'd with ſtinch, ſtarving and ſtrait uſage in priſon. I am not ſatisfied in what diſtance properly to place theſe perſons. Some, perchance, will account it too high, to rank them amongſt *Martyrs*; and ſurely, I conceive it too low, to eſteem them but bare *Confeſſours*. The beſt is, the Herauldry of heaven knows how to marſhall them, in the place of dignity due unto them; where, long ſince, they have received the reward of their patience.

Of thoſe who died in priſon.

34. Miraculous was Gods providence, in protecting many which were condemned to the ſtake. It is part of the praiſe of his power [b], *To hear the groaning of the priſoner, to looſe thoſe that are appointed to death*. In *Davids* expreſſion [c]. *There was but a ſtep between them, and death*; which *ſtep* alſo had been ſtepped, had not one inſtantly *ſtepp'd aſide*, I mean the ſeaſonable death of *Queen Mary*. She melancholicke in minde, unhealthfull in body, little feared of Her forraigne foes, leſs beloved by Her native Subjects, not over-dear to Her own Huſband, unſucceſſefull in Her treaties for peace, and unfortunate in Her undertakings for warr, having deceived the Gentrie of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, by Her falſe promiſes, was deceived Her ſelf by a falſe conception, and having conſumed ſo many of Gods Saints by fire, dyed Her ſelf by water, an hydropicall Tympanie.

Q. *Maries* death life to many.

[b] Pſa. 102. 20.

[c] 1 Sam. 20. 3.

35. Obſervable was the mercy of the Proteſtants to theſe perſecutours, after the power was delivered into their hands, under the Reigne of *Queen Elizabeth*; by whom none of the aforeſaid Tyrants were proſecuted, or moleſted, for any act of cruelty done by them in the dayes of *Queen Mary*. Nor ſuffered they in the leaſt degree, on their former account, except they ran on a new ſcore of contempt againſt the Queen and State. As ſuch Biſhops who, in the firſt of Her Reigne, refuſed the Oath of Supremacy. Otherwiſe, all ſuch as conformed to Her Government, were not onely permitted to enjoy their old, but admitted to new preferment. Witneſſe Mr. *Bonner*, Chancellour of *Peterborough*, who condemned *John Kurde* of *Northampton*, yet in *Queen Elizabeths* dayes had the Arch-Deaconry of *Peterborough* conferred upon him. Thus, while Papiſts heap fagots on Proteſtants, Proteſtants, according to *Solomons* [d] counſell, *heap coals on them* (courteſies, and civilities) to melt them if poſſible into remorſe.

Proteſtants mercy, for Papiſts malice.

[d] Pro. 25. 22.

36. But, though the Proteſtants ſhewed much mercy to the Papiſts, their perſecutours, yet the God of the Proteſtants manifeſted much juſtice, in their wofull, and wretched deaths. I confeſſe, Gods beſt ſervants ſometimes have had ſad and ſuddain ends; witneſs good *Eli* himſelf, who [e] fell down, and brake his neck. I confeſs likewiſe, that ſome wicked men, who have liv'd like *Lions*, have died (to uſe the common countrie phraſe) *like Lambs*; or to uſe the expreſſion of the Pſalmiſt, [f] *They have*

Gods judgments muſt warily be deale with.

[e] 1 Sam. 4. 18.

[f] Pſal. 73. 4.

no hands in their death, so fairly, and quietly do they expire. It is not good therefore to be over tampering in this particular (our Saviour himself retrenching the censoriousnes of the Jews, for falling so heavy on the memories of those on whom *the tower of Siloe* [g] *fell*) and infallibly to inferr from their fatal death, their final damnation. However, when a remarkable death, suddenly follows a notorious wicked life, even such passengers, as are posting in the speed of their private affairs, are bound to *make a stand*, and solemnly to observe the justice of Gods proceedings therein. The rather, because *Bellarmine* our adversary [h] affirmeth, that *Infelix exitus Adversariorum*, the unhappy end of the Adversaries thereof, is one of the marks of the true Church. These cautions premised, take a few of many signal fatalities of these wicked persecutours.

Anno Dom. 1555. Anno Regni Mar. 3.

[g] Luke 13.5.

[h] De notis Ecclesiæ lib. 4. cap. 17.

Gods hand visible on many of the persecutours.

37. *Morgan*, Bishop of S[t]. *Davids* (who sentenced *Farrar* his predecessour) not long after was striken in so strange a sort, that his meat would rise up, sometimes out of his mouth, sometimes out of his nose, most horrible to behold, but more terrible to endure, and so continued till his death. Judge *Morgan*, who condemned the Ladie *Jane*, soon after ran mad, and sodied, having allways in his mouth, *Lady Jane, Lady Jane*, *Dunning*, the bloody Chancellour of *Norwich*, died suddenly, taken (as some say) sitting in his chair. *Berrie*, the remorsles Commissarie in *Norfolk*, fell down suddenly to the ground with an heavie grone, and never stirred after. *Thornton*, the Suffragan of *Dover*, looking upon his men, playing at bowls, was upon a sudden strook with a palsy, had thence to his death-bed, and, being advised by some to remember God, *yea, so I do* (saith he) *and my Lord Cardinal too*. D[r]. *Gefferie*, the bloodie Chancellour of *Sarisburie*, died suddenly on a Saturday, the day before he had appointed, moe than ninety persons to be examined by inquisition. M[r]. *Woodroffe*, that cruell Sheriffe of *London*, being but a week out of his office, was so striken by the hand of God, that for seven yeers space, till his dying-day, he was not able to move himself in his bed. *Burton* the cruell Bailie of *Crowland*, was poisoned to death, with the stinch of a crowes dung, muting on his face. What shall I speak of *Dale*, the Promoter, eaten up with lice? *Alexander* the Keeper of *Newgate*, consumed with offensive rottennes? *Robert Balding*, smitten with lightning, at the taking of *William Seaman*? *Clarke*, who hang'd himself in the Tower, with many moe? So that we may conclude with the prophecie of [a] *Moses*, *Rejoyce O ye nations with his people, for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people.*

[a] Deut. 32.43

What use to be made of the Martyrs sufferings.

[b] Matth. 9.8.

38. And now, to take our leaves of those Martyrs, what remains? but, 1. That we glorifie God in, and for their patience; [b] *who had given such power unto men.* 2. That we praise God, that true doctrine at this day, may be professed at an easier rate, then in that age. In Faires, and Markets, for the most part, commodities are sold deerest in the morning, which towards evening may be bought at a lower price. Sure I am, they paid most for the Protestant-Religion at the dawning of the day from Popery (life, or limbe, was the lowest price thereof) which since may be purchased at a cheaper pennie-worth. 3. That we embrace, and defend that doctrine, which they sealed with their lives; and as occasion shall be offered to vindicate, and assert their memories, from such scandalous tongues, and penns, as have, or shall traduce them.

Parsons his Cavill against the Martyrs calling answered.

39. It is inconsistent with our History, here to enter the lists, with that railing book which *Parsons* the Jesuite hath made against those good Martyrs. Onely be it remembred, that his *Cavill-General* is chiefly at their calling, because they were most Mechanicks, Weavers, Shooe-makers &c. An exception lying as well against just *Joseph*, a Carpenter; hospital *Simon*, a Tanner; zealous *Aquila*, and *Priscilla*, Tent-makers; attentive *Lydia*, a purple-seller.

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ple-seller. And is it not injurious to inferr their piety to be less, because their painfulness was more? If it be farther objected, that it is improbable, that these sillie souls should be more illuminated with knowledge, than the great Doctours of the Romish Church: know that Christs birth was revealed to the [c] shepherds in their calling, *watching their flocks by night*, and concealed from the Priests, and Pharisees (the pretended shepheards of *Israel:*) and, God might give more light to these industrious artificers, than to their idle Masters of Arts.

c Luke 2. 1.

40. *Behold your calling* (saith the Apostle) *how not manie wise men after the flesh* &c. *But God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise.* And; allwayes in time of persecution, the Church is like a *copse*, which hath in it more *under-wood* than *oakes*. For, great men consult with their safety; and, whilest the poorer sort (as having little to lose) boldly embrace religion with both armes; the rich (too often) do only behold it at distance, with a smiling countenance; but dare not adventure to entertain it, except with very great secrecie. We conclude all with this observation, that such Martyrs, as were artificers by their vocation, humbly continued in the station, wherein Divine Providence had placed them, none presuming (as too many now adayes) to invade the ministeriall function, not adventuring to preach, save onely that their real Sermon of patience at their death.

Poverty and piety oft goe together.
d 1 Cor. 1. 26, 27.

41. So much for the first forme, of Christians in those dayes, which were *martyr'd*. A second sort succeeds of such, who, being *Confessours* for the Faith, fled into forrain parts from persecution. This their removall is not onely defended from cowardize, but warranted for Christian Policy by our Saviours [a] precept, *But when they persecute you in this City, flee into another.* Had all fled, Religion had been at a losse for champions, to defend her for the present, had none fled, Religion might have been at a loss for champions, to maintain her for the future. We will give in a particular, both of such eminent persons, and of the places wherein they were entertained. Partly, that such places may receive their deserved praise, for their hospitality to exiles: and partly, that our harbouring the banished *Dutch* (flying many yeers after from the cruelty of *Duke d' Alva*) in *London*, *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, *Colchester*, and *Sandwich*, may appear, not so much the giving of a free, and fair curtesie; as the honest paying of a due debt, and wiping off an old score runn on trust by our great-grand-fathers.

A Catalogue of Confessours, with their places of refuge.
a Mat. 10 23.

Som seated themselves at,

1. *Emden*, in *East-Frizland*, a Staple-Town of English Merchants. I finde neither the names, nor number of those that harboured here; only it appears, that *John Scorie*, late bishop of *Chicester*, was here Superintendent of the English Congregation in *Emden*.
2. *Weasel*, then in the Dominions (as I take it) of the Duke of *Cleve*, but bordering on the *Low-Countries*, in the possession of the King of *Spaine*. The *English* meeting here, was rather a Chappel, then a Church; or, rather a Tabernacle, then a Chappel; because soon set up, and as suddenly taken down again. For they, who formerly had fled so farr from *Mary*, were now loth to live too neer to *Philip*; and, for fear of so potent a neighbour, quickly forsook this place, and disposed themselves elsewhere, in these four following Church-Colonies.

Some

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3. *Arrow*, [a] a ſmall city in *Switzerland*, on the banks of the River *Artola*, belonging to the Republique of *Berne*. The moſt noted men abiding here were

Thomas Leaver. *Richard Laugherne.* *Boys.*
Robert Pownall. *Thomas Turpin.* *Willford* *Upchaire.*

4. *Strasburgh*, where they found moſt courteous entertainment. The moſt eminent Engliſh, abiding here, as may be collected from their ſolemne [b] joynt-ſubſcription to a letter, were

James Haddon. *Guido Eaten.* *Michael Reymuger.*
Edwin Sandys. *John Geoffrey.* *Auguſtine Bradbridge.*
Edmond Grindal. *John Pender.* *Arthur Saule.*
John Huntington. *Thomas Eaten.* *Thomas Steward.*
Chriſtopher Goodman. *Thomas Lakin.*
Humfrey Alcocſon. *Thomas Craſton.*

Some ſeated themſelves at

5. *Zurich.* This was no formed Congregation of Paſtours, and people; but rather *a flock of Shepheards*, and therefore the letters unto them carie this ſtyle in their ſuperſcription, *To the Students at Zurich.* But, behold their names,

Robert Horne. *John Mullings.* *John Parkhurſt.*
Richard Chambers. *Thomas Spenſer.* *Roger Kelke.*
Thomas Leaver. *Thomas Bentham.* *Robert Beamont.*
Nicolas Karvile. *William Cole.* *Laurence Humfrey.*
Henry Cockraft. *John Pretio.*

6. *Frankford* on the *Meine*. Where they found the State very favourable unto them. And this was the moſt viſible, and conſpicuous Engliſh Church beyond the ſeas, conſiſting of

[c] *John Bale.* *Thomas Steward.* *John Samford.*
Edmond Sutton. *Thomas Wood.* *John Wood.*
John Makebraie. *John Stanton.* *Thomas Sorby.*
William Whittingham. *William Walton.* *Anthonie Carter.*
Thomas Cole. *Iaſper Swyft.* *Hugh Alford.*
William Williams. *John Geofrie.* *George Whetnall.*
George Chidley. *John Graie.* *Thomas Whetnall.*
William Hammon. *Migbell Gill.* *Edward Sutton.*
John Fox. *William Kethe.*
Laurence Kent. *John Hellingham.*

Here we omit their petty Sanctuaries, having (like [d] *David*) *places, where himſelf, and his men were wont to haunt*, *Deesburgh*, *Wormes*, &c. Where their ſtragling numbers amounted not to the conſtitution of a Church. If theſe Congregations be compared together, *Emden* will be found the richeſt for ſubſtance (there the Merchants which bear the bagg;) *Weaſel* the ſhorteſt for continuance; *Arrow* the ſlendereſt for number; *Strasburgh* of the moſt quiet temper; *Zurich* had the greateſt ſcholars, and *Frankford* had the largeſt priviledges. Nor let any wonder, if ſome in theſe Catalogues, aſſigned to one colonie, were afterwards found in another; ſeeing the Apoſtles [e] expreſſion, *We have here no biding City*, hath in it a ſingle truth in time of peace, and at leaſt a double one in time of perſecution; men flitting from place

a Troubles of *Frankford* printed Anno. 1575. pag. 185.

b *Tr. of Fr.* pag. 23.

c *Tr. of Fr.* pag. 20. & 25.

d 1 Sam. 30. 31

e Heb. 13. 14.

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place to place, as they were adviſed by their own ſecurity. Know alſo, that beſides theſe (the firſt founders of theſe ſeverall Congregations) many additional perſons, coming afterwards out of *England*, joyned themſelves thereunto.

42. Come we now to ſet down the ſad troubles of *Frankford*, rending theſe baniſhed exiles aſunder, into ſeverall factions. This I dare ſay, if the Reader takes no more delight in peruſing, than I in penning ſo dolefull a ſubject, he will ſhew little mirth in his face, and feel leſs joy in his heart. However we will be ſomewhat large, and wholy impartial in relating this ſorrowfull accident; the rather, becauſe the penn-knives of that age, are grown into ſwords in ours, and their writings laid the foundations of the fightings now adayes. A brief introduction to the troubles of *Frankford*.

43. The Engliſh exiles came firſt to *Frankford June* the 24th. and on the 14th. of *July* following, by the ſpeciall favour, and mediation of Mr. *John Glauberg*, one of the chief Senatours of that State had a Church granted unto them: yet ſo, as they were to hold the ſame in *Copartenie* with the French-Proteſtants, they one day, and the Engliſh another; and on Sunday, alternately to chuſe their hours, as they could beſt agree amongſt themſelves. The Church was alſo granted them with this proviſo, [a] *That they ſhould not diſſent from the French in doctrine, or ceremonie, leſt thereby they ſhould miniſter occaſion of offence.* On the 29th. of the ſame moneth, our Engliſh with great joy, entred their new Church, and had two Sermons preached therein, to their ſingular comfort. About which time they conſtituted their Church, chooſing a Miniſter, and Deacons for a time; and, out of conformity to the French, abrogated many things, formerly uſed by them in the Church of *England*, as namely, A Church at *Frankford* firſt granted to the Engliſh.

a *Tr.* of *Fr.* pag. 6.

1. They concluded, that the anſwering aloud after the Miniſter ſhould not be uſed.
2. The Letanie, Surplice, and other ceremonies in Service, and Sacraments, they omitted, both *as ſuperfluous, and ſuperſtitious.*
3. In place of the Engliſh Confeſſion, they uſed another, adjudged by them *of more effect*, and framed according to the [b] *State and Time.*
4. The ſame ended, the people ſung a Pſalme in meeter, in a plain tune.
5. That done, the Miniſter prayed for aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit, and ſo proceeded to the Sermon.
6. After Sermon, a generall prayer for all States, and particularly for *England*, *was deviſed*, which was ended with the Lords prayer.
7. Then followed a rehearſall of the Articles of Belief, which ended, the people ſung another pſalme, as before.
8. Laſtly, the Miniſter pronounced the bleſſing. *The peace of God* &c. or the like, and ſo the people departed.

b *Tr.* of *Fr.* pag. 7.

What is meant by framing their Confeſſion according to the *State and Time*, I underſtand not (muſt our confeſſions, as our clothes follow the faſhions of the State, and place we live in?) except it be this, that it was made more particularly, not only for *ſinners*, but for *exiles*, acknowledging their preſent baniſhment, juſtly inflicted on them for their offences. The *prayer deviſed* after Sermon, according to the genuine ſenſe of the word, ſeems no extemporary prayer then conceived by the Miniſter, but a ſet forme formerly agreed upon by the Congregation. Thus have we a true account of their Service; conceive it onely of ſuch things, wherein they differed from the Engliſh Liturgy, not of ſuch particulars wherein they concurr'd therewith; the cauſe (as I conceive) why no mention of reading of pſalms, and chapters in their Congregation. Theſe certainly were not omitted, and probably were

were inserted betwixt the Confession, and singing the first psalme.

Other English Congregations invited to *Frankford*.

44. Thus setled in their Church, their next care was to write letters, Dated August the first, to all the English Congregations, at *Strasburgh*, *Zurich*, *Weasel*, *Emden* &c. to invite them, with all convenient speed to come, and joyne with them at *Frankford*. This is the *Communion of Saints*, who never account themselves peacably possessed of any happiness untill (if it be in their power) they have also made their fellow-sufferers, partakers thereof. However, this their invitation found not any great entertainment amongst the other English Church-Colonies; all delaying, and some denying to come; but especially those of *Zurich* were most refractory, and shewed least inclination to repair to *Frankford*.

Those of *Zurich* quickned by importunity.

45. This occasioned severall reiterated letters from *Frankford*; pressing, and *requiring* those of *Zurich deeply to weigh this matter of Gods calling, and the necessity of uniting themselves in one Congregation.* Let none say that *Frankford* might as well come to *Zurich* as *Zurich* to *Frankford*; because the *English-Zurichians* (though not in number) in learning, and quality equalled, if not exceeded those of *Frankford*. For *Frankford* was neerer to *England*, and more convenient for receiving intelligence thence, and returning it thither. Besides all Christendome met at *Frankford* twice a yeer (the vernal and autumnal mart) and, grant there was more *learning* at *Zurich*, there were moe books at *Frankford*, with conveniences to advance their studies. But chiefly, at *Frankford* the Congregation enjoyed most ample priviledges; and it was conceived it would much conduce to the credit, and comfort of the English Church, if the dispersed handfulls of their exiles, were bound up in one sheaf, united into one Congregation, *where they might serve God in purity of faith, and integrity of life, having both Doctrine, and Discipline free from any mixture of superstition.*

But refuse to communicate with them.

46. Notwithstanding this their importunity, those of *Zurich* made no other addresses to *Frankford*, than by dilatory letters excusing themselves from coming thither. Some saw no absolute necessity, that all the English should repair to one place; conceiving it rather safer, to adventure themselves in several bottoms, and live in distinct Colonies. Others were displeased with the imperative stile of the letter from *Frankford*, *requiring* them to come thither; exceeding the bounds of counsell for convenience, into command for conscience: yea, charging recusancy herein, as a sin on the soul of the refusers. They pleaded, they were already peacably seated, and courteously used at *Zurich*: and, to goe away before they had the least injury offered them, was to offer an injury to those, who, so long and lovingly had entertained them. Some insisted on the material point, how they should be maintained at *Frankford*, there being more required to their living there, than their bare coming thither. But, the main was, those of *Zurich* were resolved no whit to recede from the liturgie used in *England* under the reign of King *Edward* the 6th, and, except these of *Frankford* would give them assurance, that comming thither they should have the full and free use thereof, they utterly refused any communion with their Congregation.

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SECT.

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Section. III.

To the right worſhipfull Sr. Henry Wroth Knight.

SIr, *it is my deſire fitly to ſuite my* dedications *to my reſpective* Patrons, *that what is wanting in the* worth *of the preſent, may be partly ſupplied in the propernes thereof, which made me ſelect this parcell of my Hiſtory for your* Patronage. *I finde* Sr. Thomas Wroth *your great-grandfather of the Bedchamber, and a favourite, to* King Edward *the* 6th *who (as I am informed) at his death, paſſed out of the armes of him, his faithfull Servant, into the embraces, of* Chriſt, *his deareſt Saviour. Soon after* Sr. Thomas *found a great change in the* Engliſh Court, *but no alteration, (as too many did to their ſhame) in his* own conſcience, *in preſervation whereof he was fain to fly beyond the* Seas. *To be a* fugitive *is a Sin and ſhame, but an honour to be a voluntary* Exile, *for a* good cauſe. *Hence it is that I have ſeen, in your ancient Houſe at* Durance, *the* * creſt *of your* Armes, *with the extraordinary addition of* Sable vvings *ſomewhat alluding to thoſe of* Bats, *to denote your anceſtours dark and ſecret flight for his ſafety. However God brought him home again, on the* ſilver vvings *of the* Dove, *when peaceably reſtoring him, in the dayes of* Q. Elizabeth *to his large Poſſeſſions. In a word, I may wiſh you and yours leſs mediate trouble then he had in the courſe of his Life, but cannot deſire you more final happines in the cloſe thereof.* T F.

* *viz.* a Lions Head erazed.

ABout this time Mr. *John Knox* came from *Geneva*, and was choſen by the Congregation of *Frankford*, for their conſtant Miniſter. Let none account it incongruous, that among ſo many able, and eminent Engliſh Divines, a Scotchman ſhould be made Paſtour of the Engliſh Church, ſeeing Mr. *Knox* his reputed merit did naturalize him (though a forrainer) for any Proteſtant Congregation. At which time alſo Mr. *Chambers*, and Mr. *Edmond Grindal* came thither as Agents, with a letter from the Congregation of *Strasburgh*. This *Strasburgh*, as in the poſition thereof, it is almoſt ſeated in the juſt middway betwixt *Zurich* and *Frankford*: ſo the Engliſh there reſiding, embraced a moderate, and middle expedient, betwixt the extremities of the two foreſaid Congregations. Theſe made a motion, that they might have the [a] *ſubſtance and effect of the Common Prayer-book, though ſuch ceremonies, and things, which the Countrie could not bear, might well be omitted. Knox* and *Whitingam* aſked them, what they meant by the *ſubſtance of the Book*: and whileſt the other

Mr. *Knox* choſen conſtant Miniſter at *Frankford.*

[a] *Tr.* of Fr. pag. 24.

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other wanted commission to dispute the point, the motion for the present came to no perfection.

The Liturgie of *England* tendred to Mr. *Calvin*. and his censure thereof.

2. However it gave occasion that Mr. *Knox*, and others in *Frankford*, drew up in Latine a platforme, or description of the Liturgie, as used in *England* under King *Edward*, and tendered the same to the judgement of Mr. *John Calvin* in *Geneva*, to pass his sentence thereon. This is that Mr. *Calvin* whose *care of all the Churches* is so highly commended by some, and as much censured is he by others, as *boasting himself in another mans line*, and medling with forraine matters which did not belong unto him. Take Mr. *Calvins* judgment herein from his own letter bearing date the 20th. of *January* following, *In the Liturgie of England, I see there are many tolerable fooliſh things; by these words I mean, that there is not that putity which were to be desired. These rites, though they could not at the first day be amended, yet, seeing there was no manifest impiety, they were for a season to be tolerated. Therefore it was lawfull to begin of such rudiments, or abcedaries, but so, that it behooved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ, to enterprize further, and to set forth some thing more filed from rust, and purer.* This struck such a stroke, especially in the Congregation of *Frankford*, that some therein, who formerly partly approved, did afterward wholy dislike; and moe, who formerly disli'd did now detest the English Liturgie.

Dr. *Cox*, and others arrive at *Frankford*.

3. In this case stood matters in *Frankford*, when Dr. *Richard Cox*, with some of his friends out of *England*, arrived there. This Doctour was a man of an high spirit, deep learning, unblameable life, and of great credit amongst his Countrie-men; for, he had been Tutour unto *Edward* the 6th. And well may the nurse herself be silent, whilest the well battleing of the babe pleads aloud for her care, and diligence: as here the piety and pregnancie of his Prince-pupill, added much to Dr. *Cox* his deserved reputation. He, with others, coming into the Congregation *March* 13. discomposed the model of their service; first, answering aloud after the Minister; and, on the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent and knowledge of the Congregation, got up into the pulpit, and there read all the [a] Letanie. *Knox*, highly offended hereat, in the afternoon, preaching in his course out of *Genesis*, of *Noahs nakednesse in his tent*, took occasion sharply to tax the authours of this disorder, avowing many things in the English Book to be *superstitious, impure, and imperfect*; and, that he would never consent they should be received into the Congregation.

a *Tr.* of *Fr.* pag. 38.

The Senate of *Frankford* interpose for *Knox*.

4. Here I omit many animosities, and intermediate bickerings betwixt the opposite parties; especially at one conference, wherein Dr. *Cox* is charged to come with his inartificial argument *ab authoritate, Ego* [b] *volo habere*, I will have it so. In fine, *Knox* his party finding themselves out-voted, by Dr. *Cox* his new recruits out of *England*, got one voice on his side, which, was louder, and stronger then all the rest; I mean the authority of the Senate of *Frankford*, interposing on his behalf: and, Mr. *John Glauberg* (principal procurer of their Congregation, as is aforesaid) publiquely professed, that if the reformed order of the congregation of *Frankford* were not therein observed, [c] *As he had opened the Church-door unto them, so would he shut it againe.*

b *Tr.* of *Fr.* pag. 40.

c *Tr.* of *Fr.* pag. 43.

Mr. *Knox* accused of high treason, and departs from *Frankford*.

5. *The wringing of the nose* (saith wise [d] *Agur*) *bringeth forth blood; so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife.* See here, the *Coxan* party depressed, embrace a strange way to raise themselves, and accuse *Knox* to the State, for no less than high treason against the Emperour in an English book of his intitled, *An admonition to Christians*; first, privately preached in *Buckingham-shire*, and now publiquely printed to the world. Eight places therein were laid to his charge: the seven last may well be omitted, the first was so effectuall to the purpose, wherein he called the Emperour, *no less an enemy to Christ then was Nero.* Strange, that words spoken some yeers since, in another

d Pro. 30. 33.

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another land, and language, againſt the Emperour, to whom *Knox* then owed no natural allegiance (though ſince a caſual, and accidental one, by his removall into an imperiall City) ſhould, in this unhappy juncture of time, be urged againſt him, by exiles of his own religion, even to no leſſe than the indangering of his life. But, what ſaid *Rachel* of *Leah*? [a] *With great wreſtlings have I wreſtled with my ſiſter, and I have prevailed: with great*, rather than *good wreſtlings*. Such, too often, is the badneſſe of good people; that in the heat of paſſion, they account any play to be fair play, which tends to the overturning of thoſe with whom they contend. Hereupon, the State of *Frankford* (as an Imperial Town, highly concerned to be tender of the Emperours honour) willed *Knox* to depart the City; who on the 25th. of *March*, to the great grief of his friends, and followers, left the Congregation.

a Gen. 30. 8

March 25. 1556.

6. After the departure (or rather the driving away) of Mr. *Knox*; Dr. *Cox*, and his adherents clearly carried all, and proceeded to the election of officers in their Congregation. But firſt for a fit title for him that was to take charge of their ſouls, then for a proper perſon for that title.

Officers choſen in the new modell Congregation.

1. *Biſhop* (though firſt in nomination) was [b] declined, as improper, becauſe here he had no inſpection over any Dioceſs, but onely a cure of a Congregation, on which very account Mr. *Scorie* (though formerly Biſhop of *Chicheſter*) when preacher to the Congregation of *Emden*, took upon him the title of Superintendent.

b Troubles of *Frankford* pag. 31.

2. *Superintendent* was here alſo waved, as the ſame in effect, onely a bad Latine word, inſtead of a good Greek.

3. *Miniſter* alſo was miſlik'd, for the principal Preacher (though admitted to ſignifie his *aſſiſtants*) perchance as a terme of too much complyance, with the oppoſite party.

4. *Paſtour* at laſt was pitched upon, as freeſt from exception, moſt expreſſive of the *office*, and leaſt obnoxious to offence.

Then was Mr. *Whitehead* [c] choſen their Paſtour, yet ſo, as *two Miniſters, foure Elders, and foure Deacons*, were joyned to aſſiſt him. And, becauſe this was then aſwell an Univerſitie, as a congregation of the Engliſh, Mr. *Horne* was choſen Reader of the Hebrew, Mr. *Mullines* of the Greek, and Mr. *Traherne* was made Lecturer of Divinity. In this new modell'd Congregation, I finde no office by name aſſigned unto Dr. *Cox* (more honour for him to make all, than to be any officer) who was vertually influent upon all, and moſt active (though not in the doctrinal) in the prudential part of Church-government.

c Ibid. pag. 52.

7. As for the *oppreſſed Congregation* (ſo their oppoſites ſtile themſelves) it was headed by *William Whittingham*, one (though of leſs authority, yet) of as much affection to the cauſe, as *Knox* himſelf. This partie continued their diſlike of the Liturgie, calling it the [d] *Great Engliſh Book*, offended (it ſeems) with the largeneſs thereof. And they affirmed (may the report lie on the reporters to avouch it) how *Cranmer Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury did preſent a book of prayer, an hundred times more* [e] *perfect than the Liturgie uſed in* King Edwards *dayes, yet the ſame could not take place, becauſe he was matched with ſo wicked a Clergie, in Convocation with other enemies*. Beſides this their old grudge againſt *the Common Prayer*, they were grieved afreſh in this election of new officers in the Engliſh Congregation, that their old officers were neither legally continued, nor fully diſcharged, nor friend-like conſulted with, nor fairely aſked their conſent, but no notice at all taken of them. In a word, never aroſe there a greater *murmuring of the Grecians againſt the* [f] *Hebrews, becauſe their widdows were neglected in their daily miniſtration*; than here an heart-burning in the *Wittingamian* againſt the other party, for the affront offered to their old officers, in this new election.

Whittingam heads the oppoſite partie.

d Ibid. pag. 40.

e Ibid pag. 43

f Acts 6. 1.

8. Here a moderate motion was made that the difference might be compremiſed,

Arbitration refuſed by the party of Dr. *Cox*.

premiſed, and referr'd to Arbitrators, which ſhould be equally choſen on both ſides. To this, Dr. *Cox* his party would in no wiſe conſent. Whether becauſe thoſe pretended Arbiters would be no Arbiters, but parties, and widen the wound by dreſſing of it; or becauſe, being already poſſeſs'd of the power, they would not diveſt themſelves of the whole to receive but part again from the curteſie of others. However this party loſt much reputation by the refuſall. For in all controverſies, that ſide recuſant to ſubmit it ſelf to a fair arbitration, contracts the juſt ſuſpition, either that their cauſe is faulty, or the managers thereof froward, and of a moroſe diſpoſition. In fine, as when two ſwarmes of bees daily fight in the ſame hive, the weakeſt grow ſo wiſe, as to ſeek themſelves a new habitation: ſo here, *Whittingam*, and his adherents reſolve to depart, and to ſeek their ſeverall *providences* in another place. Anno Dom. 1555. Aug. Mar. 6

The two parties part aſunder.

9. But alas theſe two ſides had a ſad parting-blow. *The oppreſs'd Congregation* complained, that inſtead of their *Vale*, they had a *volley* of ill words diſcharged at them; amongſt which none ſo mortal to their reputation, as the word *Schiſmatick*, wherewith the *Conians* branded them at their departure. Much ſending, and proving there was betwixt them, whether *Schiſmatick* was properly applyable to ſuch, who agreeing in doctrine, diſſented onely in [ſuperfluous] ceremonies. In concluſion, nothing was concluded amongſt them as to agreement. And now, no pity ſhewed at their departure, no ſending of ſighes, or ſhedding of tears on either ſide; the one being as glad of the room they left, as the other were deſirous of their own removall.

The names of ſuch as went to *Geneva*.

10. If any be curious to know the names of ſuch, who ſeparated themſelves from this Congregation of *Frankford*, this enſuing catalogue [a] will acquaint him therewith,

a Taken out of their ſubſcription to a letter in the Troubles of *Frankford* pag. 47.

William	*Williams.*	*Thomas*	*Wood.*	*John*	*Eſcot.*
William	*Whittingham.*	*William*	*Kethe.*	*Thomas*	*Grafton.*
Anthonie	*Gilby.*	*John*	*Kelke.*	*William*	*Walton.*
Chriſtopher	*Goodman.*	*John*	*Hilton.*	*Laurence*	*Kent.*
Thomas	*Cole.*	*Chriſtopher*	*Seothous*	*John*	*Hellingham.*
John	*Fox.*	*Nicolas*	*Purſote.*	*Anthonie*	*Carier.*

Of theſe Mr. *Fox*, with a few moe, went to *Baſil*, the reſt ſettled themſelves at *Geneva*, where they were all moſt courteouſly entertained. And now who can expect leſs, but, that thoſe ſtill remaining at *Frankford*, as the ſame in opinion, ſhould be the ſame in affection, and live in brotherly love together. But alas; man, while he is *man* will be *man*; and Sathan the ſower of tares, did ſet a ſad diſſention betwixt them, which we come now to relate. 6. 155- 7.

The ſad difference betwixt Mr. *Aſhley* and Mr. *Horne*.

b Troubles of *Frankford* pag. 55.

11. There was an eminent member of the Congregation in *Frankford*, Mr. *Aſhley* by name, one of a *worſhipfull* [b] *degree*, and (as it ſeems) of a *Spirit* (not to ſay Stomack) no whit beneath his extraction. Now there happened ſome high words at Supper betwixt Him and Mr. *Horn* (then Paſtor of the Congregation) yet ſo that all the difference by the ſeaſonable mediation of the *Gueſts* was then ſeemingly compoſed. But two dayes after Mr. *Aſhley* was convented before the *Elders*, where it was laid to his charge, that at the time and place aforeſaid, he had ſpoken words ſlanderous to them and their Miniſtry. *Aſhley* appealed from them, as an *adverſary Part* againſt Him, (and therefore no competent Judges) unto the whole Congregation. (as men of eſtimation with both Parties) to hear and determine the difference betwixt them. Jan. 15. 16.

Horne and the *Elders* in diſcontent quit their places.

12. Hereat Mr. *Horn* and the Elders were highly offended, pleading that they had received authority from the whole Church, to *hear* and *decide* ſuch

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such *Caſes*, and were reſolved not to depart with the power, ſo legally delegated unto them. And whereas many meetings were made of Mr. *Aſhleys* friends to debate his buſineſſe, Mr. *Horne* and the Elders condemned them, as *tending to ſchiſme*, accounting their own preſence ſo of the Quorum to any lawful aſſembly, that without it, all *conventions*, were *conventicles*. Yea Mr. *Horne* and the *Elders*, perceiving that Mr. *Aſhleys* friends (being moſt numerous in the Congregation) would bring his *Cauſe* to be determined by the *diffuſive Church*, fully and freely forſook their Miniſtry and Service therein. Preferring rather willingly to *un-Paſtor*, and *diſ-Elder* themſelves than to retain the *place*, without the *power*, *Title* without the *Authority* due thereunto.

Feb. 2.

13. This *deſerting* of their *Duty*, was by others interpreted an high *contempt* of the *Congregation*. Eſpecially, when two dayes after, a *full* Church, met with an *empty* Pulpit, wherein none to teach the people. The *Aſhleyans* (being far the major part) took exception that *Horne* and the *Elders* ſhould ſo ſlightly, and ſuddenly quit; what before they had ſo ſeriouſly, and ſolemnly, accepted; as if their *Paſtoral charges* were like their *cloaths* or upper garments, to be *put off* at pleaſure, to *coole* themſelves in every *heat* of *Paſſion*. Beſides, theſe men being married in a manner to their *Miniſteriall Functions*, could not legally *divorce* themſelves without *mutual conſent*, and the Churches approbation thereof.

4. Whereat the Church is highly offended.

14. Soon after the State of the controverſie was altered, Mr. *Aſhleys* buſineſſe being laid aſide, and another of an higher concernment taken up in the room thereof; namely *how the Congregation ſhould proceed againſt the* Paſtor *and* Elders, *in caſe they were accuſed for miſdemeanour*. For hitherto no proviſions were made, in the *conſtitutions* of this Church, to regulate this caſe if chancing to occur. Whether becauſe the compilers of thoſe *conſtitutions* charitably preſumed on the integrity of all ſuch Officers, or omitted the making any law againſt them, in favour to themſelves (as moſt probable to obtain ſuch places) or becauſe no canons can at once be compleated, but a *reſerve* muſt be left for the additions of others to perfect the ſame. But now *eight* were appointed to regulate the manner of the proceeding of the Congregation againſt *Paſtor* and *Elders* if peccant, who were without (or rather above cenſure, according to the *old Diſcipline*) which ſtill inflamed the anger of Mr. *Horne* and his Party.

14. Inquiry how to proceed againſt the *Paſtor* and *Elders* if accuſed

15. A Party much advantaged by Mr. *Chambers* ſiding therewith, becauſe He was keeper of the charity conferred on, and contributions collected for the *Congregation*. Now *where goeth the Purſe, there goeth the Poor*, moſt in want were of *Hornes* ſide, in hope of the larger relief. This made others complain of *Chambers*, as an unjuſt *Steward* of the *Churches treaſure*, too free to ſuch as He affected, and bountifull only of *Taunts* and ill *Terms* to thoſe of a different Judgement, making neither Mens Need, or Deſerts, but only his own fancy the direction of his Diſtributions.

Mr. *Chambers* accuſed of injuſtice.

16. Now began their brawls to grow ſo loud, that their next neighbours over-heard them, I mean the *State* of *Frankford* took notice thereof, to the ſhame of all, and grief of all good in the Engliſh Nation. For how ſcandalous was it that *exiles* of the ſame *Country*, for the ſame *Cauſe* could not agree together. But *man in miſery* (as well as *man in honour*) *hath no underſtanding*. Yea they began to fear, leſt many Dutch-men, hitherto their bountifull *Benefactours*, ſhould for the future withdraw their *benevolences*, conceiving theſe *exiles* wanted no *money*, who had ſuch ſtore of *animoſities*, and probably poverty would make them more peaceable amongſt themſelves. Their diſcords were the worſe, becauſe the *Vernall mart* at *Frankford* did approach, and it would be *welcome ware*, and an *uſefull commodity* for Popiſh Merchants meeting there, to carry over into *England*, and all the world over, the news of their diſtractions.

The ſcandal of this diſſention.

17. Hereupon

By the Magistrate interposing they are made short friends.

17. Hereupon the Magistrate of *Frankford* interposed to arbitrate their differences, but whether of his own accord, or by the secret solicitation of others is uncertain. Sure it is both parties solemnly disavowed any secret practise to procure the same. The Magistrate interposed his *counsels* rather then *commands*, appearing very upright, and unbiased to either party. For though at the first He seemed to favour *Horne* and his Complices (out of that general *Sympathy* which a *Magistrate* beareth to all *publick Officers*) yet afterwards quitting their Cause, he bent all his endeauours to make a Reconciliation. By his Edict it was ordered, that the former Pastors were put out of the functions, and made private men. That new ones, or the same again, (if the Church so pleased) were to be chosen in their roomes. That the treasure of the Congregation should be kept joyntly and distributed by the *Deacons*, who at an appointed Time should account for the same to the *Minister* and *Elders*. And the day after, leave was given them to devise a *new Discipline* (with convenient speed) amongst themselves, and tender the same, when drawn up, to the Magistrate for his Ratification. In fine all seemingly were made friends, in token whereof they (both Parties) joyned hands together.

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New discipline makes new distractions.

18. Soon after fifteen were appointed, to draw up a forme of *new discipline*. *But this new discipline*, occasioned *new* grudges, or rather revived the old ones. Though short the *Book*, it was long before fully finished, because such as were concerned therein drew the *Sheets* thereof severall wayes. Some would have the *old discipline* stand still in full force, others would have it only altered, others totally abolished. When the *Discipline* was *new* drawn up, some required *moneths*, and the most moderate more *dayes* of deliberation before they would subscribe it. In conclusion, whereas the whole *Congregation of Frankford*, consisted then but of *Sixty two* (understand them *masters of families*, besides women, children, and servants) *fourty two* subscribed this *new Discipline*, and the rest refused. 31.

Mr. *Horne* and his party protest against it.

19. Presently they proceeded to the Election of new Pastors and ministers, when Mr. *Horne* issuing into the Church with his party, cast a bundle of *Paper-bills* on the *Table* standing in the middle of the Church. A *Table* surely set there (not for the inflaming of discords, but) the celebration of that Sacrament, which should cement them all in a comfortable *communion*. Those *Bils* contained their refusals to concur in this *Election*, because they could not in their consciences allow the *Discipline* whereby it was made. However the rest went on with their *Choice*, and no one (saving Mr. *Wilford*) beeing formerly of the Ministry, was now again elected. Whereof this reason was rendred, because they with Mr. *Horne* had willingly relinquished their functions, and it was but just to take that from them, which they cast away from themselves. Besides it is said, that some of them gave it out, that if they should be re-elected they would not accept thereof.

The matters put to moderators.

20. Hitherto we have had no mention for a long time of Dr. *Cox*, and it may seem much, that the activity of his Spirit should be so long concealed, which makes some presume him absent all the while. But let such know, that Dr. *Cox* engaged in the former controversie, in defence of the liturgy, set forth in K. *Edwards* Raigne, as concerning his Soveraigns Honour and generall Interest of the English Church concerned therein. Whereas he hitherto stood neuter in this difference of Mr. *Horne* and his complices, as beholding it of narrower extent and less consequence, betwixt particular persons. Whereupon the Magistrate of *Frankford*, (not at leasure himself, because of the business of the *Mart*, to examine the matter, appointed *Him*, with Dr. *Sandys*, and *Richard Berty*, Esqs (as men of estimation with both parties) to hear and determine the difference betwixt them.

A kinde of Agreement made.

21. By the powerful mediation of which *Umpires*, they were perswaded into some tolerable agreement, though it was no better than a *Palliative cure*.

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cure. But I am weary of their diſſentions, and therefore proceed to ſome more acceptable ſubject. Only let me add that this whole ſtory of their diſcords, with the cauſes and circumſtances thereof, is taken out of the *Troubles of Frankford*, a book compoſed in favour of the oppoſers of the *Engliſh Diſcipline*; And when the *Writer* is all for the *Plantif*, the diſcreet Reader will not only be an *unpartial Judge*, but alſo ſomewhat of an *Advocate* for the *Defendant*.

22. It is no leſs pleaſant to conſider, then admirable to conceive, how theſe exiles ſubſiſted ſo long, and ſo far from their native country, in ſo comfortable a condition. Eſpecially ſeeing *Gardiner* Bp. of *Wincheſter* ſolemnly vowed, ſo to ſtop the ſending of all ſupplies unto them, that *for very hunger they ſhould eat their own nailes, and then feed on their fingers ends.* But *threatned folke live long*, and before theſe baniſhed men were brought to that ſhort *Bil of fare*, the Biſhop was firſt all eaten up of *wormes* himſelf. To reduce their ſubſiſtence, within compaſs of belief, let the following particulars be put together. The wonderful providence in the maintenance of theſe poor Exiles.

23. Moſt of theſe Clergy-Exiles, were men well preferred in King *Edwards* raigne. Theſe as they were diſſwaded by the due conſideration of their *ever-living God*, from being ſolicitouſly over-carking for the future, ſo were they adviſed by their daily beholding of their *conſumptioniſh*, and *everdying King* to be providentially careful for the time to come: This made them *make hay in the Sun-ſhine*, and then got they *good feathers*, wherewith afterwards they did *flye* beyond the Seas. Yet ſome thing they carried over with them.

24. Some perſons of much worſhip and wealth were amongſt them, who bountifully communicated to the neceſſities of others. Of theſe the principall. The bounty of the baniſhed Gentry to their fellow-Sufferers.

Sir { *John* a *Cheeke*, of whom largely hereafter. / *Richard Moriſin* of *Caiſhobury* in *Hertford-ſhire*. / *Francis Knollys*, afterwards privy-counſelour to Q. *Elizabeth*. }

Sir { *Anthony Cook*, (father in Law to *Cecil* after L^rd. *Burgeley*) and famous for his learned daughters. / *Peter Carew*, renowned for his valour in *Ireland* where He died, Anno 1576. / *Thomas Wroth*, richly landed at and nigh *Durance* in *Middleſex*. }

a *Humphery* in His large latin life of *Jewel*. pag. 88.

Dame *Dorothy Stafford* afterwards of the Bed-Chamber to Queen *Elizabeth*.

Dame *Elizabeth Berkley*.

Theſe accounting all their *fellow-ſufferers*, their *fellows*, forgot themſelves, to remember the *afflictions* of *Joſeph*, being advanced ſo much the higher in the eſteem of all, who were wiſe and virtuous, by how much they degraded themſelves in their helpefull condeſcention to their inferiours.

25. Many Pious Perſons reſiding in *England*, but chiefly in *London* (which commonly counter-poiſeth the charity of all the land beſides) were very free towards their relief. Some of theſe, conſcious to themſelves of cowardly compliance with the Superſtitions of the Times, hoped in ſome degree to leſſen their offence, by their liberality to ſuch Exiles, as were more conſtant and couragious than themſelves in the cauſe of the *Truth*. And although great the diſtance betwixt *London* and *Zurich*, yet *Merchants have long armes*, and by their *Bils of Exchange*, reach all the world over. *Richard Springham* and *John Abel* Merchants of *London* gave much, and ſent more to their ſupport, as being entruſted *to make over* the gifts of many good people, utterly unknown to ſuch as received them. That is the beſt *charity*, which *Nilus-like*, hath the ſeverall ſtreams thereof ſeen, but the fountain concealed. Such ſilent and ſecret bounty, as good at *all times*, to avoid vain-glory, is And of the Londoners unto them.

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is best in *bad times*, to prevent danger. As for *Thomas Eaton* a *London* Merchant, but living in *Germany* he was (saith my [a] author) *communis hospes*, the *host-general* of all English Exiles, *thanks*, (and that forced on him, against his will) being all the *Shot*, his *Guests* paied, at their departure.

[a] *Humphrey ut prius.*

Forrain liberality unto them.

24. The King of *Denmark*, *Henry Prince Palatine* of *Rhene*, *Christopher* Duke of *Wirtenburge*, *Woulfgange* Duke of *Bipont*, &c. with all the States and free cities wherein the English sojourned, were very bountifull unto them. So were the Dutch Divines, especially those of *Zurich*, and take them in order as my foresaid Author nameth them, *Bullinger*, *Pellican*, *Bibliander*, *Simler*, *Wolphius*, *Lavator*, *Zuinglius*, whose *short stipends* would scarce *reach* to maintain themselves, and yet their thrift and charity *stretched* them so, as therewith also to relieve others. Nor let learned *Gesner* be forgotten, that great natural Historian, and no less loving of *men*, then knowing in *beasts*, *foule*, and *fishes*. As for *Peter Martyr*, he had a petty *colledge* in his house at *Strasburge*, (whereof Mr. *Jewel* was the *vice-master*) wherein most of the clergy paied (if any) easie rates for their diet therein.

Improved by their own industry.

27. Some of the English Schollars, subsisted partly by their own pains, the making of Books, the *Copies* whereof were very beneficiall unto them. Say not this argued *salable souls* (savouring more of the *Stationer* then the *Scholler*) to *sell* their Books, yea that it was a kinde of *Simony* in them, to make profit of those their parts which God had freely bestowed upon them. For as it betrayeth a *mercenary minde*, in those who having plenty themselves, will sordidly contract for their *Copies*, so such *Authors*, who are in want, are faulty in being wanting to their own just relief, if neglecting moderate benefit by their own endeavours. Thus *John Bale* much advantaged himself, by his *folio* edition of his *Centuries*. Mr. *Fox* gained by his first (and least *Latine*) Book of Martyrs. Mr. *Laurence Humphrey*, was no loser by his making and setting forth his three books *de Nobilitate*, which he intituled *Optimates*, as by translating *Philo de Nobilitate*, and *Origen de recta fide* out of greek. Others imployed themselves, in overseeing and correcting the *Press*, especially about the *English Bible*, with the *Geneva* notes thereon.

And God his blessing above all.

28. Such sums attained by their own Industry, though small in *bulke*, were great in *blessing*, a divine benediction being alwayes invisibly breathed on painful and lawful diligence. Thus the *Servant* imployed in making and blowing of the fire, (though sent away thence as soon as it burneth cleare) oft-times getteth by his pains a more kindly and continuing *heat*, then the Master himself, who sitteth down by the same; and thus persons industriously occupying themselves, thrive better on a little of their own honest getting, then lazy Heirs on the large revenues left unto them.

Q. *Mary* her sickness believed enlivens the credit of English Exiles.

29. One thing much kept up the credit of the English Exiles, with the Merchants and Bankers beyond the Seas, namely the certain and constant report of Queen *Maries* decaying condition, daily consuming, though increasing, wasting, though swelling, with an Hydropicall distemper, which could not be kept so close *under the key of Confession*, but that it became the publike discourse at home, and abroad. And although many reports of Queen *Maries* death were *shot out* at *random* (whereof one, some moneths after *hit the mark*) and the same were proved to be false, yet thereby the news of her sickness gained a general belief. This gave reputation to such English in *Germany* as were known to be possessed of estates in their own country, enabling them with *Trust* to borrow convenient summs from any creditours, who would make probable adventures for their advantage, beholding the English, very *responsible* in an approaching *reversion*.

Sr. *John Cheek* his unprosperous return.

30. So much of our English *Exiles*, whom our Pen will shortly handle under a better notion. Return we to Sr. *John Cheek*, lately mentioned, with a promise to enlarge his story, though so sad in it self, we would willingly (but for wronging of the truth) have buried the same in silence. Well,

and

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and welcome, loved and reſpected was this Knight at *Strasburge*, when He would needs return for *Brabant ut uxorem duceret*, to marry a wife, ſaith the printed *Sleidan*, but by miſtake, (for He was marryed ſome yeers before, to a Lady which long ſurvived him) inſtead of *ut uxorem educeret*, that He might fetch forth, and bring home his wife, lately (it ſeems) come out of *England* into the *Low-Countries*. He is ſaid firſt to have conſulted the *Starrs*, (would He had not gone ſo *high*, or elſe gone *higher* for his advice) being too much addicted to judicial *Aſtrologie*. Now whether here the Errour was in the *Art* it ſelf, as falſe and frivolous, or in his miſapplying the rules thereof, (not well underſtanding the language of the *Stars*) more ſure it is, his journy had ſad ſucceſs. For in his return from *Bruxels* to *Antwerpe*, no whit ſecured by his own innocence, nor by the promiſe of the Lord *Paget*, nor by the pledging of S^r. *John Maſon*, for his publick protection, nor by the interceſſion of his friend *Fecknam* (*Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*) to Q. *Mary*, He (with S^r. *Peter Carew*) was beaten from his Horſe, tied hand and foot to the bottom of a cart, thence conveyed hoodwinkt to the next Haven, and ſo ſhipt over under hatches unto the Tower of *London*.

a *Fox* Acts & Mon. tom. 3. pag. 701.

31. Here all *arts* were uſed on Him (which might prevaile to drive, or draw, an eaſie Soule ſurpris'd on a ſuddain) to make him renounce his Religion, untill hard uſage in priſon, joyned with threatnings of worſe, and fair promiſes on his ſubmiſſion, drew from his mouth an *abrenuntiation* of that Truth, which He ſo long had profeſſed and ſtill believed, and thereupon was reſtored to his liberty, but never to his contentment. For ſuch is the tyranny of Papiſts, that they are not ſatisfied to take mens Conſciences captive by their cruelty, except alſo they carry them about in publike triumph, as here *Bonner* [a] got S^r. *John Cheek* unawares to ſit in the place where godly Martyrs were condemned. And although He then did nothing, but ſit ſtill, ſigh, and be ſilent, yet ſhame, for what He had done, Senſe of what others ſuffered, and ſorrow that his preſence ſhould be abuſed to countenance cruelty, brought him quickly to a comfortable end, of a miſerable life, as carrying Gods pardon, and all good mens pitty along with him.

Recanteth (orally) and died for grief thereof.

a *Fox ibidem*

Sept. 13.

32. Since his *Death*, his Memory hath done ſome *pennance* (I ſay not to ſatisfy the failings in his *life*) being wronged in his Parnetage, abuſed in his Parts, and miſtaken in his Poſterity. For the firſt, a learned Pen [b] (but too free in dealing diſgracefull characters on the ſubjects thereof) ſtileth him a *Man of mean Birth*, and generally he is made, only the *Son of his own Deſerts*. Whereas M^r. *Peter Cheek*, S^r. *Johns* Father, living in *Cambridge*, (where S^r. *John* was borne, over againſt the *Croſs* in the *market-place*, and where by the advantage of his Nativity, He fell from the wombe of his Mother, into the lap of the Muſes) was deſcended of the family of the *Cheeks* of *Maſton* in the *Iſle of Wight*, (where their eſtate was about 300^li. a yeer, never increaſed nor diminiſhed till ſold outright ſome 20. yeers ſince) out of which *Richard Cheek*, in the raigne of King *Richard* the Second, married a Daughter of the *Lord Mountagu*. As for *Duffield* his Mother, ſhe was a diſcreet and grave Matrone, as appeared by the good [d] counſel, and chriſtian charge She gave this her Son, when comming to take his farewell of her, and betake himſelf to Prince *Edward* his Tuition. For his *Parts*, the foreſaid *Author*, with the ſame breath, termeth Him, *So far as appears by the books He wrote, Pedantick enough*, that is *too much*, to ſuch as underſtand his *Mioſis*. But had He peruſed all his works, and particularly, *His True Subject to be Rebel*, He would have beſtowed a better character upon him. Another Writer [e] can finde *no iſſue left of his body, ſaving one Son bearing his Fathers name*, whereas he had three Sons by his wife, (as appears on her Monument in S^t. *Martins* in the Fields) 1. *Henry* the Eldeſt, Secretary to the Councel in the North, (who one *Francis Ratliffe* Siſter to the laſt Earle of *Suſſex* of that family, begat S^r. *Thomas Cheek* of *Pyrgo* in *Eſſex*, bleſſed with an happy iſſue) 2. *John*

Hiſtory rectified in his parentage, parts and poſterity.

c S^r. *John Hayward* in the life of *Edward* the 6. pag. 8.

d The mother of my aged and worthy friend Mr. *Jackſon* of *Hiſtons* was with many others preſent thereat.

e One that ſet forth his life in *Oxford* Anno 1641.

John a valiant Gentle man, and *Edward*, both dying without any posterity, But these things belong to *Heraulds*, not *Historians*.

The Pilgrimage of the Dutchess of *Suffolk*.

33. The sufferings of *Katherine Dutchess of Suffolk*, *Baroness Willoughby* of *Eresby*, late widow of *Charles Brandon*, *Duke of Suffolke*, since wife to *Richard Berty* Esq; must not be forgotten. A Lady of a *sharpe wit*, and *sure hand* to drive her wit *home*, and make it *pierce*, where She Pleased. This made Bp. *Gardiner* to hate her much for her *Jests* on Him, but more for her *earnest* towards God, the Sincerity of Her Religion, and thereupon she was forced with her Husband and infant-Daughter to fly beyond the Seas.

True, and sad Errantry.

34. It would tire our Pen to trace their Removals, from their House (the *Barbican* in *London*) to *Lions-Key*, thence to *Leigh*, thence over Seas (beeing twise driven back again) into *Brabant*, thence to *Santon* a City of *Cleveland*, thence to *Wesel*, one of the *Hanse-Towns*, thence to *Windheim* in the *Palatinate*, thence to *Frankford*, thence (by many intermediate Stages) into *Poland*. Every removall ministred them matter, of new *Difficulties*, to improve their *Patience*, new *Dangers* to imploy their *Prayers*, and new *Deliverances*, to admire Gods providence. Especially in their [a] *Passage* from *Santon* to *Wesel*, in a cold February, and a great thaw, after a long frost, on foot, in a dark night, and rainy weather, thorow wayes unknown, without guide to direct, or company to defend them, leaving certain *Foes* behinde, and having but suspected *friends* before them. The end of their journy, was worse then their journy it self, finding first at *Wesel*, no Inn to entertain them, able to speak little *high-Dutch for themselves*, and other willing to speak in comfort to them. In a word, it would trouble ones *Head* to invent more Troubles then they had all at once, and it would break ones Heart, to undergo but halfe so many, seeing their real sufferings *out-Romanced* the fictions of many *Errant Adventures*.

a See it at large in Fox tome 3. pag. 928.

The vanity of Relations.

35. No English Subject had like *forrain relations* with this *Lady*, and yet they rather afflicted then befriended Her. She had been wife to Him, who had been Husband to a *Queen of France*, yet durst not go into that country. By the confession of Bp. *Gardiner* himself, She and *Queen Mary*, were the only English Ladies of Spanish extraction and alliance, yet was it unsafe for Her to stay in any part of the Spanish *Dominions*. The Emperour owed her, (as Executrix to her Husband Duke *Charles*) great sums of mony, yet durst she not demand payment, lest the *creditrix* should be made away, and so the debt satisfied.

God the best debtor.

36. Yet an higher Emperour, even God himself, seemed in some sort indebted unto Her (*He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord*) for her bounty at Home, in the height of her Honour, forrainers, Protestants especially, in distress.

Makes just payment.

37. And now that good debtour, God his providence, made full payment thereof, by inciting the King of *Poland*, at the mediation of the *Palatine* of *Kilnia* (as He at the instance of *John* Baron *Alasco*, who formerly in England had tasted of this Ladyes liberality) to call this Dutchess with her Husband and family to a place in *Poland* of Safety, Profit, Credit, and Command, where they comfortably continued till the death of *Queen Mary*. During these their Travels, *Peregrine Berty* (carrying his forrain nativity in his name) was born unto them, afterwards the valiant Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*. To conclude, let this virtuous Lady her example, incourage all to be good to all Godly in distress, seeing *Hosts hodie, eras Hospes*, the *Entertainers* to day, may want *Entertainment* to morrow.

Why the Parliament so silent in Church-matters.

38. My Pen hath been a long Time an *Exile* from *England*, and now is willing to return to its native soile, though finding little comfort to invite it thither, and less to welcome it there. Only I finde a Parliament called, solely commendable on this account, that it did no more mischief in Church matters. Indeed the two former *Parliaments* had so destroyed all things

Jan. 21.

in

Anno Regin Mar. 1. Anno Dom. 1557.

in *Religion*, they gave a *writ of ease* to the rest in this *Queens* Reign to do nothing.

39. The same reason may be rendred of the silence in the *convocation* where *John Harpesfield* Archdeacon of *London*, and Prolocutor preached also the Latin Sermon. [a] His Text, (how suiting to the occasion, let him answer it) *Matt.* 21. 2. *Ite in castellum quod contra vos est &c.* where Christ sends two Disciples to fetch Him the Ass and the Ass colt.

As also the Convocation.

a Register of *Cant.* in Cardinal *Poole.*

40. The Clergy gave the Queen a *subsidie* of *eight-shillings* in the *Pound*, (confirmed by *Act* of *Parliament*) to be paid in four yeers. In requital whereof, by *Pools* procurement, the *Queen* priviledged them from *shewing* their *Horses* with the *Laytie*; yet so as they should *muster* them up for the defence of the Land under *Captains* of their own choosing.

A grand subsidie granted.

41. Here we meet with a *piece of valour* in Q. *Mary*, daring to oppose the Pope, and shewing that her mother Q. *Katherines* devotion, had not drowned in her all the *Spirit* of K. *Henry* her Father. Pope *Paul* the fourth, wholy favouring the *French* Faction, and perfectly hating *Cardinal Poole*, (whom he beheld as the principal *Promoter* of the late *Warrs* in *France*) sent *Cardinal William Peito* (borne of an *antient Family* at [b] *Chesterton* in *Warwickshire*) to ease him in *England* of his *Legative* Power. But the *Queen* so ordered the matter, that by her *Prerogative* she prohibited *Peito* entrance into *England*, and got the aforesaid Power established and confirmed on *Cardinal Poole.*

Queen *Mary* somewhat slour, though more devout.

b *Camb. Brit.* in Warwickshire.

42. Somewhat before we saw a great wonder, viz. the death of *Stephen Gardiner* Bp. of *Winchester*, not that *He died* (being past sixty) but that He, who *lived* so zealous a *Papist* should *die* more then halfe a *Protestant*, as wholy one in the point of mans [c] *Justification* by the free mercies of *God*, and merits of *Christ*. *John White* borne in *Winchester Diocess*; first *Schoolmaster*, *then Warden* of *Winchester School*, was by the Premises so tempted to be also Bp. there, that it made him digest the *Symony* to succeed *Gardiner*; though on condition to pay, *a thousand pounds a yeer*, out of that *Bishoprick* to *Cardinal Poole* for his better support.

The death of *Stephen Gardiner.*

c Fox Acts & Mon.

43. But the most pleasant object to entertain us at this time in *England*, is the beholding of two fair and fresh Foundations in *Oxford*. The one *Trinity Colledge*, built by Sr. *Thomas Pope*, in the place, (where long since *Thomas Hatfield Bishop*, and *Robert Walworth*, *Prior* of *Durham*, had built a *Colledge* for *Durham Monks*) which at the present much decayed and ruinated, was by Sr. *Thomas* reedified and endowed. I finde this Mr. *Pope* (as yet *unknighted*) principal [d] *Visitor*, at the *dissolution* of *Abbeys*, into whose hand the *Seal* of St. *Albans* it self was first surrendred. Now as none were Losers employed in that service, so we finde few refunding back to charitable uses; and perchance this man alone the *thankful* [e] *Samaritan* who made a publique Acknowledgement.

Trin. Col. in *Oxford* founded by Sr. *Thomas Pope.*

d *Weavers* funeral Mon. pag. 112.

e Luke 17. 16

Presidents	Bishops	Benefactours	Learned Writers
Thomas Sleithurst.		*Dame Elizabeth Powlet.*	
Arthur Yeldard.			
Randulph Kettle.			
Dr. *Potter.*			
Dr. *Harris.*			

Insomuch that therein is at this present a *President*, twelve *Fellows*, twelve *Scholars*, besides officers and servants of the Foundation, with many other Students, the whole Number being an hundred thirty three.

Anno Dom. 1557. Anno Regni Mar. 4

St. *Johns* Colledg in *Oxford* founded by Sr. *Thomas White.*

44. The other, S^t. *Johns Colledge* erected by S^r. *Thomas White*, (borne at *Rickmansworth* in *Hertford-shire*) a bottomlesse fountain of Bounty if we consider the ponds which He filled, and besides the *running streams*, which flowed from Him. Of the first Kind, were the Cities of *London*, *Bristol* and *Coventry*, on which He severally bestowed great summs of mony to purchase Lands therewith. His *running stream*, I account that his gift which I may call the *Circulation of charity*, being a legacy of 100. pounds delivered out of Merchant Taylors Hall on S^t. *Bartholomews* day, and lent gratis to 4. poore cloathiers for 10. yeers, in 23 severall Corporations. Thus as a wise Merchant He conceived it safest to adventure his *Bounty* in sundry *Bottoms*.

The occasion (*ut aiunt*) thereof.

45. But the master-piece thereof was his founding of S^t. *Johns* Colledge in *Oxford*. Indeed his liberality *baited* first at *Glocester-Hall*, which place He reedified. But so small a *Hall* was too little to *loage* so large a soul in, which sought for a subject of greater Receipt. A Tradition goes of his *Dreame*, that he should in time meet with a Place, where [a] two Elmes grew of the same height, and where his further purpose should take effect. Come we from what he dreamt to what he did, who finding belike that *Tree-market* by it he built and endowed S^t. *Johns Colledge*. And being himself free of the Company of *Merchant Taylors* in *London* (where he was *Lord Maior*;) he ordered that that School should be a prime *Nursery* to his *Colledge*; and out of it the most pregnant Schollers are annually elected into this his Foundation. It is now lately enlarged with Addition of a new Court, and other Benefactions, by the liberality of *William Laud Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, whose Body though it be obscurely buried at *Alhallows Barking*, gratefull Posterity will deservedly behold this Building as his lasting Monument.

[a] *Stows* survey of *London*, *pag.* 91.

Presidents	Bishops	Benefactours	Learned Writers
Alex. Belcher.	*Toby Matthew*	S^r. *Will. Craven*	*Edm. Campian* }
Will. Elie.	*Arch B. of York.*	Knight.	*Grego. Martin* } * fellows
Will. Stoke.	*Joh. Buckeridg.*	S^r. *Will. Paddie*	*Humph. Ely* } of this
Jo. Robinson.	*Bishop of Ely.*	Knight D^r. of	*Hen. Holland.* } house and
Tob. Matthew.	*Row. Searchfield.*	*Physick Commoner* of the *Colledg*. He gave freely towards the building, & furnishing of their library, purchased to the Colledge two perpetual Patronages; and much beautified the Chappel.	violent Papists.
Fra. Willis.	*Bishop of Bristol.*		JOHN CASE D^r. of Physick.
Ran. Hutchinson.	*Will. Laud Arch.*		
Io. Buckeridg.	*B. of Canterbury*		
Will. Laud.	*Will. Juxon B.*		
Will. Juxon.	*of London.*		
Rich Baily.	D^r. *Boile* BP.		
Fra. Cheynell.	*of Corke.*		
Faith. Owen.			WILLIAM LAVDE in his learned book against *Fisher*.

* *Pitzeus de scriptor. Anglicis.*

The above mentioned D^r. *Case*, sometimes *Fellow* of this *Colledge*, married a Wife, kept House in *Oxford*, and Schollers in his house, teaching many youth *Logick*, *Ethicks*, and *Philosophy*. The University was so farr from beholding this as an infringing of their priviledges, that out of honour to this Doctors abilities, his schollers by special grace were so farr favoured, that they were made as capable of Degrees, as if admitted *Gremials* in the University.

Anno Regni Mar. 6. Anno Dom. 1558.

University. At this day St. *Johns* hath a *President*, fifty Fellows, and Scholars, a Chaplain and a Clarke; besides Servants, Commoners and other students, being in all an hundred and twenty.

46. Queen *Mary* every day waxed more and more melancholy, whereof several causes are assigned. Some conceive her Sorrowing, that by negligence the *Key of France*, [*Calis*] was slipt from her *girdle*, which her predecessours wore by their sides more then two hundred yeers. But, now it is gone, *let it Goe*, it was but a *beggerly Town*, which cost *England* ten times yearly more then it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the [a] accounts in the Exchequer doth plainly appear.

Calis lost, the Queen melancholy.

[a] and in a manuscript of Sr. *Robert Cottons* own making.

47. Others ascribe her sadness to her Husbands absence, which had many (and made more) occasions to go and stay beyond the Seas, after he had found England not so usefull as he expected, as having neither power therein, nor profit thereby, (though as much as on the Articles of marriage was promised Him) halfe so much, as He had promised to himself. Besides Queen *Mary* her Person, was no *gainer*, scarce a *saver* of *Affection*, having her Fathers *feature*, a face broad and big, with her mothers *colour*, a somewhat swarthy complexion.

Her grief at her husbands absence.

48. As Queen *Mary* was not over fair, King *Philip* was not over-fond, especially after he began to despair of *Issue* from her. Indeed her Physitians hoped her to be with *Childe*, till her misconceived *pregnancy* proved a *Dropsy*, at the last, whereof she died, having reigned five years and odd moneths. As for the suggestion of *Osorius* the Spaniard, that the English Protestants attempted to poison her, a learned [b] Author returns, *Nihil hujusmodi dictum, nec scriptum, fictum, nec pictum*, being the bare Inventions of his scandalous Tongue.

Nov. 17.

And death of a Dropsie.

b *Haddan contra Osorium lib. 1. fol. 25.*

49. Within few howres after her death, died *Cardinal Poole* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. *One* who the longer He lived in *England*, the less He had of an *English-man*, daily more and more *Italianating Himself*, and conversing most with the Merchants of that country. Practising the principles of *Italian thrift*, his Pompe was rather gawdy then costly, and attendance ceremonious, more than expentive. By *Bils of Exchange*, He made over much mony to *Venice* and *Rome*, and fearing a *banke* in *England*, (if Queen *Mary* should faile) provided Himself a *banke* beyond the Seas. He procured of the Queen the Patronage of [c] *nineteen Benefices* unto his *See*, promised and intended to repair the *Palace* at *Canterbury*. He was buried in His own Cathedral with this short and modest Epitaph on his plain Monument, DEPOSITVM CARDINALIS POLI.

The death of Cardinal *Poole*.

c *Ant. Brit. in vita Poli.*

50. He alwayes had a favourable inclination to Protestants, though (to wipe off the aspersion of *Lutheranisme*) at last he grew somewhat severe against them, but expressing it rather in *wronging the Dead*, (whose bones He burnt) than *hurting the Living*. The Papists accuse him, for too much Indulgence to the married Clergy, because only parting them from their Wives, and depriving them from their Livings: But soon afterwards [d] preferring the same persons to Benefices of farr better Revenue. He was an absolute *Protestant* in the point of *justification*, much offended with the Proud errour of *Osorius* therein; thus expressing himself [e] *non potest viribus humanis nimium detrahi, nec addi Divinæ Gratiæ*. Too much cannot be taken away from mans power nor given to Gods Grace.

His good inclinations to be a Protestant.

d *Sanders de schis. Ang. lib. 2. pag. 307.*

e *Haddan contra Osorium lib. 2. fol. 58.*

51. He left *Aloisius Priol*, a Gentleman of *Venice*, his sole executor, to dispose of his estate to pious uses, chiefly on the relief of forrainers. In England He had no want of *neer Kindred*, and some of them (for all their high birth) *neer a kin to want*; yet He passing them by, ordered that his whole Estate should be conferred on *Italians*; Some condemning, some commending him for the same, as a deed of Gratitude, because those of that Nation had formerly for many yeers relieved his

Leaveth all his Estate to Italians.

Anno Dom. 1558. Anno Regin. Mar. 6.

neceſſities. His Executor ſo honeſtly diſcharged his Truſt therein, that he freely diſpoſed the whole eſtate to the True Intent of the Teſtator, In ſo much that he left not any thing thereof unto himſelf; ſave onely two ſmall Books, viz. a [a] Breviary and a Diurnall, for a meer Memoriall. Thus died Cardinall *Poole*, neither of Italian Phyſick willfully taken by himſelf, as an Engliſh [b] Author inſinuats, nor of Poiſon given to him by the *Proteſtants*, as a [c] Spaniſh writer ſuggeſts, but of a quartan feaver then epidemicall in England, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that Diſeaſe.

a *Antiq. Brit. in vita Poli.*
b Mr. *Fox* Acts & Mon. pag. 2102.
* *Paul Oſorius.*
Queen *Maries* double funeral ſermons.
c *Pitzeus de ſcrip. Ang. Cent. pag.*
* *Camb.* in his Eliz. in Anno 1559. p. 23.
d *Pitz. de ſcrip. Ang. Cent. pag.*

52. The Funerals of Queen *Mary* were performed with much Solemnity and true ſorrow of thoſe of her own religion. [d] *White* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* preached the Sermon, taking for his Text *Eccleſiaſtes* 9. 4. *A living Dog is better then a dead Lion.* One not preſent at the Place might eaſily tell whom he made the *Lion*, and whom the *Dog*. Indeed he ſtrawed all the *flowers* of his Rhetorique on Queen *Mary* deceaſed, leaving not ſo much as the *ſtalkes* to ſcatter on her ſurviving *ſiſter*. This *white* being a *Tolerable Poet*, (for ſo * one charactereth him) was an *Intollerable Flatterer*, and made uſe of his *Poetical Licence*, in the praiſe of *Popery*. More modeſt and moderate was the *Sermon* of *Feckenham Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*, taking for his Text. *Eccleſiaſtes* 4. 2. *I praiſe the Dead rather then the Living*, who preached alſo the [e] *Obſequies* of Queen *Mary*; either that he did it as an act of *Supererrogation*, or becauſe it was conceived the more ſtate for ſo great a Prince to have a *Duplicate* of ſuch ſolemnities. The beſt is, the *Proteſtants* of that Age, cared not how many (ſo it be *Funeral*) *Sermons* were preached for her.

Her deſerved Praiſe.

53. However, take Queen *Mary in her ſelf* abſtracted from her *Opinions*, *and by her ſelf*, ſecluded from her *bloody counſellours*, and her Memory will juſtly come under Commendation. Indeed ſhe knew not the Art *of being popular*, and never cared to learn it, and generally (being given more to her *Beads* then her *Book*) had leſs of learning, (or Parts to get it) then any of her Fathers children. She hated to equivocate in her own Religion, and alway *was what ſhe was*, without diſſembling her judgement or Practiſe, for fear or flattery; Little beloved of her ſubjects, to whom though once ſhe remitted an intire *Subſidie*, yet it little moved their affections, becauſe though liberall in this Act, ſhe had been unjuſt in another, her Breach of promiſe to the gentry of *Norfolke* and *Suffolk*. However ſhe had been a worthy Princeſſe, had as little Cruelty been done *under her*, as was done *by her*. Her Devotion alwayes commanded her Profit, and often times did fill the Church with the emptying of her own Exchequer.

Her, and her Ladies Bounty to the Hoſpitals of the Savoy.

54. Take one inſtance of many; The Hoſpitall of the Savoy in the Strand, founded by her grandfather King *Henry* the ſeventh, and ſince Diſſolved, was by her Erected again. And whereas the Utenſells thereof had lately been Embezelled (the houſe being left as bare as the poore people which were brought therein) her maids of Honour, out of their own Wardrope furniſhed it with * *Beds, Blankets, and Sheets.* Were any of thoſe Ladies ſtill alive, I would pray for them in the language of the * Pſalmiſt, *The Lord make all their bed in their ſickneſſe.* And he is a good *Bed-maker* indeed, who can and will make it fit the perſon, and pleaſe the patient. But ſeeing ſuch long ſince are all deceaſed, it will be no Superſtition to praiſe God for their piety, and Commend their practiſe to the imitation of Poſterity.

* *Stow* in his ſurvey of *London*. pag. 491.
* Pſal. 41. 3.

The place of her Burial.

55. Her Body was enterred in the Chappell of King *Henry* the ſeventh, In the Iſle on the North-ſide thereof, and afterwards the Corps of her ſiſter Queen *Elizabeth* were buried in the ſame Vault. Over Both, King *James* afterwards erected a moſt ſumptuous monument; though the Epitaph inſcribed thereon, taketh noe notice

at

Anno Regin. Eliz. 1.

Anno Dom. 1558

at all of Queen *Mary*, as destined, and designed soly to the memory of Queen *Elizabeth*. But *Maryes* name still surviveth in many [*Roman*] *Catholick* families, being (though never *mother* her self) Godmother to many of her Servants Sons, giving her own, [*Anthony Maria, Edward Maria &c.*] as an addition to their *Christian* names.

56. Many great persons, (chiefly of the Clergy) followed her into another world; whether out of a politick *Sympathie* that being *raised* by her, they would *fall* with her, or that fore seeing alteration of religion, and their own ruine, they died, to prevent death, heart-broken with sorrow. Besides, at this time, there was a strange *mortality*, different from other infections, not *sweeping* but *choosing*, which did principally single out *men of wealth and quality*. Whil'st such as make uncharitable applications, parallel this to the plague of the Israelites, [b] *which slew the wealthiest of them*, we will onely conceive, that God intending to plant in Queen *Elizabeth*, first cleared the ground, by removing such, as probably would oppose her. Neither was it a small advantage unto her, that the *Parliament* sat at her *sisters* death; after which, they onely continued so long, as joyntly and publiquely to proclaim *Elizabeth Queen*, and then they were [c] dissolved. Now though her *Title* was free from doubt, yet it it was not so clear from cavils, but that one considering the power of the *English Papists*, at this time, and their activity at all times, will conclude they might have, though not hurt, troubled, and though not hindred, disturb'd her succession. Whereas now being so solemnly proclaimed, it gave much countenance, and some strength to her right, being done by the whole State in so weighty a manner, that it crush't in pieces all hopes of private oppositions. Thus those whom God will have to rise, shall never want hands to lift them up.

God paveth the way for Q. *Elizabeths* coming to the crown.

a communis quadam lues ex ardore febrium per universos Anglia ordines jam meabat & in illis maxime divites, & honorantes personas de populabatur Haddon contra Cyprium fol. 25.

b Psal. 78. 32.

c Holinshed pag. 1170.

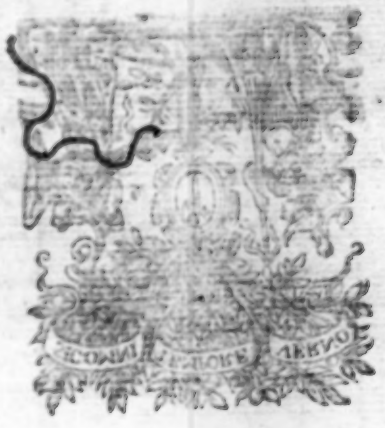
THE



THE Church-Hiſtory OF BRITAINE.

THE NINTH BOOK, Containing the Raign of QUEEN ELIZABETH.





QUEEN ELIZABETH

Continuing the Reign of

THE NINTH BOOK

OF

BRITAIN.

OR

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

THE

To the Honourable

GEORGE BERKLEY

Sole Son to the Right Honorable

GEORGE,

Baron of

BERKLEY.



have ever dissented from their opinion who maintain, that the world in was created a levell Champian, Mountains being only the product of Noahs *flood, where the violence of the waters aggested the earth, goared out of the hollow valleys. For, we reade how in that deluge* * the mountains were (*not then as* upstarts *first* caused, *but as* old standards, *newly*) covered.

* Gen. 7. 20.

As much do I differ from their false position, who affirme, that all being equall in the loynes of Adam, *and wombe of* Eve, *honour was onely the effect of humane*

ambition, in ſuch, whoſe pride, or power, advanced themſelves above others. Whereas it was adequate to the creation, as originally fixed, in Eldership, *or* Primogeniture, *and afterwards, by Divine providence (the ſole fountain thereof) confer'd on others: Either out of* love, *by nothing leſſe than his expreſs* Commiſſion, *for their* good; *or* hatred, *by ſomewhat more than his bare* Permiſſion *for their* ruine.

The three Sons of David *ſerve us for the threfold diviſion of honour.*

* 2 Sam. 15. 4. 1. Abſolon, *ſaid* * O that I were made Judge in the land.

* 1 King. 1. 5. 2. Adoniah, *exalted himſelf ſaying,* * I will be King.

* 1 King. 1. 17. 3. Solomon *ſaid nothing; But* * David *ſaid (and God confirmed his words)* Aſſuredly he ſhall reign after me.

The firſt ſought by ſecret ambition to ſurpriſe his fathers ſubjects.

The ſecond went a more bold, and blunt way to work, by open uſurpation, but both finally miſcaried.

The Third reached not at all at Honor, but only happily held what was put into his hands.

But when outward Greatneſſe (as in the laſt inſtance) is attended with inward Grace, all Chriſtian beholders thereof, are indebted to a double tribute of reſpect to that perſon, whoſe Honour is martialled according to the * *Apoſtolicall equipage.* But Glory, Honour, And Peace. *See how it ſtandeth like a* Shield *in the middle with*

* Rom. 2. 12.

Glory,

Glory, *and* Peace, *as supporters on each side. And this: that Honor, the zealous pursute whereof I humbly recomend unto you.*

For will you be offended at this my counsel, as if it imorted a suspition of your present practise, who know well that St. Paul * *saith,* Edifie one another, Even As Ye Doe. *It is no* tautologie, *to advise good people to do, what they do. Such precepts are prayses, such counsels comendations. And in this notion, do I tender my humble advice, to your consideration.* * 1 Thes. 5. 11.

Remember the modesty of * David *in asking*; One thing have I desired of the Lord, *Viz.* to be constantly present at his publique service. *And behold the bounty of* * *God in giving* three, *for* one. And he died in a good old age, full of dayes, riches, and honor. *Such measure may you assuredly expect from him; If before, and above all things seeking for that one thing which is needfull, the rather because God hath done great things for you already, for which you have cause to rejoyce.* * Psal. 27. 4. * 1 Cor. 29. 28.

A great and good * *man said to his fellow-servants.* Seemeth it a small thing to you to be Son in-law to a King. *A greater honour was done to your first Ancestor, who was* Son To A King, *namely to* Hardinge *King of* Denmark, *whence* Fitz-Harding *your most ancient sir-name. But labour* Sir *for a higher honor then both; Even to be led by* Gods Spirit, *and then you shall be even in the language of the Apostle himself,* * Fitz-Dieu, A Son Of God. * 1 Sa. 18. 23. * Rom. 8. 14.

Now as your Eminent bounty *unto me may justly challenge the choicest of my best endeavours; So the particular*

cular motive, inducing me to dedicate this Booke to your honor, is, becauſe it containeth the reign of Queen Elizbeth, *to whom you are ſo nearly related. Whoſe* * *Grandmother proved her heir, by* Anne Bollen *her mother. Inwhich capacity ſome of that Queens (or rather the Lady* Elizabeths) *moveables, and Jewels (which were her Movers) deſcended unto her. You may therefore challenge an intereſt moſt properly in this part of my Hiſtory.*

* The heir generall of *George Caryt* L. *Hunſden* whoſe Grandmother *Mary* was ſecond Sister to *Anne Bollen.*

And now what remaineth but my humble and harty prayers to the Divine Majeſty for his bleſſing on your ſelfe; and on your hopefull Iſſue, That God would plentifully powre all his ſauours of this, and a better life upon them.

Suſpect me not Sir, for omitting, *becauſe not* expreſſing *your* noble Conſort. *We finde in the fourth commandement,* Thou, and thy Son, and thy Daughter, *&c. Where Divines render this reaſon, why the wife is not mentioned, becauſe the* ſame perſon *with the* Husband. *On which account, your ſecond ſelf is effectually included within the daily devotions of*

Your bounden Orator

Thomas Fuller.

THE

Anno Regni Eliz. 1. Anno Dom. 1559

THE CHVRCH-HISTORY OF BRITAINE.

SECTION. I.

CENT. XVI.

1. FOr the first six weeks the *Queen*, and her wise *councell*, suffered matters to stand in their former state, without the least change, as yet not altering but consulting what should be altered. Thus our *Saviour* himself coming into the *Temple*, and *finding it profaned with sacriledge, when he had looked round about upon all things*, [a] *departed for that evening*, contenting himself with the survey of what was amisse and deferring the reformation thereof till the next morning but on the first [b] of *January* following being Sunday, (the best *new-yeers-gift* that ever was bestowed on *England*) by vertue of the *Queens Proclamation*, the *Letanie* was read in *English*, with *Epistles*, and *Gospels*, in all Churches of *London*, as it was formerly in her *Graces* own *Chappel*.

Her slow but sure pace of Reformation.

a Mar. 11. 11.

b *Holinshed* 1. year of Q. *Elizabeth* pag. 1172.

2 But some violent *Spirits*, impatient to attend the leisure (by them counted the lazinesse) of authority, fell before hand to the beating down of superstitious *Pictures* and *images*, and their forward zeal met with many to applaud it. For *Idolatry* is not to be permitted a moment; the first minuite is the fittest to abolish it. All that have power, have right to destroy it, by that Grand-*charter* of Religion, whereby every one is bound to advance Gods glory. And if *Soveraigns* forget, no reason but *Subjects* should remember their duty. But others condemned their indiscretion herein: for though they might reforme their private persons and families, and refraine to communicate in any outward act, contrary to *Gods word*, yet publique *reformation* belonged to the *Magistrate*, and a good deed was by them ill done for want of a *calling* to do it. However, the *Papists* have no cause to tax them with over-forwardnes in this kinde, the like being done by them, in the beginning of *Queen Maries* raigne; whilst the laws of King *Edward* the Sixth stood as yet in full force, when they prevented authority, as hath been [c] formerly observed thus, those who are hungry, and have meat afore them, will hardly be kept from eating, though *Grace* be not said, and leave given them by their superiours.

The forwardnes of private men in publique reformation variously censured.

c See 16. *Cent.* 2 part. 2 paragraph.

3 Now

The letter from the English church at *Geneva* to those at *Frankford* about accommodation in ceremonies comes too late.

3. Now the tidings of Queen *Elizabeths* peaceable coming to the *crown*, was no sooner brought beyond the *Seas*, but it fitted the English *Exiles* with unspeakable gladness, being instantly at home in their hearts, and not long after with their bodies. I knew one right well, whose *father* amongst them, being desperately diseased, was presently and perfectly cured, with the *cordiall* of this *good news*; and no wonder if this *Queen* recovered sick men, which revived religion it self. Now the *English Church* at *Geneva*, being the greatest opposer of ceremonies, sent their letter by *William Ceth*, to all other *English* Congregations in *Germany*, and especially to those of *Frankford* congratulating their present deliverance, condoling their former discords, counselling and requesting *that all offences heretofore given or taken, might be forgiven and forgotten, and that for the future, they might no more fall out about superfluous ceremonies.* [a] But this letter came too late, because the principall persons concerned in that controversie, with whom they sought a charitable reconciliation, were departed from *Frankford*, (I think towards *England*) before the messenger arrived, and so the motion missed to take effect. Some suppose had it come in season, it might have prevailed much, that both parties in gratitude to God would in a *bonefire* of their generall joy, have burnt this *unhappy bone* of dissention cast betwixt them. Others considering the distance of their principles, and difference of their spirits, conceive such an agreement neither could be wrought, nor would be kept betwixt them. For it is the property of *cold* to congregate together things of different kinds, and if the *winter* of *want*, pinching them all with poverty, could not *freeze* their affections together; less likely was it that the *warmth* of *wealth*, in their native *Soile* would conjoyne them in amity, but rather widen them further asunder, as indeed it came to passe. For as the rivers of *Danubius* and *Savus* in *Hungarie*, though running in the same channell, yet for many miles keep different streames visible in their *party-coloured waters*, which do rather touch, then unite; yea the *fishes*, peculiar to one *stream*, are not found in another: So these opposite parties, returning home, though concurring in *doctrine*, under the generall notion of *Protestants*, were so reserved in severall *disciplines* to themselves with their private *favourites* and *followers*, that they wanted that comfortable communion, which some hop'd, and all wished would be amongst them. Till at last they brake out into dolefull and dangerous opposition, whereat all *Papists* clap, and *Protestants* wring their hands, which our fathers found begun, our selves see highened, and know not whether our children shall behold them pacified and appeased.

[a] It was dated Decem. 15. but not received till about *January* the second; see troubles at *Frankford* pag. 162.

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Alteration of Religion enacted by the Parliament.

4. But now a *Parliament* began at *Westminster*, Wherein the Laws of King *Henry* the eighth against the *See* of *Rome* were renewed, and those of King *Edward* the sixth in favour of the *Protestants* revived, and the Laws by Queen *Mary*, made against them, repealed. Uniformity of *Prayer*, and Administration of *Sacraments* was enacted with a Restitution of first *fruits*, *Tenths &c.* to the Crown: For all which we remit the Reader to the Statutes at large. It was also enacted, *that whatsoever Jurisdictions, Privileges, and Spiritualls, preeminences had been heretofore in Use by any Ecclesiasticall Authority whatsoever, to visit Ecclesiasticall men, and Correct all manner of Errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, and Enormities should be for ever annexed to the Imperiall Crown of* England; *if the Queen and her Successors might by their Letters patents substitute certain men to exercise that Authority, herewith proviso, that they should define nothing to be heresie, but those things which were long before defined to be Heresies, out of the Sacred Canonicall Scriptures, or of the four Oecumenicall Councills, or other Councills, by the true and proper sence of the Holy Scriptures, or should thereafter be so defined, by authority of the Parliament, with assent of the Clergy of* England *assembled in a Synod. That all and every Ecclesiasticall Persons, Magistrates, Receivers of pensions out of the Exchequer, such as were to receive degrees in the Universities, Wards that were to sue their*

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their Liveries, and to be inveſted in their Livings; and ſuch as were to be admitted into the number of the Queens ſervants &c. ſhould be tyed by oath to acknowledge the Queens Majeſty, to be the onely and ſupreme Governour of her Kingdoms, (the Title of Supreme head of the Church of *England* liked them not) *in all matters and cauſes as well ſpiritual as temporal, all forrain Princes, and Proteſtants, being quite excluded from taking Cognizance of Cauſes within her Dominions.*

5. But the Papiſts found themſelves much agrieved at this Eccleſiaſticall Power, declared and confirmed to be in the *Queen:* they complained, that the *ſimplicity* of poore people was abuſed, the Queen declining the Title *Head*, and aſſuming the name *Governour of the Church*, which though leſs offenſive was more expreſſive. So whil'ſt their ears were favoured in her waving the word, their ſouls were deceived with the ſame ſence under another Expreſſion. They cavilled how King [a] *Henry* the eighth was qualified for that Place and Power being a *Lay-man*; King *Edward* double debarr'd for the preſent, being a *Lay-childe*, Queen *Elizabeth* totally excluded for the future, being a *Lay-woman*. [b] They object alſo, that the very [c] writers of the *Centuries*, though Proteſtants, condemne ſuch *Headſhip* of the Church in PRINCES: and [d] *Calvin* more particularly ſharply taxeth Biſhop *Gardiner*, for allowing the ſame Priviledge to KING *Henry* the eighth.

Papiſts exceptions againſt the Queens Supremacy.

a *Sanders de Schiſmate Anglicano lib.* 3. *pag.* 316.
b *Hart* againſt *Rainolds pag.* 673.
c *In Præfat. centur.* 7.
d Upon the 7. of Amos 3. The ſame how defended by Proteſtant Divines.

6. Yet nothing was granted the *Queen*, or taken by her, but what in due belonged unto her, according as the moſt learned and moderate Divines have defended it. For [e] firſt they acknowledged, that Chriſt alone is the *Supreme Soverain* of the Church, performing the Duty of an *head* unto it, by giving it power of life, feeling, and moving: and [f] *him hath God appointed to be head of the Church, and* [g] *by him all the body furniſhed, and knit together, by joynts and bands encreaſeth with the encreaſing of God.* This *Headſhip* cannot ſtand on any mortall ſhoulders, it being as incommunicable to a Creature, as a Creature is incapable to receive it. There is alſo a *peculiar Supremacy of Prieſts in Eccleſiaſticall matters*, to preach the *word*, miniſter the *Sacraments*, celebrate *Prayers*, and practiſe the *diſcipline* of the *Church*, which no *Prince* can invade without uſurpation and the ſin of Sacriledge; for Incenſe it ſelf did ſtink in the Noſtrils of the God of heaven, and [h] *provoked his Anger*, when offered by King *Uzziah*, who had no calling thereunto. Beſides theſe, there is that power, which *Hezekiah* exerciſed in his Dominions, *Commanding the Levites and Prieſts to do their Duty, and the People to ſerve the Lord.* And to this power of the *Prince* it belongeth to reſtore Religion decayed, reforme the Church Corrupted, protect the ſame reformed. This was that ſupremacy in Cauſes and over Perſons as well *Eccleſiaſticall as Civil*, which was derived from God to the *Queen*, annexed to the Crown, diſuſed in the dayes of her *Siſter* (whoſe blinde zeal ſurrendred it to the Pope) not now firſt fixed in the *Crown*, by this act of State, but by the ſame declared to the Ignorant that knew it not, cleared to the ſcrupulous that doubted of it, and aſſerted from the Obſtinate that denied it.

e Ephef. 1. 22.
f Col. 2. 19.

h 2 Chr. 26. 19

7. *As for* Calvin, *he reproveth not* (Reader, it is Dr. *Rainolds* whom thou readeſt) *the title of head, as the Proteſtants granted it, but that ſenſe thereof, which Popiſh Prelates gave, namely* Stephen Gardiner, *who did urge it ſo, as if they had meant thereby, that the King might do things in Religion, according to his own will, and not ſee them done according to Gods will, namely, that he might forbid the Clergie Marriage, the laytie the Cup in the Lords Supper. And the truth is that* Stephen Gardiner *was ſhamelеſſly hyperbolicall in fixing that in the King, which formerly with as little Right the Pope had aſſumed.* Whether he did it out of mere flattery, as full of adulation as ſuperſtition, equally free in ſprinkling *Court* and *Church holy-water*, and as very a fawning *Spaniel* under King *Henry* the eighth, as afterwards he proved a cruel *Blood-hound* under Queen *Mary* his Daughter. Or becauſe this Biſhop being in his heart diſaffect-

How Dr. Rainolds anſwereth the exceptions to the contrary. i againſt Hart pag. 673.

ed to the Truth, of set purpose betrayed it in defending it, suting King *Henries* vast Body and Minde, with as mighty, yea monstrous a power, in those his odious instances, straining the Kings Authority too high, on set purpose to break and to render it openly obnoxious to just exception: The *Centuriators* also well understood, do allow and [a] Confess the Magistrates Jurisdiction in Ecclesiasticall matters, though on good reason they be enemies to this Usurpation of unlawfull power therein. But I digresse, and therein Transgresse, seeing the large prosecution hereof belongs to Divines.

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a *Idem ibidem.*

9. But *Sanders* taketh a particular exception against the Regular passing of this Act, *Elizabeth* shewing much *Queen-Craft*, in procuring the votes of the Nobility, feeding the [b] Earle of *Arundell* with fond hopes, that she would marry him, and promising the Duke of *Norfolke*, a dispensation from his wife, which he could not with such expedition obtain from the Pope; and yet (saith he) when all was done, it was carried in the house of Lords but by [c] *three voices*. Here not to mention how in the greatest Councells matters of most high concernment, have been determined with as few as *three* clear decisive suffrages, this suggestion of *Sanders* is a loud untruth; for the Act having easily pass'd the house of Commons, found none of the Temporall Nobility in the house of Lords to oppose it, save only the [d] Earle of *Shrewsbury*, And *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Mountacute*, who had formerly been employed to reconcile the Kingdom of *England* to his Holiness. As for the *Bishops*, there were but fourteen, and the *Abbot* of *Westminster*, then alive: of whom foure being absent (whether Voluntarily, or out of Sickness, uncertain) the rest could not make any considerable opposition: If any other Artifice was used in cunning contriving the businesse, the *Protestants* were not *aforehand*, but *just even* with the *Papists*, who had used the same subtilty in their own Cause in the first Parliament of Queen *Mary*.

Sanders confuted of falsehood.

b *de schismate Anglicano* pag. 329.

c *Idem* pag. 303.

d *Camdens Elizabeth* in this year pag. 19.

10. But now to remove into the *Convocation*, which at this time was very small and silent: For as it is observed in Nature, when one Twinn is of an unusual Strength and bigness, the other his partner borne with him is weak and dwingled away. So here this Parliament being very active in matters of Religion, the Convocation (younger Brother thereunto) was little imployed and less Regarded. Only after a *Mass* of the *Holy Ghost* had been celebrated, *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London* (in the vacancie of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, President of the *Convocation*) began with a speech to this effect. That although it had been an ancient and laudable custome to begin such meetings of the Clergie with a Latine Sermon, yet such now was not to be expected; partly, because the Arch-Bishop was Dead, who was to designe the Preacher, and partly, because they had received a [e] mandate from the privy Councel, that no such Sermons should be made in that Church, till they were further informed by the Queen and her Councel. In the third Session on friday *Nicholas Harpsfield* Doctor of Law, and Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury* was chosen, [f] *Referendary* or *Prolocutor* for the *Clergie*, a place of some Credit, but little pains to discharge, seeing the only remarkable thing which passed in this Convocation, was certain Articles of Religion, which they tendered to the * Parliament, which here we both Transcribe and Translate. requesting the Reader not to begrutch his pains to peruse them: Considering they are the last in this kinde, that ever were represented in *England*, by a Legall Corporation in defence of the Popish Religion. And though errour doth go out with a *Stink*, yet it is a *perfume* that it does go out: We are so far from denying a grave to bury them, that we will erect the * Monument over this ashes of these dead errours.

The acts of this years Convocation.

e *Liber Synod. Anno Dom.* 1559. folio 15.

f *Ib. fol.* 6. g *fol.* 8.

Feb. 18.

* To the Bps. that they might present them to the Parli. &c.

* Copied by me out of the Original.

REVERENDI

Anno Regin. Eliz. 1.

Anno Dom. 1558

REVERENDI in Chriſto Patres ac Domini colendiſſimi. Quoniam fama publica referente ad noſtram nuper notitiam pervenit, multa Religionis Chriſtianæ Dogmata publico & unanimi gentium Chriſtianarum conſenſu hactenus recepta & probata, ac ab Apoſtolis ad nos uſque concorditer per manus deducta, præſertim Articulos infraſcriptos in dubium vocari. Hinc eſt quod nos Cantuarienſis Provinciæ inferior ſecundarius Clerus in uno, (Deo ſic diſponente ac Sereniſſimæ Dominæ noſtræ Reginæ, Decani & Capituli Cant. mandato, Brevi Parliamenti, ac monitione Eccleſiaſtica ſolita declarata id exigente) convenientes, partium noſtrarum eſſe exiſtimavimus, tum noſtræ, tum eorum, quorum cura nobis Committitur, æternæ ſaluti omnibus quibus poterimus modis proſpicere. Quocirca majorum noſtrorum exemplis Commoti, qui in ſimilia ſæpe tempora inciderunt, fidem quam in Articulis infra Scriptis, veram eſſe credimus, & ex animo profitemur ad dei Laudem, & honorem officiique & aliarum noſtræ curæ commiſſarum exoneracionem præſentibus duximus publicè auferendam affirmantes, & ſicut Deus nos in die Judicij Adjuvet aſſerentes.

Primò, quod in Sacramento Altaris virtute Chriſti verbo ſuo à Sacerdote debitè prolato aſſiſtentis, præſens eſt realiter ſub ſpeciebus panis & vini naturale Corpus Chriſti Conceptum de Virgine Mariæ, Item naturalis ejus Sanguis.

Item, quod poſt Conſecrationem, non remanet ſubſtantia panis & vini, neq; alia ulla ſubſtantia, niſi ſubſtantia Dei & hominis.

Item, quod in miſſa offertur verum Chriſti Corpus, & verus ejuſdem ſanguis, ſacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis & defunctis.

Item, quod Petro Apoſtolo & ejus legitimis ſucceſſoribus in ſede Apoſtolica, tanquam Chriſti Vicariis data eſt ſuprema poteſtas paſcendi, & regendi eccleſiam Chriſti militantem et fratres ſuos confirmandi.

REVEREND Fathers in Chriſt, and our honourable Lords. Whereas by the report of publique fame it hath come unto our knowledge that many Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion hitherto received and approved by the unanimous conſent of Chriſtian nations, and with joynt agreement, as by hands deduced from the Apoſtles unto us, (eſpecially the Articles under-written) are now called into queſtion. Hence it is, that we the inferior and ſecondary Clergy of the Province of Canterbury aſſembled in one body, (God ſo diſpoſing it, and the Command of our Lady the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty, together with the mandate of the Dean and chapter of Canterbury, the Parliament-Writ, and all due and wonted Eccleſiaſticall monition declared ſo requiring it) conceived it to belong unto us to provide for the eternall Salvation both of our ſelves, and ſuch as are committed to our charge, by all means poſſible for us to obtain. Wherefore ſtirred up by the examples of our Predeceſſours, who have lived in the like times, that faith which in the Articles under-written we believe to be true, and from our ſouls profeſs to the praiſe and honour of God, and the diſcharge of our duty, and ſuch ſouls as are commited unto us, we thought in theſe preſents publiquely to inſert, affirming and avowing as God ſhall helpe us in the laſt day of judgement.

Firſt, that in the Sacrament of the Altar by the vertue of Chriſts aſſiſting, after the word is duly pronounced by the Prieſt, the naturall Body of Chriſt conceived of the Virgin Mary is really preſent, under the ſpecies of bread and wine, alſo his naturall bloud.

Item, that after the Conſecration, there remains not the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, nor any other ſubſtance, ſave the ſubſtance of God and man.

Item, that the true body of Chriſt, and his true bloud is offered a propitiatory ſacrifice for the Quick and Dead.

Item that the ſupreme power of feeding and governing the militant Church of Chriſt, and of confirming their Brethren is given to Peter the Apoſtle, and to his lawfull Succeſſours in the See Apoſtolike, as unto the Vicars of Chriſt.

Item quod Authoritas tractandi & diffiniendi de ijs quæ spectant ad fidem, Sacramentum & disciplinam ecclesiasticam hactenus semper spectavit & spectare debet tantum ad Pastores Ecclesiæ, quos spiritus Sanctus in hoc in ecclesiam Dei posuit & non ad Laicos.

Item that the Authority to handle and define such things which belong to faith, the Sacraments, and Discipline Ecclesiasticall, hath hitherto ever belonged, and only ought to belong unto the Pastors of the Church, whom the holy spirit hath placed in the Church of God, and not unto lay-men.

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Quam nostram assertionem, affirmationem & fidem, Nos inferior Clerus prædictus considerationes prædictas Vestris Paternitatibus tenore presentium exhibemus, humiliter supplicantes, ut quia nobis non est copia hanc nostram sententiam & intentionem aliter illis quos in hac parte interest notificandi, Vos, qui Patres estis, ista superioribus Ordinibus significare velitis: Qua in re Officium charitatis ac Pietatis (ut arbitramur) præstabitis, & saluti gregis vestri (ut par est) prospicietis, & vestras ipsi animas liberabitis.

Which our Assertion, Affirmation and faith, We the lower Clergy aforesaid so represent the aforesaid considerations unto your Fatherhoods by the Tenor of these Presents, humbly requesting, that because we have not liberty otherwise to notifie this our Judgement, and intention to those, which in this behalf are concerned, you who are Fathers would be pleased to signifie the same to the Lords in Parliament, wherein, as we conceive you shall performe an office of Charity and Piety, and you shall provide (as it is meet) for the safety of the flock committed to your charge, and shall discharge your duty towards your own soul.

This remonstrance exhibited by the lower house of *Convocation* to the *Bishops*, was according to their Requests presented by *Edmond Bonner*, Bp. of *London*, to the Lord Keeper of the broad Seal of *England* in the Parliament, and (as the said Bishop, in the eighth Session reported) he generously and gratefully received it. But we finde no further news thereof, save that in the 10. Session, an account was given in, by both Universities in an Instrument under the hand of a Publique Notary, wherein they both did concur to the Truth of the aforesaid Articles, the last only excepted. Mar. 9. 10.

The Disputations betwixt the Papists and Protestants at *Westminster*.

10. But we may probably conceive that this Declaration of the Popish Clergy hastened the Disputation appointed on the last of March in the Church of *Westminster*, wherein these questions were debated.

1. Whether Service and Sacraments ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue?
2. Whether the Church hath not power to alter Ceremonies, so all be done to edification?
3. Whether the Mass be a propitiatory sacrifice for the Living and the Dead?

Popish Disputants.		Moderators.	Protestant Disputants.
*White,	Bps. of *Winchester.*	*Nicholas Heath.*	*John Scory late* Bp.
Watson.	*Lincolne.*	Bp. of *York.*	*of Chichester.*
Baynes.	*Covent* and	St. *Nicholas*	*David Whitehead.*
Scot.	*Lichfield.*	*Bacon Lord*	*Robert Horne.*
	Chester.	*Keeper of the*	*Edmond Gwest.*
Dr. *Cole Deane of Pauls.*		*great Seal.*	*Edwine Sands.*
Dr. *Langdale.*	Arch-Deac- of *Lewes.*		*John Aelmer.*
Dr. *Harpsfield.*	*Canterbury.*		*Edmond Grindall.*
Dr. *Cheadsey.*	*Middlesex.*		*John Jewell.*

* There is some difference in the Number and Names of Both Parties Mr. *Fox* neither agreeth with Mr. *Camden*, nor with himself.

The

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The paſſages of this Diſputation (whereof more Noiſe then fruit, and wherein more Paſſion then Reaſon, Cavils then Arguments) are largely reported by Mr. *Fox*. It was ordered that each ſide ſhould tender their Judgements in writing to avoid verball extravagancies, as alſo in Engliſh for the better information of the Nobility and Gentry of the houſe of Parliament, their Auditors, and that the Papiſts ſhould begin firſt, and the Proteſtants anſwer them. But in the ſecond dayes diſputation, this order was broken by the Popiſh Biſhops, who quitting their Primacy to the Proteſtants, ſtood peremptorily upon it, that they themſelves would deliver their Judgements laſt. Alledging in their behalf the faſhion of the Schools, that becauſe they had the negative on their ſide, the others ought firſt to oppoſe; Citing alſo the Cuſtome of the Courts at *Weſtminſter*, where the plaintiffe pleadeth before the defendant, conceiving themſelves in the nature and notion of the Later, becauſe maintaining thoſe opinions, whoſe Truth, time out of minde were eſtabliſhed. *Cheſter*, more open then the Reſt, plainly confeſſed, that if the proteſtants had the laſt word, they would come off, *cum Applauſu Populi*, with applauſe of the People, which themſelves, it ſeems, moſt deſired; Whereby it appears what Wind they wiſhed for, not what was fitteſt to fanne the truth, but what would blow them moſt reputation. In this Refuſal to begin, *Wincheſter* and *Lincolne* behaved themſelves ſaucily, and ſcornfully, the reſt ſtiffly and reſolutely; only *Feckenham* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, (who it ſeems the ſecond day was added to the Popiſh Diſputants) carried it with more meekneſſe and moderation. Hereupon the Lord Keeper cut off this conference, with this ſharp Concluſion. *Seeing my Lords we cannot now hear you, you may perchance ſhortly hear more of us.*

The Papiſts complain of partial uſage.

11. Yet need we not behold the fruſtration of this meeting, as a private Doome, peculiarly to this conference alone, but as the generall Deſtiny of ſuch publike Colloquies, which like Sicamore-trees prove barren, and which the larger the Leaves of the Expectation, the leſs the fruits of Succeſſe. The Aſſembly diſſolved, it were hard to ſay, which were lowder, the Papiſts in Complaining, or the Proteſtants in Triumphing. The former found themſelves agrieved that they were ſurpriſed of a ſudden, having but two dayes warning to provide themſelves. That *Bacon* the Moderator (though well ſkill'd in matters of Equity, ignorant in matters of Divinity) was their Zealous Enemy, to whom the Arch-Biſhop was added only for a ſtale. That to call ſuch fundamentall points of Doctrine into queſtion, would cauſe an unſetledneſſe in Religion of dangerous conſequence, both to ſingle ſouls, and to the Church in generall. That it was unlawfull for them, owing obedience to the Sea Apoſtolike, without leave of his Holineſſe firſt obtained to diſcuſſe theſe truthes long ſince decided in the Church.

The Proteſtants triumph on the other ſide.

13. The Proteſtants on the other ſide ſlighted the Papiſts Plea of want of warning, ſeeing (beſides that both ſides were warned at the ſame time) that Party ſent a challenge, and gave the firſt defiance in their late Declaration; and now it was Senſeleſſe in them to complain that they were ſet upon unawares. That if the truths were ſo clear as they pretended, and their learning ſo great as was reputed, little Study in this Caſe was required. That *Bacon* was appointed Moderator, not to decide the matters Controverted, but to regulate the manner of their Diſputation, whereunto his known Gravity and Diſcretion, without deep learning did ſufficiently enable him. That it was an old Policy of the Papiſts to account every thing fundamentall in Religion, which they were loth ſhould be removed, and that the receiving of erroneous principles into the Church, without examination, had been the mother of much ignorance, and ſecurity therein. For the preventing of the farther growth whereof, no fitter means then an unpartiall reducing

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ing of all Doctrines to the triall of the Scriptures. that their declining the Disputation, manifested the badnesse of their Cause, seeing no pay-master will refuse the *touch* or *scales*, but such as suspect their Gold to be base or light. That formerly Papists had disputed those points when power was on their side, so that they loved to have *Syllogisms* in their mouths, when they had swords in their hands.

Nine Bishops now dead.

14. It remaineth now, that we acquaint the reader, how the popish Bps. were disposed of, who now fell under a 4. fold division.

1 Dead, 3 Deprived,
2 Fled, 4 Continued.

There were *nine* of the first sort, who were of the *Death-guard* of Q. *Mary*, as expiring either a little before her decease. viz.

John	*Capon.*	Bp. of	*Sarisbury.*	These were Q. *Mary* her *Ushers* to her grave.
Robert	*Parfew.*		*Hereford.*	
Maurice	*Griffin.*		*Rochester.*	
William	*Glyn.*		*Bangor.*	

Or a little after her departure, as

Reignald	*Pole.*	Bp. of	*Canterbury*	These were Q. *Maries* trainbearers to the same.
John	*Hopton.*		*Norwich.*	
John	*Brookes.*		*Gloucester.*	
John	*Holyman.*		*Bristol.*	
Henry	*Morgan.*		*S. Davids.*	

Three fled beyond the Seas.

15. Three only made their flight beyond the seas, namely 1. *Thomas Goldwell* of S^t. *Asaph*, who ran to Rome, and there procured of the Pope, the renewing of the indulgences, (for a set time) to such as superstitiously repaired to the well of S^t. *Winnifride*. 2. *Cuthert Scot* of *Chester*, who afterwards lived and died at *Lovain*. 3. *Richard Pates* of *Worcester*, whose escape was the rather connived at, because being a moderate Man, he refused to persecute any Protestant for his difference in religion.

A note of *Worcester*.

16. Be it here remembred, that the See of *Worcester* had nine Bishops successively.

whereof { The four first, (being all Italians) none of them lived there.
The five last, [*Latimer*, *Bel*, *Heath*, *Hooper*, *Pates*,] none of them died there as either resigning, removed or deprived, and all five were alive together in the raigne of Q. *Mary*.

As for *Pates*, we finde him thus subscribing the councell of *Trent*, *Richardus Patus Episcopus Wigornienſis*, under-writing only in his private and personall capacity, having otherwise no deputation as in any publick imployment.

The rest restrained.

17. The third sort succeeds, of such who on the refusall of the oath of supremacy, were all *deprived*, though not *restrained* alike. *Bonner* was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, a Jaile beeing conceived the safest place to secure him from peoples fury, every hand itching to give a good *squeeze* to that *Sponge of Blood*. *White*, and *Watson*, Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, died in durance, their liberty being inconsistent with the Queens safety whom they threatned to excomunicate.

A Prison to be envied.

18. As for Bishop *Tonstal*, and *Thyrlby*, they were committed to Arch-Bishop *Parker*. Here they had sweet chambers, soft beds, warme fires, plentifull and wholsome diet, (each *Bishop* faring like an *Arch-Bishop*, as fed at

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at his table) differing nothing from their former living, save that, that was on their own charges, and this on the cost of another. Indeed they had not their wonted attendance of superfluous Servants, nor needed it, seeing a long train doth not *warme* but *weary* the wearer thereof. They lived in *free custody*, and all things considered, custody did not so soure their freedome, as freedome did sweeten their custody.

19. The rest (though confin'd for a while) soon found the favour to live *Prisoners on their Parole*, having no other Jaylour than their own promise. Thus *Poole* of *Peterburgh*, *Turbervile* of *Exeter* &c. lived in their own, or their friends houses. The like liberty was allowed tho *Heath* Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, who (like another *Abiathar* * sent home by *Solomon* to his own fields in *Anathoth*) lived cheerfully at *Chobham* in *Surry*, where the Queen often courteously visited him.

Some living in their own Houses.

* 1 King. 2. 26.

20. Popish writers would perswade people, that these Bishops were cruelly used in their prisons, should their hyperbolicall expressions be received as the just measure of truth. *Carceribus variisq; e custodiis commissi, longo miseriarum tædio extincti sunt*, saith *Sanders*, *Confessor obiit in vinculis* saith *Pitzeus* of *White*. *A great cry and a little pain.* Many of our poor Protestants in the *Marian* daves said lesse, and suffered more. They were not sent into a *complementall custody*, but some of them thrust into the *prison*, of a *Lion*, where the *Sun* shined as much to them at *mid-night*, as at *noon-day*. Whereas *Abbot Feckenham* of *Westminster* (who as a *Parliamentary Baron*, may goe in equipage with the other Bishops) may be an instance how well the Papists were used after their deprivation. For He grew Popular * for his alms to the poor, which speaks the Queens bounty to Him, in enabling him (a prisoner) to be boun itull to others.

Cruelty causelessly complain'd of. *De Schism. Ang.* pag. 335.

Camdens Eliz. in hoc Anno.

21. Onely one Bishop conformed himself to the Queens commands, and was continued in his place, viz. *Anthony Kitchin, alias Dunstan* of *Landaffe*. *Camden* calls him, *Sedis suæ calamitatem*. *The bane of his Bishoprick*, wasting the lands thereof by letting long leases, as if it were given to *Binominous Bishops* (such as had two *Names*) to be the empairers of their Churches, as may appear by these 4. contemporaries in the raigne of K. *Henry* the 8.

One Bishop continued.

John	*Capon*		*Salcot*		*Sarisbury.*
John	*Voisey*	*alias*	*Harman*	*spoiled*	*Exeter.*
Robert	*Parsew*		*Warton*		*St. Asiph.*
Anthony	*Kitchin*		*Dunstan*		*Landaffe.*

I know what is pleaded for them, that Physicians in desperate consumptions, prescribe the shaving of the Head, (which will grow again) to save the life, and that these Bishops, fearing the finall alienation of their lands passed long leases for the prevention thereof, though whether *Policy* or *Covetousnesse* most shared in them herein, we will not determine. Only I finde a mediate successour * of *Kitchins* (and therefore concerned to be knowing therein) much excusing him from this common defamation of wronging his *See*, because many forged leases are countenanced under the pretence of this passing the same.

* *Godwin* in the Bps. of *Landaffe*

22. As for the numbers of Recusants which forsook the land at this time, the prime of them were, *Henry* Lord *Morley*, *Sr. Francis Inglefield*, *Thomas Shelly*, and *John Gage* Esqrs; As for the Nuns of *Sion*, and other Votaries wafted over, we have formerly treated of them in our *History of Abbies*. Nor were there moe then eighty Rectours of Churches, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colledges, twelve Arch-Deacons, twelve Deans, with six Abbots, and Abbesses deprived at this time of their places thoroughout all *England*.

A list of persons deprived

23. Now

Matthew Parker designed Arch-Bishop, his due commendation.

23. Now the Queen and Her Councell, accounted it high time to supply the Church of *Canterbury* (which hitherto had stood * Vacant a yeer, and three weeks) with an Arch-Bishop. Dr. *Matthew Parker* is appointed for the place; borne in *Norwich*, bred in *Cambridge*, Master of, Benefactour to *Bennet-Colledge* there, Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bollen* (a relation, which, next his own merits befriended him with Queen *Elizabeth*, for such high, and suddain advancement) then to King *Henry* the eighth, Deane of the Colledge of *Stoke juxta Clare*, a learned, and religious Divine. He confuted that character which one gives of *Antiquaries*, *that generally they are either superstitious, or supercilious*, his skill in antiquity being attended with soundnesse of doctrine, and humility of manners. His Book called *Antiquitates Britanicæ* hath indebted all posterity to his pen. Which work our great [a] Critick cites as written by Mr. *Joscelin*, one much employed in the making thereof. But we will not set the memories of the Patrone, and Chaplaine, at variance (who loved so well in their lives time) nor needeth any *Writ of partition* to be sued out betwixt them, about the authorship of this book, though probably one brought the *matter*, the other *composure* thereof.

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* Counted from *Poole's* death to *Parkers* consecration.

[a] Mr *Selden* of Tithes cap. 9. pag. 256.

The Queen Her letter for his consecration.

24. The Queen had formerly sent order to Dr. *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* (an exquisite Civilian, and therefore one who may be presumed critical in such performances) and to the Chapter there, to choose *Matthew Parker* their Arch-Bishop, which within fourteen dayes after was by them accordingly performed. This done, She directeth Her Letters-Patents in manner, and forme following,

July 18. Aug. 1.

[b] *Registrum Parkeri. Tom. 1 fol. 3.*

Elizabetha [b] *Dei Gratia, &c. Reverendis in Christo Patribus, Antonio Landavensi Episcopo*, Will. Barlow *quondam* Bath. & Well. *Ep. nunc Ciceſtrensi electo*, Joh. Scory *quondam Ciceſtrensi Episcopo, nunc electo Heresor. Miloni Coverdalio, quondam Exoniensi Episcopo, Johanni Suffraganeo Bedford, Johanni Suffraganeo Thetford, Johanni Bale Osserensi Episcopo.*

Quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrûm, eundem Matthæum Parkerum in Archiepiscopum, & Pastorem Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, & Metropoliticæ Christi Cantuariensis prædictæ, sicut præfertur, electum, electionemque prædictum confirmare, & eundem Magistrum Matthæum Parkerum in Archiepiscopum, & Pastorem Ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia, & singula peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte editorum, & provisorum, velitis cum effectu &c. Dat. sexto Decembris, Anno secundo Elizabethæ.

But the old Bishop of *Landaffe* appeared not at the Consecration, terrified (say the Papists) by *Bonners* threats, so as to absent himself, which others do not believe. For, he that feared not the Lion out of the grate, would he be frighted with the Lion within the grate? If *Bonner*, when at liberty, could not deterr him from taking the oath of Supremacy, improbable it is, that when now detain'd prisoner in the Tower, he could dissuade him from his obedience to his Soveraigne. More likely it is, that his absence (as also Bishop *Bale's*, and the Suffragans of *Thetford*) was occasioned by their indisposition of body, and infirmity of old age.

Dec. 6.

The manner thereof.

[c] *Regist. Parker. Tom 1. fol 9.* [d] *Ibid. fol. 10.* [e] 1 Pet. 5. 1.

25. But the other four Bishops appeared, *William Barlow*, *John Scory*, *Miles Coverdal*, and *John Hodgskins*, by whom *Matthew Parker* was solemnly consecrated in manner, and forme following. The East part of the Chappel of [c] *Lambeth* was hung with tapestry, the floore spred with red cloth, chairs and cushions are conveniently placed for the purpose; morning prayer being solemnly read by *Andrew Peerson*, the Arch-Bishops Chaplaine, *Bishop Scory* went up into the [d] pulpit, and took for his text, *The* [e] *Elders which are*

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are among you I exhort, who also am an Elder; and a witnesse of the sufferings of Christ, &c. Sermon ended, and the Sacrament administred, they proceed to the Consecration: the Arch-Bishop had his Rochet on, with *Hereford*, and the Suffragan of *Bedford*, *Chichester* wore a silke cope, and *Coverdale* a plain cloth-gown down to his ancles. All things are done conformable to the book of Ordination, Letanie sung, the Queens Patent for *Parkers* consecration audibly read by Dr. *Yale*, he is presented, the oath of Supremacy tendred to him, taken by him, hands reverendly imposed on him, and all with prayers begun, continued, concluded. In a word, though here was no Theatrical pompe to make it a Popish pageant; though no sandals, gloves, ring, staffe, oyle, pall &c. were used upon him, yet there was ceremony enough to cloth his consecration with decency, though not to clog it with superstition.

Dece. 17.

26. This his consecration is avowed most legal, both according to Canon, and Common Law. In the latter it was ordered by King *Henry* [a] the eighth, that an Arch-Bishop should not be consecrated, but by an Arch-bishop, and two Bishops; or by four Bishops, in case an Arch-Bishop was wanting, as here it was performed. Object not that one of these foure was but a Suffragan, seeing such by the [b] laws of the land (though not able to vote as Barons in Parliament) had Episcopal power to all purposes, and intents. Neither cavill, that *Coverdale* henceforward led a private life, being always a Bishop *quoad characterem*, and for the present *quoad jus & titulum* (*Exeter*, his former Bishoprick being actually void by the deprivation of *Turberville*) though refusing to be so *quoad possessionem*. As for the canonical part of his consecration, six of the most eminent Doctours of that faculty *England* then afforded, gave it under their hands, that the same was exactly observed.

The legality of his consecration.

[a] *Anno Regin.* 25.

[b] 26. of *Henry* 8. *cap.* 14.

27. Yet notwithstanding all circumstances so solemnly performed, some impudent Papists have raised a lie, that *Matthew Parker* was consecrated *Ad caput manni*, *At the Nagg-head*, a tavern in *Cheapside*. Indeed they shew a place therein, just against the barr, so anciently arched, that an active phansie (which can make any thing of any thing) may create to it self a top, or tester of a pulpit thereof, though the like thereunto may be seen elsewhere in the city. But that this lie of the *naggs-head* was bred in a knaves brains, doth plainly appear. For, *why should a rich man be a thief*: seeing all Churches in *England* were equally open unto them to pick, and choose at pleasure, why should they steal a clandestine consecration in a place so justly obnoxious to censure? Were not the *Canaanites, and Perizzites then in the land*? Were not many prying Papists then mingled amongst Protestants? which consideration alone would command them to be cautious in their proceedings. Besides, that *mock-pulpit* shewen at this day at the entrance of that tavern, was inconsistent with the secrecie (which is said to be their designe) who would rather have made choice of an inner, and more remote roome for that purpose. But, when once one Jesuite had got this shameless lie of the *Naggs-head* (I can not say by the taile, but) by the ears, instantly *Champney*, *Fitz-Simon Person*, *Killian*, *Constable*, and all the whole kennell of them, baule it out in their books to all posterity.

The impudent lie of the *Naggs-head*.

28. All the authority the Papists produce for their *Naggs-head* Consecration, is ultimately resolved into the single testimony of one *Thomas Neale*, Chaplaine to Bishop *Bonner*, and sometimes Hebrew-Professour in *Oxford*. But, was this *Neale* known, or unknown to the Bishops, pretended in this taverne-assembly? If known, as most probable he was (*Bonners* Chaplains bearing their Masters marke, the indeleble character of cruelty stamped upon them, as the Wolfe is too well known to the sheep) it is utterly unlikely they would permit a person, vowing open opposition to their proceedings, to be present thereat. If *Neale* were unknown, the English Bishops (whom

Neale's testimony (the sole witnesse thereof) confuted.

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the Papists, though they call Hereticks, do not count fools) would not admit a stranger to their privacies of such importance, seeing commonly in such cases, mens jealousies interpret every unknown face to be a foe unto them.

A silent witness pretended in vain.

29. To the testimony of *Neale*, [a] one endeavours to twist the witness of *John Stow*, to prove this *Nags-head*-consecration. A silent wittness, who says nothing herein, if either we consult his Chronicle of our Kings or his Survey of *London*, he neither speaks words, nor makes any signes thereof. But (saith the Jesuite) *Stow*, though prudently omitting to print it, told the same to some of his private friends. I pray, to whom? where? and when? and what credible witnesses do attest it? Be it referr'd to the ingenuity of our very adversaries, whether their bare surmises without any proof, be to be believed before the publique Records, faithfully taken when the thing was done, carefully preserved ever since, intirely extant at this day, and truly transcribed here by us. Besides, *Charles Howard*, Earle of *Nottingham* (not more famous for the Coronet of a Count, than the crown of old age) alive in the later end of the Reigne of King *James*, being requested of a friend, whether he could remember *Matthew Parkers* consecration, gave an exact account of the same solemnly performed in *Lambeth* Chappel, being himself an eyewitness thereof, and an invited guest to the great feast kept there that day, therefore the more observant of all particular passages thereat, because the said Arch-Bishop was related to him as a kinsman. Let such as desire further satisfaction herein, consult learned [b] *Mason* (whom King *James* justly termed a *wise builder* in Gods house) who hath left no stones unturn'd to clear the truth, and stop the mouth of malicious adversaries. Let the Papists therefore not be so busie to cast durt on our Bishops, but first fall on washing the face of their own Pope, even *John* the twelv'th, whom an excellent [c] authour reporteth to have ordained a Deacon in a stable, for which two Cardinals reproved him. And let these three stories be told together, that the Empress *Helen* was the daughter of an Hostler; that Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* himself was an Hostler; and, that our first Bps. in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes were consecrated in the *Naggs-head*. I say let these three be told together, because wise, and good men will believe them together, as all comming forth of the forge of falsehood, and malice.

a *Champneius pag.* 501.

b *De Minist. Anglic. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. 9. &c.

c *Luitprandus lib.* 6. *cap.*7.

Sees supplied with Protestant Bishops.

30. Now though we are not to gratifie our *Adversaries* with any Advantages against us, yet so confident is our innocence herein, that It may acquaint the world with that small *foundation* on which this whole *report* was *bottom'd*: Every Arch-Bishop, or Bishop presents himself in *Bow-Church*, accompanied thither with *Civilians*, where any shall be heard, who can make any legall exceptions, against his *Election*. A *Dinner* * was provided for them at the *Naggs-head* in *Cheapside*, as convenient for the Vicinity thereof, and from this *Sparke* hath all this *Fire* been kindled; to admonish posterity not only to *do no evil* but also in this Captious Age, to refrain *from all appearance thereof*.

* This the Lord Chancellour *Egerton* affirmed to Bishop *Williams*.

31. *Parker*, thus solemnly consecrated, proceeded, with the assistance of the aforesaid Bishops, to the consecration of other grave Divines; and not (as *Sanders* lewdly lies) that these new elected Bishops, out of good fellowship, mutually consecrated one another; some whereof were put into Bishopricks void.

By the { Natural death, as *Sarisbury*, *Rochester*, *Glocester*, *Bristol*, *Bangor*, or, Voluntary desertion, as *Worcester*, and St. *Asaph*, or, Legal deprivation of the former Bishops, as all other Sees in *England*.

Suffice

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Suffice it at this time to present a perfect Catalogue of their names, Sees, with the dates of their consecrations, referring their commendable characters, to be set down, when we come to their respective deaths.

Province of *Canterbury.*

1. *Edward*	*Grindal*	consecrated,	*London*,	*Decem.* 21. 1559.
2. *Richard*	*Cox.*		*Elie*,	*Decem.* 21. 1559.
3. *Edwin*	*Sandys*		*Worcester*,	*Decem.* 21. 1559.
4. *Rowland*	*Merick*		*Bangor*,	*Decem* 21. 1559.
5. *Nicolas*	*Bullingham*		*Lincolne*,	*Janu.* 21. 1559.
6. *John*	*Jewell*		*Sarisbury*,	*Janu.* 21. 1556
7. *Thomas*	*Young*		*S. Davids*,	*Janu.* 21. 1559.
8. *Richard*	*Davies*		*S. Asaph*,	*Janu.* 2 . 1559.
9. *Thomas*	*Bentham*		*Coven. & Lichfield*,	*Mar.* 24. 1559.
10. *Gilbert*	*Barclay*		*Bath*, and *Wells*,	*Mar.* 24. 1559.
11. *Edmond*	*Gwest*		*Rochester*,	*Mar.* 24. 1559.
12. *William*	*Alley*		*Exeter*,	*July.* 14. 1560.
13. *John*	*Parkhurst*		*Norwich*,	*Sept.* 1. 1560.
14. *Robert*	*Horne*		*Winchester*,	*Feb.* 16. 1560.
15. *Edmond*	*Scambler*		*Peterburgh*,	*Feb.* 16. 1560.
16. *Richard*	*Cheiney*		*Gloceſter*,	*Apr.* 19. 1562.

Province of *Yorke.*

1. *Thomas*	*Young*, translated from S^r. *Davids* to *Yorke*		*Feb.* 20.	1560.
2. *James*	*Pilkington*, consecrated,	*Durham*,	*Mar.* 2.	1560.
3. *John*	*Best*	*Carlile*,	*Mar.* 2.	1561.
4. *George*	*Downham*	*Cheſter*,	*May*, 4.	1561.

The other Bishopricks were thus disposed of, *Richard Cheiney* held *Bristol* in *Commendam* with *Gloceſter*; *Barlow*, and *Scory*, Bishops in King *Edward's* dayes, were translated, the one to *Chicester*, the other to *Hereford*. As for the Bishoprick of *Oxford*, as it was void at this time; so it continued for some years after.

32. We must not forget how the Bishoprick of *Carlile* was first profered to *Bernard Gilpin*, that Patriarchal Divine (Rectour of *Houghton* in the *North*) as may appear by the ensuing letter of *Edwin* [a] *Sandys*, Bishop of *Worcester*, wrote unto him.

Mr *Gilpin* refuseth the Bishoprick of *Carlile*.

[a] Found amongst Mr. *Gilpins* papers after his death.

MY much and worthily respected Cozen, having regard unto the good of the Church of Christ, rather than to your ease, I have by all the good means I could, been carefull to have this charge imposed upon you, which may be both an honour to your self, and a benefit to the Church of Christ. My true report concerning you hath so prevailed with the Queens Majesty, that she hath nominated you Bishop of Carlile.

I am not ignorant that your inclination rather delighteth in the peaceable tranquillity of a private life. But if you look upon the estate of the Church of England *with a respective eye, you cannot with a good conscience, refuse this charge imposed upon you: so much the less because it is in such a place, as wherein no man is found fitter then your self, to deserve well of the Church. In which respect I charge you before God, and as you shall answer to God herein, that, setting all excuses aside, you refuse not to assist your Countrie, and to do service to the Church of God to the uttermost*

of your power. In the mean while I give you to understand, that the said Bishopprick is to be left untouched, nither shall any thing of it be diminished (as in some others it is a custom) but you shall receive the Bishoprick entire, as Dr. Oglethorp *hath left it.*

Wherefore exhorting, and charging you to be obedient to Gods call herein, and not to neglect the duty of our own calling, I commend both your self, and the whole business to the Divine Providence.

Your Kinsman, and Brother,

Edwin Worcester.

Anno Dom. 1559. Anno Regin. Elizab. 1.

But Mr. *Gilpin* desired to be excused, continuing unmoveable in his resolution of refusall. Not that he had any disaffection to the office (as some do believe themselves, and would willingly perswade others) but, because (as he privately confess'd to his [a] friends) he had so much kindred about *Carlile*, at whom he must either connive in many things, not without hurt to himself; or else deny them, not without offence to them. To avoid which difficulties, he refused the Bishoprick. It was afterward bestowed (as in our Catalogue) on Dr. *John Best*, a grave, and learned Divine. But whether on the same terms (without any diminution to the Church) my [b] authour knew not, leaving us under a shrewd suspicion of the negative.

[a] B. *Carleton* in *Gilpins* life pag. 80.

[b] Idem. pag. 81.

Why *Barlow* and *Scory* were not restored to their former Bishopricks, conjectured.

33. If any demand of me, why *Barlow* formerly Bishop of *Bath*, and *Wells*; and *Scory Bishop* of *Chicester*, were not rather restored to their own, than translated to other Bishopricks, As certainly I do not know, so willingly I will not guess at the cause thereof; though I have leasure to listen to the conjectures of others herein. Some impute it to their own desires (preferring faire paper before what was soiled with their ill successe) rather to begin on a *new account*, than to renew their *reckoning* with those Bishopricks, where they had been interrupted with persecution. Others ascribe it to the Queen, herein shewing her absolute power of disposition and transposition of all Prelates; at Her pleasure *crossing Her hands*, and translating *Scory* from *Chichester* to *Hereford*, *Barlow* from *Bath* and *Wells* to *Chichester*. A third sort resolve it on a point of the Queens frugality (a vertue needfull in a Princess coming to a Crown in Her condition) to get new first-fruits by their new translations, which otherwise would not accrue by their restitutions. Sure I am, none of these *Conjecturers* were either of the *Bedchamber*, or *Councell-Board* to the Queen, acquainted with Her intentions herein.

Why *Coverdale* resumed not his Bishoprick of *Exeter*.

[c] Amos 4. 11.

34. As for *Miles Coverdale*, formerly Bishop of *Exeter*, he never returned to his See, but remained a private Minister to the day of his death. Indeed it was true of him, what is said of others, [c] *He was as a fire-brand pluckt out of the burning*, being designed to death by Queen *Mary*, had not the seasonable, and importunate intercession of *Frederick*, King of *Denmarke*, redeemed him. And, although his dissenting in judgement from some ceremonies in our Discipline, is generally alledged as the cause of his not returning to his Bishoprick, yet more probable it is, it was caused by his impotencie, as may appear by his Epitaph, which here we have thought fit to insert, as I took it from the brass-inscription of his marble-stone, under the Communion-Table in the Chancell of St. *Bartholomews* behinde the Exchange.

Hic

Anno Regin. Anno Dom. 1558.

Hic tandem requiemque ferens, finemque laborum,
Ossa Coverdalii mortua tumbus habet.
Exoniæ qui Præsul erat dignissimus olim,
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.
Octoginta annis grandævus vixit & unum,
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.
Sic demum variis jactatum casibus, ista
Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.

Obiit 1568. *Jan.* 20.

Now if *Coverdale Anno* 1568. was fourscore and one year of age, then at this very time when he consecrated *Parker*, was he seventy two years old, passing with *Iesse* [a] *for an old man*; yea he had passed the [b] *age of man*, and therefore henceforward, finding himself fitter for devotion, than action, refused the resumption of his Bishoprick.

a 1 Sa. 26. 12.
b Psal. 90.

35. So much for the Bishops. As for the inferiour Clergy under them, the best that could be gotten were placed in pastoral charges. Alas; tolerability was eminency in that age. A *rush-candle* seemed a *torch* where no brighter light was ere seen before. Surely preaching now ran very low, if it be true what I read, that Mr. *Taverneur*, of *Water-Eaton in Oxford-shire*, High-Sheriffe of the County, came in pure charity, not ostentation, and gave the Scholars a Sermon in St. *Maries*, with his gold chain about his neck, and his sword by his side, beginning with these words, [c].

Meane Ministers in this age, as appears by Mr. *Taverneurs* Sermon.

c In the preface to St. *Iohn Cheeks* book called the true Subject to the Rebell, printed at *Oxford* 1641.

Arriving at the mount of St. *Maries, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biskets, baked in the oven of charity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of the Church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation.*

If *England* in our memory hath been sensible of a perfective alteration in her Churches; if since she hath seen more learning in the peoples pews, than was then generally in the Readers deske, yea Preachers Pulpit; let *God* be more glorified in it, men more edified by it; seeing of late the Universities have afforded moe vine-dressers, than the Country could yeeld them vineyards. Yea, let us be jealous over our selves with a godly jealousie, lest our ingratitude make us to relapse into the like ignorance, and barbarisme. For, *want of bread* was not so much the suffering of those dayes, as *fulnes* thereof hath lately been the sin of ours.

36. Great abuses being offered to the monuments of the dead, the Queen thought fitting seasonably to retrench the increase of such impieties. And, although her Proclamation being printed, the printing of Her name thereunto had been of as much validity in it self, and of far more ease to Her Majesty, yet to manifest Her Princely zeal therein, She severally signed each copie (and those numerous to be dispers'd thoroughout all Her Dominions) with Her own hand. And, seeing Shee begrutched not Her pains to *superscribe* Her name, I shall not think much of mine to *transcribe* the whole Proclamation.

A Proclamation against defacers of Monuments in Churches.

Elizabeth

Anno Dom. 1559.

Elizabeth.

This Proclamation was printed at London in Paul's Church-yard, by Rich. Jugg, and John Cawood Printers to the Queen.

THe Queens Majesty understanding, that by the means of sundry people, partly ignorant, partly malitious, or covetous; there hath been of late yeers spoiled and broken certain ancient Monuments, some of metall, some of stone, which were erected up as well in Churches, as in other publike places within this Realme, only to shew a memory to the posterity of the persons there buried, or that had been benefactours to the building, or dotations of the same Churches, or publique places, and not to nourish any kinde of superstition. By which means, not only the Churches, and places remain at this present day spoiled, broken, and ruinated, to the offence of all noble and gentile hearts, and the extinguishing of the honourable and good memory of sundry vertuous, and noble persons deceased; but also the true understanding of divers families in this Realm (who have descended of the blood of the same persons deceased) is thereby so darkened, as the true course of their inheritance may be hereafter interrupted, contrary to justice, besides many other offences that do hereof ensue to the slander of such as either gave, or had charge in times past only to deface monuments of idolatry, and false fained images in Churches, and Abbeys. And therefore, although it be very hard to recover things broken and spoiled: yet, both to provide that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used, and to repaire as much of the said monuments as conveniently may be: Her Majesty chargeth and commandeth all maner of persons hereafter to forbear the breaking, or defacing of any parcell of any monument, or tombe, or grave, or other inscription, and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; or to break any image of Kings, Princes or Nobles, Estates of this Realme, or of any other that have been in times past erected, and set up, for the only memory of them to their posterity in common Churches, and not for any religious honour: or to break down and deface any image in glass-windows in any Churches, without consent of the Ordinarie: upon pain that whosoever shall be herein found to offend, to be committed to the next Goale, and there to remain without baile, or mainprise, unto the next coming of the Justices, for the delivery of the said Goale; and then to be farther punished by fine, or imprisonment (besides the restitution, or reedification of the thing broken) as to the said Justices shall seem meet: using therein the advice of the Ordinary; and, if need shall be, the advice of Her Majesties Councell in Her Starr-Chamber.

And for such as be already spoiled in any Church, or Chappell, now standing: Her Majesty chargeth, and commandeth all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, or Ecclesiastical persons, which have authority to visit the Churches, or Chappels, to enquire by presentments of the Curates, Church-wardens, and certain of the parishioners, what manner of spoiles have been made sithence the beginning of Her Majesties raigne, of such monuments, and by whom; and if the persons be living, how able they be to repair, and reedifie the same; and thereupon to convent the same persons, and to enjoyn them under pain of Excommunication, to repair the same by a convenient day, or otherwise (as the cause shall farther require) to notifie the same to Her Majesties Councell in the Starr-chamber at Westminster. And, if any such be found, and convicted thereof, not able to repair the same; that then they be enjoyned to do open pennance two or three times in the Church, as to the quality of the crime, and party belongeth, under the like pain of excommunication. And if the party that offended be dead: and the Executours of the Will left having sufficient

Anno Regni Eliz. 2 Anno Dom. 1559.

in their hands unadministred, and the offence notorious; the Ordinarie of the place shall also enjoyn them to repair, or reedifie the same, upon like, or any other convenient pain, to be devised by the said Ordinarie. And when the offender cannot be presented, if it be in any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church, which hath any revenue belonging to it, that is, not particularly allotted to the sustentation of any person certain, or otherwise, but that it may remain in the discretion of the governour thereof, to bestow the same upon any other charitable deed, as mending of high-wayes or such like; Her Majesty enjoyneth, and straitly chargeth the governours, and companies of every such Church, to employ such parcels of the said sums of money (as any wise may be spared) upon the speedy repaire, or reedification of any such monuments so defaced, or spoiled, as agreeable to the original, as the same conveniently may be.

And where the covetousness of certain persons is such, that as Patrons of Churches, or owners of the personages impropriated or by some other colour, or pretence, they do perswade with the Parson and Parishioners, to take, or throw down the bells of Churches, and Chappels, and the lead of the same, converting the same to their private gain, and to the spoils of the said places, and make such like alterations, as thereby they seek a slanderous desolation of the places of prayer: Her Majesty (to whom in the right of the Crown by the ordinance of Almighty God, and by the laws of this Realme, the defence and protection of the Church of this Realme belongeth) doth expressly forbid any manner of person, to take away any bells, or lead, of any Church, or Chappel, under pain of imprisonment during Her Majesties pleasure, and such farther fine for the contempt, as shall be thought meet.

And Her Majesty chargeth all Bishops, and Ordinaries to enquire of all such contempts, done from the beginning of Her Majesties raigne, and to enjoyn the persons offending, to repair the same within a convenient time. And of their doings in this behalf, to certifie Her Majesties privie-Councell or the Councell in the Star-Chamber at Westminster, *that order may be taken herein.*

Given at *Windsor* the 19th. of *September*, the second year of Her Majesties raign.

Her Princely care took this desired effect, that it stopped the main stream of Sacriledge herein, though some by-rivolets thereof ran still in private Churches, in defiance of all orders provided to the contrary.

37. May the Reader take notice, that henceforward God willing, we will set down at the end of every year, the deaths of such eminent Divines, who deceased therein, though we finde no funeralls of any prime Protestant in the two first yeers of the Queens raigne. Her coming to the Crown inspirited the weakest, and oldest with vigorousnesse, and vivacity for a time; and Divine Providence preserved them from *blasting*, who were but newly *replanted* in their places. Only we conjecture, that *John Bale* Bishop of *Osserie*, died about this time, we finding no future mention of his activity; which, if alive, could not conceal it self. Pity it is, we cannot give the exact date of his death, who was so accurate in noting the deceases of others. For this *John Bale*, was he, who (besides many other books) enlarged *Leland*, and continued the *Lives* of the English Writers. Borne at *Covy*, near *Dunwich*

The death and character of Bp. *Bale*.

Dunwich in *Suffolke*, bred in *Cambridge*, afterwards a *Carmelite* in *Norwich*, and ignorantly zealous in their superstitions. He was first converted to the knowledge of the Gospel, as himself [a] confesseth, by the care of that worthy Lord, *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, of *Nettlested* in *Suffolke*. Whereupon (to use his own expression) he was transported from his barren mount *Carmel*, to the fair and fruitfull vale of the Gospel. Anno Dom. 1534. Anno Regni Henr. 8.

[a] De Scriptor. Britan. Centur. 8.

38. Presently comes persecution. For his preaching of the Gospell, he is drag'd from the Pulpit to the Consistory, before *Lee* Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*; and for the same cause, was afterwards convented before *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*; but the Lord *Cromwell* (much affected with the facetiousness of such Comedies, as he had presented unto him) rescued him from their paws, by his power. After eight yeers exile in *Germany*, he was recalled by King *Edward*, and made Bishop of *Osserie* in *Ireland*, where he remained but a short time. For after the Kings death he hardly escaped with his own life (some of his servants being slain) cast by tempest into *Cornewall*, taken by pirates, dearly redeemed, with much difficulty he recovered *London*, with more danger got over into *Germany*. Whence returning, in the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, about this time he ended his life, leaving a Scholars Inventory, moe books (many of his own making) than mony behinde him.

The persecutions which in his life he suffered.

39. His friends say, that *Bale* his pen doth zealously confute such as are strangers to him conceive, it doth bitterly enveigh; and his foes say, it doth damnably raile on Papists, and their opinions; though something may be pleaded for his passion. Old age, and ill usage will make any man angry. When young, he had seen their superstition; when old, he felt their oppression. Give losers therefore leave to speak, and speakers to be cholerick in such cases. The best is, *Bale* raileth not more on *Papists* then *Pits* (employed on the same subject) on *Protestant* Writers; and, *even set one against the other*, whilest the discreet reader of both, paring off the extravagances of passion on each side, may benefit himself in quietness, from their loud, and clamorous invectives.

Bales passion endeavoured to be excused.

40. *Pius* the fourth, being newly setled in the *Papal* chaire, thought to do something, no less honourable, than profitable to his See, in reducing Queen *Elizabeth* (a wandring sheep worth a whole flock) to the Church of *Rome*. In order whereunto, he not only was deaf to the importunity of the Count of *Feria*, pressing him (for a private grudge) to excommunicate Her, but also addressed *Vincent Parpalia*, Abbot of S^t^. *Saviours*, with courteous letters unto her. The tenour whereof ensueth, 1560. 2 Reg. 5.

The Pope tampereth to reconcile the Queen to the Church of *Rome*.

To our most dear Daughter in Christ,
Elizabeth Queen of *England*.

DEar daughter in Christ, health and Apostolical benediction. How greatly we desire (our Pastoral charge requiring it) to procure the salvation of your soule, and to provide likewise for your honour, and the establishment of your Kingdom withall, God the searcher of all hearts knoweth, and you may understand by what we have given in charge to this our beloved son Vincentius Parpalia, *Abbot of* S^t^. Saviours, *a man well known to you, and well approved by us. Wherefore we do again and again exhort, and admonish your Highnesse, most dear daughter, that rejecting evil Councellours, which love not you, but themselves, and serve their*

Anno Regin. Eliz. 4 Anno Dom. 1562.

their own lusts, you would take the fear of God into Counsell with you, and acknowledging the time of your visitation, shew your selves obedient to our fatherly perswasions, and wholsome Counsells; and promise to your self from us all things that may make not only to the salvation of your soul, but also whatsoever you shall desire from us for the establishing & confirming of your Princely dignity, according to the authority, place, and office committed unto us by God. And if so be, as we desire and hope, you shall return into the bosome of the Church, we shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honour, and rejoycing, that the Father in the Gospel did his Son returning to him: although our joy is like to be the greater in that he was joyfull for the salvation of one Son, but you, drawing along with you all the people of England, *shall hear us and the whole company of our brethren (who are shortly God willing, to be assembled in a generall Councell, for the taking away of heresies, and so for the salvation of your self, and your whole nation) fill the Universal Church with rejoycing, and gladnesse. Yea, you shall make glad heaven it self with such a memorable fact, and atchieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the Crown you wear. But, concerning this matter, the same* Vincentius *shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare our fatherly affection toward you: and we intreate your Majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches, which you would to our self.*

Given at *Rome* at S. *Peters* &c.

the fifth day of *May* 1560.

in our first yeer.

What private proposals *Parpalia* made to her Majesty, on condition she would be reconciled to Rome is unknown. Some conceive the Pope might promise more then He meant to perform, but would He perform more than He did promise, nothing herein had been effected. A Bargain can never be driven, where a Buyer can on no terms be procured. Her Majesty was resolute and unmoveable in her Religion. And yet some (not more knowing of *Councells*, but more daring in *Conjectures* than others) who love to *feign*, what they cannot *finde*, that they may never appear to be *at a loss*, avouch that the Pope promised to revoke the *Sentence*, against her mother *Anne Bollens* marriage, to confirme our *English Lithurgie* by his authority, to permit the English, the *Communion* under *both kinds*, provided she would own the Popes Primacy, and cordially unite her self to the Catholike Church. Yea some thousands of *Crowns*, (but all in vain) were promised to the effectors thereof, wherein *his holinesse*, seemingly liberal, was really thrifty, as knowing such his *Sums*, if accepted, would within one year return with an *hundred fold increase*.

41. *Scipio* a Gentleman of *Venice*, formerly familiar with Mr. *Jewel* (whilst he was a student in *Padua*) wrot now an expostulating letter unto Him, being lately made Bishop of *Sarisbury*. Wherein he much admired that *England* should send no Embassadour, nor message, or letter to excuse their Nations absence from the general appearance of Christianity in the *Sacred Councell of Trent*. He highly extolled the antiquity and use of *General Councels*, as the only means to decide controversies in Religion, and compose the distractions in the Church, concluding it a Superlative Sin for any to decline the authority thereof.

The contents of *Scipio* his Letter to Mr. *Iewell*.

42. To

Anno Dom. 1563. Anno Regin. Eliz. 5.

The sum of Mr. *Jewels* answer.

42. To this Mr. *Jewel* returned a large and solemn answer. Now although he wrote it as a private person, yet because the subject thereof was of publick concernment, take the principall Heads thereof.

[a] See it at large at the end of the History of the Councell of *Trent*.

[a] First, That a great part of the world professing the name of Christ (as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Abessines* &c. with all the Eastern Church) were neither sent to, nor summoned to this *Councell*.

Secondly, That *Englands* absence was not so great a wonder, seeing many other kingdoms and free-states, (as *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Scotland*, Princes of *Germany* and *Hanse-Towns*) were not represented in this Councel, by any of their Embassadors.

Thirdly, That this pretended Councell was not called according to the ancient custome of the Church, by the *Imperiall Authority*, but by Papall usurpation.

Fourthly, That *Trent* was a petty place not of sufficient receit for such multitudes, as necessarily should repair to a generall *Councell*.

Fifthly, That Pope *Pius* the fourth, by whose command the Councel was re-assembled, purchased his place by the unjust practises of Simony, and bribery, and managed it with murder and Cruelty.

Sixthly, That repairing to Councells was a *free-act*, and none ought to be condemned of *Contumacy*, if it stood more with their conveniency to stay at home.

Seventhly, That anciently it was accepted as a reasonable excuse of *holy Bishops*, absenting, or withdrawing themselves, from any Councell, if they vehemently suspected ought would be acted therein prejudiciall to the Truth, lest their (though not *active*) *included concurrence* might be interpreted a countenancing thereof.

Eightly, Our English Bishops were imployed in feeding their flocks, and governing their Churches, and could not be spared from their *charge* without prejudice to their *consciences*.

Ninthly, The members of the Councell of *Trent*, both Bishops and Abbots, were by oath pregaged to the Pope *to defend and maintain his authority against all the world*.

Lastly, in what capacity should the English Clergy appear in this *Councell*? They could not as *free-persons* to debate matters therein, beeing pre-condemned for *Hereticks* by Pope *Julius*. They would not come as *Offendors*, to hear the *Sentence pronounced* against themselves, which they had heard of before. What effect this Letter produced I finde not, sure I am no Papists as yet have made an effectuall refutation of the reasons rendered therein.

Westminster *Col. Church* re-founded by Q. *Eliz.*

43. The Bells of S[t]. *Peters in Westminster* had strangely *rung the changes* these last thirty yeers. Within which time, first it was a stately and rich *Covent* of *Benedictine Monks*. Secondly, it was made a Collegiate Church of Dean and Prebendaries by King *Henry* the eighth. Thirdly, by the same King, is was made an Episcopall See, and *Thomas Thirby* (who having roasted the Churches Patrimony, surrendred it to the spoile of Courtiers) the first and last Bishop thereof. Fourthly, Queen *Mary* re-seated the Abbot and Monks in the possession thereof, who were outed after her Death. Lastly, this yeer Queen *Elizabeth* converted it again into a Collegiate Church, founding therein maintenance for one Dean, twelve Prebendaries, as many old souldiers past service for *Almsmen*, and fourty Scholars, who in due time are preferred to the Universities, so that it hath proved one of the most renowned Seminaries, of Religion and learning in the whole nation.

1561

The Pope trieth again in vain to seduce the Queen.

44. Pope *Pius* though unsuccessfull in his addresses last yeer to the Queen, yet was not so disheartened, but that once more he would try what might be effected therein. To which purpose he imployed the Abbot of *Martinegi* with most loving letters unto her, desiring leave to come over into *England*. But the Queen knowing it less difficulty and danger to keep him,

Anno Regin. Eliz. 4. Anno Dom. 1562.

him, then to *cast him* out of her Dominions, forbad his entrance into the Realme as against the Laws of the Land, So that he was fain to deliver his *Errand*, and receive his answer, (and that a deniall) at distance in the *Low-Countries*. As little successe had the Bishop of *Viterbo*, the Popes Nuncio to the King of *France*, secretly dealing with Sr. *N. Throgmorton* the Queens Agent, there to perswade her to send Embassadors to the Councell of *Trent*; which for the reasons afore mentioned was justly refused.

45. Sr. *Edward Carne* the Queens Leger at *Rome*, Doctor of Civill Law, Knighted by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, pretended that as the Queen would not suffer the Popes Nuncio to come into *England*, so the Pope would not permit him to depart *Rome:* Whereas indeed the cunning old man was not *detained*, but *detained* himself; so well pleased was he with the place and his office therein. Where soon after he died, the last Leger of the English Nation to *Rome* publickly avowed in that imployment.

The death of Sr. *Edward Carne.*

46. This yeer the Spire of *Pauls*-Steeple covered with lead strangely fell on fire, attributed by severall Persons to sundry Causes. Some that it was casually blasted with lightning, others that it was mischevously done by Art *Magick*; And others (and they the truest) done by the negligence of a Plummer carelessly leaving his coals therein. The fire burnt for five full hours, in which time it melted all the lead of the Church, only the stone Arches escaping the fury thereof: but by the Queens bounty and a Collection from the Clergy, it was afterwards repaired, only the blunt Tower had not the top thereof sharpned into a Spire as before.

Pauls Steeple burnt down.

47. A petty rebellion happened in *Merton Colledge* in *Oxford* (small in it self, great in the consequence thereof, if not seasonably suppressed) on this occasion. Some *Latine superstitious Hymns* formerly sung on *Festivalls* had by order of the late *Warden* Dr. *Gervas* been abolished, and *English Psalms* appointed in their place: now when Mr. *Leach* a *Fellow* in the *House* on *Allholland-day* last had the *Book* in his hand ready to begin the *Psalme*: in springs one Mr. *William Hall a seniour Fellow* offering to snatch it from him with an intent to cast it into the fire, adding [a] moreover that they would no more *dance after his pipe*. This was done in the intervall of the vacancy of the *wardenship:* For though *John Man* was lawfully chosen to the place, yet *Hall* and his *Popish faction* (whereof Mr. *Patto*, Mr. *Binnion*, and Sr. *Appleby* the *Leaders*) opposed his admission. And whereas in this *House* great was the power of a *Seniour-Fellow* (especially in *office*) over the *young Scholars*, *Hall* raised such a persecution against them, that it was *penall* for any to be a *Protestant*.

Papists stickle in *Merton Colledge.*

[a] Manuscript Records of *Cant.* in *Matthew Parker.* pag. 322.

48. *Arch-Bishop Parker* hearing hereof, summoneth *Hall* to appear before him, who cared so little for the same, that some of his *Party* plucked off the *Seal* from the *citation*, which was affixed to the gates of the *Colledge*. Whereupon his *Grace* made a solemn *visitation* of that *Colledge*, wherein all were generally examined. *Man* confirmed *Warden*, *Hall* justly expelled, his *party* publickly admonished, the *Young Schollers* relieved, *Papists* curbed, and suppressed, *Protestants* countenanced, and encouraged in the whole *University*.

Are curbed by the Arch-Bishop his visitation.

May 26.

Anno Regin. 1. Eliz. 2. 3. 156-

49. * A *Parliament* was called, wherein a *Bill* passed for the assurance of certain lands assumed by the *Queen* from some *Bishopricks* during their *vacation*. Another for the restitution in blood of the children of *Thomas Cranmer* late *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*. Here fain would I be informed by some *learned in the law*, what needed the restoring of those *Children*, whose *Father* was condemned, and died only for *Heresie*; which is conceived a *Personall crime*, and not *tainting the blood*. For although this *Arch-Bishop* was first accused of *high-Treason*, yet it afterwards was waved, and he tried upon *hereticall opinions*. * Except any will say, that because not solemnly and formally pardoned, *in majorem cautelam*, such an *Act* was not amiss, or else done not so much

* *Cranmers* children restored in blood.
b Parliament. Rolles: *quinto Elizabethe.*
* I have read that he was condemned of treason [*Cromptons* juris. courts *fol.* 2. b.] which Treason was released unto him, & yet he, saith *Holinsh.* excepted out of the general pardon, intri-

cacies I understand not. An Act for translating the Bible into Welsh.

much for the use of the living *Children* as honour of their *dead Father*.

Anno Dom. 1563. Anno Regin. Eliz. 6.

50. A third *Bill* passed for the Translating of the *Bible* into the *Welsh tongue*, which sicnce the *Reformation* may hitherto be said to have been read in *Latin* in their *Congregations*, *English* being *Latin* to them as in the most *Parishes* of *Wales* utterly un-understood. This some years after was performed, principally by the endeavours of [a] *William Morgan* Doctor of *Divinity*, afterwards *Bishop* of *Landaff*, and thence preferred to S^t *Asaph*, but worthy for his work of better advancement.

a *Godwin* in his catalogue of Bishops p. 641.

The 39 Articles compiled in Convocation.

51. In the *Convocation* now sitting, wherein *Alexander Nowel* Dean of S^t *Pauls* was *Prolocutor*, the *nine and thirty Articles* were composed. For the main they agree with those set forth in the *Reign* of *King Edward* the *sixth*, though in some particulars allowing more liberty to dissenting judgments. For instance, in this *Kings Articles* it is said, that it is to be be believed, that *Christ went down to Hell* [*to preach to the Spirits there*,] which last clause is left out in these *Articles*, and men left to a latitude concerning the cause, time, and manner of his *Descent*.

Jan. 29.

Why favourably drawn up in general terms.

52. Hence some have unjustly taxed the *Composers* for too much favour extended in their large expressions, clean through the contexture of these *Articles*, which should have tied mens consciences up closer in more strict and particularizing propositions, which indeed proceeded from their commendable moderation, Childrens cloaths ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus the *Arcles* of this *English Protestant Church* in the *infancy thereof*, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posteritie would grow up to fill the same. I mean these *holy men* did prudently pre-discover, that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the *Church*, and were loath to *unchurch* any, and drive them off from an *Ecclesiastical communion* for such *petty differences*, which made them pen the *Articles* in comprehensive words to take in all, who differing in the branches, meet in the root of the same *Religion*.

Most confessors who composed the Articles.

b 2 Sam. 24. 24.

53. Indeed most of them had formerly been *sufferers themselves*, and cannot be said in compiling these *Articles* (an *acceptable service* no doubt) *to offer to God what cost them nothing*, [b] some having paid *Imprisonment*, others *Exile*, all losses in their *Estates* for this their experimental knowledg in *Religion*; which made them the more merciful and tender in stating those points, seeing such who themselves have been most *patient* in *bearing*, will be most *pittiful* in *burdening* the consciences of others.

English Articles and *Trent* Decrees contemporaries.

54. It is observable, these *Articles* came forth much about the time wherein the *Decrees of the Councel of Trent* were published, *Truth*, and *Falshood* starting in some sort both together, though the former will surely carry away the victory at *long running*. Many of which *Decrees* begin with *Lying*, and all conclude with *Cursing*, *thundering* Anathemas against all *Dissenters*. Whilest these our *Articles* like the *still voice* only plainly express the *Positive truth*.

The 39 Articles confirmed by Parliament.

c See the Statutes in *decimo tertio*, Eliz. cap. 12.

55. But some nine years after, *Viz. Anno* 1571. the *Parliament* [c] confirmed these *Articles* so far, that every *Clerk* should before the *Nativity of Christ* next following subscribe the same. And hereafter every person promoted to an *Ecclesiastical living*, should within a time prefixed, publickly in the time of *Divine service*, read and profess his consent to the same, on pain of *Deprivation ipso facto*, if omitted.

But only imposed on Clergy-men.

56. No *Lay-person* was required to subscribe, no *Magistrate*, none of the *Commons* according to the severity in other places. For the *persecuted Church* of *English* in *Frankford* in *Queen Mary* her dayes, demanded subscription to their discipline of every man, yea even of women; and the *Scotch* (in the minority of *King James*) exacted it of *Noblemen*, *Gentlemen*, and *Courtiers*, which here was extended onely to men of *Ecclesiastical function*. Not that the *Queen* and *State* was careless of the spiritual good of others (leaving them to live and believe as they list) but because charitably presuming that where

Parishes

Anno Regin Eliz. 5. Anno Dom. 1563

Pariſhes were provided of *Paſtors Orthodox* in their judgments, they would by Gods bleſſing on their preaching, work their people to conformity to the ſame opinions.

* Some queſtion there is about a clauſe in the twentieth Article, whether originally there, or ſince interpolated. Take the whole [a] Article according to the common Edition therof.

* Querie, about the 20 Article, whether ſhuffled in, or no.

[a] Pag. 98.

Twentieth Article of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith. And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to Gods word; neither may it ſo expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church be a witneſs and keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſides the ſame ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for neceſſity of ſalvation.

Take along with this the bitter invective of a modern [b] Miniſter, who thus laieth it on with might and main on the backs of Biſhops, for ſome unfair practice herein, in an epiſtle of his, written to the Temporal Lords of His Majeſties Privy Councel, reckoning up therein Fourteen Innovations in the Church.

[b] Mr *Burton* in his Apologie.

The Prelates, *to juſtifie their proceedings have forged a new Article of Religion, brought from* Rome, (*which gives them full power to alter the Doctrine and Diſcipline of our Church at a blow*) *and have foiſted it into the twentieth Article of our Church. And this is in the laſt edition of the Articles,* Anno 1628. *in affront of his Majeſties Declaration before them. The clauſe forged is this, The Church* (that is the Biſhops as they expound it) *hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authoritie in matters of faith. This clauſe is a forgery fit to be examined and deeply cenſured in the Star-chamber. For it is not to bee found in the Latin or Engliſh Articles of* Edward 6 *or Queen* Elizabeth *ratified by Parliament. And if to forge a Will or writing be cenſurable in the Star-chamber, which is but a wrong to a private man, How much more the forgery of an Article of Religion, to wrong the whole Church, and overturn Religion which concerns all our ſouls?*

57. Such as deal in niceties diſcover ſome faltering from the truth in the very words of this *grand Delator*. For the

The accuſer his firſt miſtake.

Article ſaith that		He chargeth them
The *Church hath authority in controverſies of faith.*	} }	with challenging authority in *matters of Faith.*

Here, ſome difference betwixt the terms. For *matters of faith* (which all ought to know and believe for their ſouls health) are ſo plainly ſetled by the *Scriptures*, that they are ſubject to no alteration by the *Church*, which notwithſtanding may juſtly challenge a *caſting voice* in ſome *controverſies of faith*, as of leſs importance to *ſalvation*.

58. But to come to the main matter; this clauſe in queſtion lieth at a dubious poſture, at *in* and *out*, ſometimes inſerted, ſometimes omitted, both in our written and printed copies.

The dubious appearing of this clauſe.

Inſerted

Inserted in	Omitted in
The originall of the Articles 1562. as appeareth under the hand of a *Publick Notary*, whose inspection and attestation is only decisive in this case. So also *Anno* 1593. and *Anno* 1605. and *Anno* 1612. all which were publick and authentick Editions.	The *English* and *Latine Articles* set forth 1571. when they were first ratified by *Act*, and whose being, as *obligatory to punishment*, beares not date nine yeers before, from their composition in *Convocation*, but hence forward from their confirmation in Parliament.

Anno Dom. 1563. Anno Regin. Eliz. 5.

And now, to match the credit of private Authours in some equality, we will weigh Mr. *Rogers* Chaplain to Arch-Bishop *Whitgift*, inserting this clause in his Edition 1595. against Dr. *Mocket*, Chaplain to Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, omitting it in his Latine translation of our Articles set forth 1617.

Arch-Bishop *Laud* his opinion in the point.

59. Arch-bishop *Laud*, in a speech which he made in the *Star-Chamber*, inquiring into the cause why this clause is omitted in the printed Articles 1571. thus expresseth himself,

* In his speech made *June* 14. 1637. pag. 65.

> *Certainly this could not be done, but by the malicious cunning of that opposite Faction. And, though I shall spare dead mens names, where I have not certainty; Yet, if you be pleased to look back and consider who they were that governed businesses in* 1571. *and* rid *the Church allmost at their pleasure, and how potent the Ancestors of these Libellers began then to grow, you will think it no hard matter to have the Articles printed, and this clause left out.*

I must confess my self not so well skilled in *Historicall Horsemanship*, as to know whom his *Grace* designed for the *Rider of the Church* at that time. It could not be Arch-Bishop *Parker*, who, though discreet and moderate, was sound and sincere in pressing conformity. Much less was it *Grindall* (as yet but Bishop of *London*) who then had but little, and never much influence on *Church-Matters*. The Earle of *Leicester* could not in this phrase be intended, who alike minded the insertion or omission of this or any other *Article*. As for the *non-Conformists*, they were so far at this time from *riding* the *Church*, that then they first began to *put foot in stirrup*, though since they have *dismounted* those whom they found in the *saddle*. In a word, concerning this *clause* whether the *Bishops* were faulty in their *addition*, or their *opposites* in their *Substraction* I leave to more cunning *State-Arithmeticians* to decide.

60. One Article more we will request the *Reader* to peruse, as the subject of some historicall debates which thereon doth depend.

An Article to confirme the Homilies made in King *Edward* his reign.

35. Article of Homilies.

> *The second Booke of Homilies, the severall titles whereof, we have joyned under this* Article, *doth contain a godly and wholsome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Booke of Homilies which were set forth in the time of* Edward *the sixth, and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers diligently, and distinctly, that they may be understood of the* People.

Anno Dom. 1563

See we here the *Homilies* ranked into two formes. The first, such as were made in the *Raign* of *Edward* the *sixth*, being *twelve* in number. Of which the *tenth* (of obedience to *Magistrates*) was drawn up at or about *Kets Rebellion*, in a dangerous juncture of time. For as it is observed of the *Gingles*, or S^t. *Anthony* his *fire*, that it is mortall if it come once to clip and encompasse the whole body. So had the *North-East Rebels* in *Norfolke*, met and united with the *South-East Rebels* in *Devonshire*, in humane apprehension desperate the consequence of that conjuncture.

61. The second forme of *Homilies*, are those composed in the *Raign* of *Queen Elizabeth*, amounting to *one and twenty*, concluding with one against *Rebellion*. For though formerly there had been one in *King Edwards* dayes for obedience, yet this was conceived no *superfluous tautologie*, but a *necessary geminatum* of a duty in that seditious age, wherein dull schollers needed to have the same lesson often taught unto them. As also those in Q. *Eliz.*

62. They are penned in a plain stile, accommodated to the capacities of the *Hearers* (being loth to say of the *Readers*) the *Ministers* also being very simple in that age. Yet if they did little good, in this respect they did no harme, that they preached not *strange Doctrines* to their people, as too many vent *new darknesses* in our dayes. For they had no power to *broach Opinions*, who were only employed to deliver that *liquor* to them which they had received from the hands of others better skilled in *Religion* then themselves. The use of *Homilies*.

63. However some behold these *Homilies*, as not sufficiently legitimated by this *Article* to be (for their Doctrine) the *undoubted issue* of the *Church of England*, alledging them composed by private men of unknown names, who may probably be presumed at the best, but the *Chaplains* of the *Arch-Bishops* under whom they were made. Hence is it that some have tearmed them *Homely Homilies*, others a *popular* * *discourse*, or a *Doctrine usefull for those times wherein they were set forth*. I confesse what is necessary in one age may be less needfull in another, but what in one age is *godly and wholsome Doctrine* (characters of commendation given by the aforesaid *Article* to the *Homilies*) cannot in another age be ungodly and unhealthfull; as if our faith did follow *fashions* and *truth* alter with the *times*, * like *Achitophell* his *Counsell*, though good in it self, yet *not at some seasons*. But some are concerned to decry their credits, as much contrary to their judgement, more to their practise, especially seeing the *second Homily* in the *second book* stands with a *spunge* in one hand to *wipe out* all *pictures*, and a *hammer* in the other to *beat down* all *Images* of *God* and *Saints* erected in *Churches*. And therefore such use these *Homilies* as an *upper garment girting* them close unto, or *casting* them from them at pleasure, allowing and alledging them when consenting, denying and disclaiming them when opposite to their practise or opinions. Their authenticall necessity questioned.

* Mr. *Mountagu* in his *appello Cæsarem*.

* 2 Sam. 17.

64. The *Religion* in *England* being setled according to these *Articles* which soon after were published, the first *Papist* that fell foule upon them was *William Rastall*, *Nephew* to S^r. *Thomas More* by *Elizabeth* his *Sister*, and a great *Lawyer*. Yet we beleeve not him * that telleth us he was one of the two *Chief justices*, as knowing the * contrary. However he was very knowing in our *common law*: Witnesse his collections of *statutes* and *comments* thereon with other works in that faculty. But this *veteranus Jurisconsultus* was *vix Tyro Theologus*, shewing rather zeal to the cause, then ability to defend it in those *Books* which he set forth against Bp. *Jewell*. *Rastall* writes against Bp. *Jewel*.

* *Pitzæus de Ang. Scriptor pag.* 764.

* See S^r. *Henry Spelman* his glossary in Indic.

65. No eminent *English Protestant* died this yeer, but great grief among the *Romanists* for the loss of D^r. *Richard Smith Kings professour* of *Divinity* in *Oxford*, till outed by *Peter Martyr*. Whereupon he forsook the land, returned in the *Raign* of *Queen Mary*, went back after her death into the *Low-Countries*, where he was made *Dean* of S^t. *Peters* in *Doway*, and appointed by King *Philip* the *second*, first *Divinity professor* in that new erected *University*. The death of Dr. *Smith*.

sity. His * party much complain that his *strong parts* were disadvantaged with so weak sides and low voice, though indeed too loud his railing against the truth, as appears by his *Books*.

* Pitæus de Ang. Script. pag. 761.

66. The *English Bishops* conceiving themselves impowered by their *Canons*, began to shew their authority in urging the *Clergy* of their *Diocess* to subscribe to the *Liturgie*, *Ceremonies* and *Discipline* of the *Church*, and such as refused the same were branded with the odious name of *Puritanes*.

The Original of Puritans.

67. A *name* which in this notion first began in this yeer, and the grief had not been great, if it had ended in the same. The *Philosopher* banisheth the term (which is *polysæmon*) that is subject to several senses, out of the *Predicaments*, as affording too much *Covert* for cavill by the latitude thereof. On the same account could I wish that the word *Puritan* were banished common discourse, because so various in the acceptions thereof. We need not speak of the ancient *Cathari* or *Primitive Puritans*, sufficiently known by their *Heretical opinions*. *Puritan* here was taken for the *Opposers* of the *Hierarchie* and *Church-service*, as resenting of *Superstition*. But *prophane mouths* quickly improved this *Nick-name*, therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people, some of them so far from opposing the *Liturgie*, that they endeavoured (according to the instructions thereof in the *preparative* to the *Confession*) *to accompany the Minister with a* PURE *heart*, and laboured (as it is in the *Absolution*) *for a life* PURE *and holy*. We will therefore decline the word to prevent exceptions, which if casually slipping from our pen, the Reader knoweth that only *Non-conformists* are thereby intended.

The Homonymie of the tearm.

68. These in this age were divided into two ranks. Some *milde* and *moderate*, contented only to enjoy their own conscience. Others *fierce* and *fiery*, to the disturbance of *Church* and *State*. Amongst the former, I recount the Principall; *Father John Fox* (for so *Queen Elizabeth* termed him) summoned (as I take it) by *Arch-Bishop Parker* to subscribe, that the generall reputation of his *piety*, might give the greater countenance to *Conformity*. The old man produced the *new-Testament* in *Greek*, *to this* (saith he) *will I subscribe*. But when a subscription to the *Canons* was required of him, he refused it, saying, *I have nothing in the Church save a Prebend at Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you will take it away from me*. However such respect did the *Bishops* (most formerly his *Fellow-Exiles*) bear to his age, parts, and pains, that he continued his place till the day of his death: who, though no *friend* to the *Ceremonies*, was otherwise so devout in his carriage, that (as his neerest relation surviving hath informed me) he never entred any *Church* without expressing solemn reverence therein.

Mr. *Fox* a moderate Nonconformist.

69. With Mr. *Fox*, I joyne his *Dear Friend Lawrence Humfrey*, whom I should never have suspected for inclinations to *nonconformity* (such his intimacy with *Doctor Jewell* and other *Bishops*) had I not read in my Author, that *De Adiaphoris non juxta cum Ecclesia Anglicana senserit*. He was *Regius* Professor of *Divinity* in *Oxford*, where his *Answers* and *determinations* were observed *quick*, *clear*, and *solid*, but his *Replies* and *objections weak* and *slender*, which his *Auditors* imputed to no *lack of learning* (wherewith he was well stored) but to his *unwillingness* to furnish his *Popish Adversaries* with *strong arguments* to maintain their *Erroneous opinions*. * But such his quiet carriage, that notwithstanding his nonsubscribing, he kept his *Professors* place and *Deanry* of *Winchester* as long as he lived.

And Dr. *Lawrence Humfrey*.

* *Cambden Elizabetha in Anno* 1589.

70. Pass we now to the fierce (not to say furious) *sticklers* against *Church-Discipline*, and begin with *Anthony Gilby* born in *Lincolne-shire*, bred in *Christs Colledge* in *Cambridge*. How fierce he was against the *Ceremonies* take it from his own [a] pen. They are *known liveries of Anti-Christ, accursed leaven of the Blasphemous Popish Priesthood, cursed patches of Popery, and Idolatry, they are worse then lousie, for they are sibbe to the sarke of* Hercules *that made him tear his own bowels asunder*.

Anthony Gilby a fierce Nonconformist.

[a] pag. 150.

71. *William*

Anno Regin. Eliz. 1. Anno Dom. 1566.

71. *William Whittingham* succeeds, bred in *Allsouls Colledge* in *Oxford*, afterwards *Exile* in *Germany* (where he made a preface to Mr. *Goodman* his *Booke* approving the *Divinity* therein) and returning into *England* was made *Deane* of *Durham*.

And *William Whittingham*. a *Bale Cent. nona pag.* 731.

72. *Christopher Goodman* is the third, and well it were if it might be truly said of him (what of *Probus* the *Emperor*) that he was *Vir sui nominis*. Sure it is that living beyond the seas in the dayes of *Queen Mary*, he wrote a Booke stuffed with much *dangerous Doctrine*. Wherein he maintained that Sr. *Thomas Wyat was no Traitor*, [b] *that his cause was Gods, that none but Traitors could accuse him of Treason, and that the Councellours and others who would be accounted Nobles (and took not his part) were in very deed Traitors to God, his People, and their Country.* These three (for *David Whitehead* I have no minde to mention with them) were certainly the *Antesignani* of the *fierce Nonconformists*. Yet finde I none of them solemnly silenced, either because (perchance) dead before this yeer (wherein the vigorous urging of *Subscription*) or because finding some favour in respect of their suffering of banishment for the *Protestant Religion*. Only I meet with *Thomas Samson Dean* of *Christs Church* in *Oxford, qui propter Puritanismum* [c] *exauctoratus*, displaced this yeer out of his *Deanry*; notwithstanding the said *Samson* stands very high in *Bale* his Catalogue of the English Exiles in the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

And *Christopher Goodman*

[b] pag 202, 205, & 207.

Note that these three were active in the separation from *Frankford vide supra* 9. Book. p. 9.

[c] *Godwin* his catalogue in the Bishop of *Oxford*.

Aug. 31.

73. *Queen Elizabeth* came to *Oxford*, honourably attend with the *Earle* of *Leicester*, *Lord Chancelour* of the *University*. The *Marquesse of Northampton*. The *Lord Burleigh*. The *Spanish Ambassadour* &c. Here she was entertained with the most stately welcom which the *Muses* could make. *Edmond Campion* then *Proctour* (*Oratorie* being his *Master-piece*) well performed his part, only over flattering *Leicester* (enough to make a modest mans head *ake*, with the too *sweet flowers* of his *Rhetorick*) save that the *Earle* was as willing to hear his own praise, as the other to utter it. Her *Highness* was lodged in *Christs-Church*, where many *Comedies* were acted before Her, one whereof (*Palemon* and *Arce*) had a *Tragicall end*, three men being slain [d] by the fall of a wall, and press of people. Many *Acts* were kept before her in *Philosophie*, and one most eminent in *Divinity*, wherein *Bishop Jewell* (this yeer in his absence created *Honorarie Doctour*) was *Moderatour*. It lasted in summer time till candles were lighted, delight devouring all wearines in the *Auditours*, when the *Queen* importuned by the *Lords* (The *Spanish Ambassadour* to whom she profferred it, modestly declining the imployment) concluded all with this her *Latine Oration*.

The Queens entertainment at *Oxford*.

[d] *Stow* his Chron. p. 660.

Qui male agit, odit lucem, & ego quidem quia nihil aliud nisi male agere possum, idcirco odi lucem, odi, id est, conspectum vestrum. Atque sanè me magna tenet dubitatio, dum singula considero quæ hic agantur, laudemne, an vituperem, taceamne, an eloquar; Si eloquar, patefaciam vobis quam sim literarum rudis: tacere autem volo, ne defectus videatur esse contemptus. Et quia tempus breve est quod habeo ad dicendum, idcirco omnia in pauca conferam, & orationem meam in duas partes dividam, in laudem & vituperationem. Latus autem ad vos pertinet. Ex quo enim primum Oxoniam veni, multa vidi, multa audivi, probavi omnia. Erant enim & prudenter facta, & eleganter dicta. At ea quibus in prologis vos ipsi excusastis, neque pro pare ut Regina, possum, neque ut Christiana debeo. Cæterum quia in exordio semper adhibuistis cautionem, mihi sane illa disputatio non displicuit. Nunc venio ad alteram partem, nempe vituperationem. Atque hæc pars mihi propria est: Sane fateor Parentes meos diligentissimè curasse ut in bonis literis rectè instituerer, & quidem in multarum linguarum varietate diu versata fui, quarum aliquam mihi cognitionem

Her Highness speech to the University. This speech was taken by D. *Laurence Humfrey*, and by him printed, in the life of B. *Jewell* pag. 244.

nitionem assumo: quod etsi verè tamen verecundè dico. Habui quidem multos & Doctos Pædagogos, qui ut me eruditum redderent, diligenter elaborarunt. Sed Pædagogi mei posuerunt operam in agro sterili & infæcundo, ita fructus percipere vix poterant, aut dignitate mea, aut illorum laboribus, aut vestra expectatione dignos. Quamobrem etsi omnes vos me abundè laudastis, ego tamen, quæ mihi conscia sum, quam sim nulla laude digna facile agnosco; sed finem imponam orationi meæ Barbarismis plenæ, si prius optavero, & votum unum addidero. Votum meum hoc erit, ut me vivente sitis Florentissimi, *me mortua Beatissimi.*

Anno Dom. 1566

Thus having stayed seven dayes, she took her leave of the *University*, Mr. *Williams* the *Maior* riding in *scarlet* before her *Majesty* to *Magdalen Bridge*; But the *Doctours* attending her in their *formalities* as far as *Shot-over*.

SECT.

Anno Regin. Eliz. 7. Anno Dom. 1565.

Section. IIII.

To William Honyewood Esq;

Some Conceive, that to be pressed to death (*the punishment on* Recusants *to submit to* legall Tryall) *is the greatest torment in the World. God keepe all good men from* feeling, *and chiefly from* deserving *it. I am the easier induced to believe the Exquisiteness of the Torture, being sensible in my self by your* bounty, *what a* burden *it is for One, who would be* ingenuous, *to be* Loaded *with Curtesies which He hath not the least hope to* requite, *or* deserve.

1. IN this year began the *Suit* betwixt *Robert Horne Bishop of Winchester*, and *Edmund Bonner* late Bishop of *London* on this occasion. All *Bishops* were impowred by the statute *quinto Elizabethæ*, to tender the *Oath* of *Supremacy* to all persons living within their *Dioceſs*. Now *Bishop Bonner* was within the *Dioceſs* of *Winchester* full ill against his will (as being a *Prisoner* in the *Marshall-See*, in *Southwarke*) to whom *Horne* offered this *Oath*, and he refused the taking thereof. Hereupon his refusall was returned into the *Kings-Bench*, and he indicted on the same. Being indicted, he appeared there, confessed the *fact*, but denied himself culpable, and intending to traverse the *Inoictment*, desired that *Councell* might be assigned him. Sr. *Robert Cateline*, then Chief Justice granted his motion, and no meaner then *Ployden* that eminent *Lawyer Christopher Wray*, afterwards *Lord Chief Justice*, and *Lovelace*, were deputed his *Councell*.

The suit betwixt Bp. *Horne* and *Bonner*.

2. First they pleaded for their *Client*, that *Bonner* was indicted without the *title*, and addition of *Bishop* of *London*, and only stiled *Doctour* of *Law*, and one in *Holy Orders*. But the *Judges* would not allow the exception as *legall* to avoid the *Indictment*.

Bonner his Councell Their 1. Plea.

3. Secondly, they pleaded that the Certificate entred upon Record, was thus brought into the Court. *Tali die & anno per A. B. Cancellarium dicti Episcopi Winton.* And did not say, *per mandatum Episcopi*, for the want of which clause, *Bonner* his Councell took exceptions thereat, *sed non allocatur*, because the Record of it by the Court is not of necessity.

2. Exception.

Main matter debated by the Judges,

4. Pass we by their third exception, that he was indicted upon that Certificat in the County of *Middlesex* by the common Jury of enquest in the Kings-Bench for that County. It being resolved by the Judges that his triall could not be by a Jury of *Middlesex*, but by a Jury of *Surrie* of the neighbourhood of *Southwark*; The main matter which was so much debated amongst all the Judges in the Lord *Catelins* his chamber was this.

Anno Dom. 1568 Anno Regni Eliz. 10

> Whether *Bonner* could give in evidence of that issue that he had pleaded of not guilty, that *Horne Bishop of Winchester was not a Bishop tempore oblationis Sacramenti, at the time wherein he tendred the oath unto Bonner.*

a *Dyer fol.* 234 *Mich.* 6. & 7. *Eliz. plaint* 15.

And it was resolved by them [a] all, that if the truth of the matter was so indeed, that he might give that in evidence upon that issue, and that the Jury might trie whether he was a Bishop then or no.

Divided by the Parliament.

5. Whilest this suit as yet depended, the Queen called a Parliament, which put a period to the controversie, and cleared the legality of *Horne* his Episcopacy in a Satute enacting, *That all persons that have been or shall be made, ordered, or consecrate, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers of Gods Holy Word and Sacraments, or Deacons after the forme and order prescribed in the said order and form how Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Ministers should be consecrated, made, and ordered, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers, and Deacons, and lawfully made, consecrated, and ordered: Any Statute, law, Canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.* Eliz. 8. Sept. 30. 110.

A favourable proviso.

6. However it immediately followeth, *Provided alwayes, and nevertheless be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons shall at any time hereafter, be impeached or molested in body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or mean of any Certificate, by any Arch-Bishop, or Bishop heretofore made, or before the last day of this present Session of Parliament to be made, by vertue of any Act made in the first Session of Parliament, touching, or concerning, the refusal of the oath declared and set forth by Act of Parliament, in the first yeer of the Reign of our said Soveraign Ladie* Queen Elizabeth: *Any thing in this Act, or any other Act or Statute heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding.*

Their suit. supersceded.

7. The seasonable interposing of this *Statute* made it a *Drawn battell* betwixt *Horne* and *Bonner*. The former part thereof here alledged cleared *Horne* his *Episcopacy* from all *cavils* of law, the later *Proviso* was purposely inserted in favour of *Bonner* (who here himself found that which he never shewed to others) that he (as all other *Popish Bishops* deprived) might be no more molested for refusing the *Oath of Supremacy*. The *Parliament* saw they had already lost their livelihood and liberties for their *erroneous consciences*, and had received their *thirty nine* stripes, more then which the *State* thought not fit to inflict, lest their *justice* should degenerate into *cruelty*.

Malice pleased nor full nor fasting.

8. The enacting of this *Statute* did not stop the railing mouths of *Papists* against our *Bishops*, but only made them alter their note, and change their tune in reviling them. Formerly they condemned them as *illegall*, whose *calling* was not sufficiently warranted by the laws of the *Land*, henceforward * *Sanders* and others railed on them for *Parliamentary Bishops*, deriving all their *Power* and *Commission* from the *State*. But as well might the *Jesuits* terme [b] *Shemaiah, Nethaniah Prerogative Levites*, because sent by *Jehosaphat* to preach the word to the *people* of the *Land*. For that good King did not give, but quicken and encourage their *Commission* to teach, as here the *Parliament* did only publish, notifie, and declare the *legall authority* of the *English Bishops*, whose *Call* and *Consecration* to their place was formerly performed, derived from *Apostolicall*, or at leastwise *Ecclesiastical institution*.

* *Descism. Ang. pag.* 449.

[b] 2 *Chron.* 17. 8.

9. These

Anno Regin. Eliz. 1. Anno Dom. 1567.

9. These were the *prime* of the first *Set* of *Puritans*, which being very aged expired (for the most part) at or about this time, when behold another generation of *Active* and *zealous Nonconformists* succeeded them. Of these *Coleman*, *Button*, *Helingham* and *Benson*, (whose *Christian names* I cannot recover) were the chief; inveighing against the established *Church-Discipline*, accounting every thing from *Rome* which was not from *Geneva*, endeavouring in all things to conforme the *government* of the *English Church*, to the *Presbyterian Reformation*. Add these three more, though of inferiour note to the aforesaid *Quaternion*. *William white*, *Thomas Rowland*, *Robert Hawkins*, all beneficed within the *Diocess* of *London*, and take a taft of their *Spirits* out of the *Register* thereof.

The Ring-leaders of the second set of Nonconformists.

10. For this very yeer these three were cited to appear before *Edmund Grindall* Bp. of *London*, one who did not *run of himself*, yea would hardly *answer the spur* in pressing *conformity*, the Bp. asked them this question,

Have we not a godly Prince? a speak, is she evil?

Their judgements of the Queen.

To which they made their severall answers in manner following,

William White. *What a question is that the fruits do shew.*

Thomas Rowland. *No but the Servants of God are persecuted under her.*

Robert Hawkins. *Why, this question the Prophet answereth in the Psalms. How canst thy have understanding that work iniquity, spoyling my people, and that extoll vanity.*

a The Register of *London* pag. 33.

Wonder not therefore if the Queen proceeded severely against some of them, commanding them to be put into *Prison*, though still their *Party* daily increased.

11. *Nicholas Wotton* died this year *Dean* at the same time of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, so that these two *Metropolitan Churches*, so often contesting about their *Priviledges*, were reconciled in his *preferment*. He was *Doctour* of *both Laws*, and some will say of *both Gospels*, who being *Privie Councellour* to *King Henry* the *Eighth*, *Edward* the *Sixth*, *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*, never overstrained his conscience, such his oylie compliance in all alterations. However he was a most *Prudent man*, and happily active in those many *Embassies* wherein he was employed.

The death of Dr. *Wotton*.

1568 12. The *Romanists* were neither ignorant not to observe, nor idle, not to improve the advantage lately given them by the discords betwixt the *Bishops* and *Nonconformists*. And now to strengthen their *Party*, two most active *fugitive Priests*, *Thomas Harding*, and *Nicholas Saunders* return into *England*, and that *Episcopall power* which they had lately received from the *Pope*, they largely exercised on the *Papists*.

Harding and *Saunders* Bishops in *England*.

1. Absolving all *English* in the *Court of Conscience* who returned to the bosome of their *Church*.
2. Dispensing with them in *cases of irregularity*: saving such which proceeded from *wilfull murder*.
3. Even from irregularity *of heresie*, on condition that the *Party* to be absolved refrained three years from the *Ministery* of the *Altar*.

b *Camdens Eliz.* in this year.

Very earnest they were in advancing the *Catholick Cause*, and perverted very many to their own *Erroneous opinions*.

16. May 17. 13. *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, ill used at home by her own *Subjects* made an escape into *England*, and landed at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland*, the State-part of whose sufferings we leave to *Civill Historians*, confining our selves to the imprinted passages concerning Religion beginning with her letter to the Pope.

Q. of Scots comes into *England*.

Most

Anno Dom. 1568. Anno Regni Eliz. 11.

Nove 30.

Her letter to Pope *Pius Quintus.* (hitherto never printed) the Copy whereof was with many other rarities bestowed on me by *James* Arch-Bishop of *Armagh.* translated out of the *Italian.*

Most Holy Father.

AFter the kissing of your most *holy feet*, I having been advertised that my *Rebels* and their *Fautours* that retain them in their *Countries*, have wrought so effectually by their practises, that it hath been related unto the *King* of *Spain* my *Lord* and good *Brother*, that I am become variable in the *Catholick Religion*, although I have within some dayes past written to your *Holinesse* devoutly to kiss your feet, and recommending me unto you, I do now again most humbly beseech you to hold me for a most devout, and a most obedient Daughter of the Holy Catholick Roman Church, and not to give faith unto those reports which may easily come, or shall hereafter come to your ears, by means of the false and calumnious speeches which the said *Rebels*, and other of the same *Sect* have caused to be spread abroad, that is to say, that I have changed my *Religion*, thereby to deprive me of your Holinesse grace, and the favour of other *Catholick Princes*. The same hath touched my heart so much, that I could not fail to write again of new to your *Holinesse*, to complain and bemoan my self of the wrongs and of the injuries which they do unto me. I beseech the same most humbly to be pleased to write in my favour to the devout *Christian Princes*, and obedient sons of your *Holinesse*, exhorting them to interpose their credit and authority which they have with the Queen of *England*, in whose power I am, to obtain of her, that she will let me go out of her country, whither I came, secured by her promises, to demand aid of her against my *Rebels*, and if nevertheless she will retain me, by all means yet that she will permit me to exercise my Religion, which hath been forbidden to me, for which I am grieved and vexed in this Kingdom, insomuch as I will give you to understand, what subtilties my Adversaries have used to colour these calumniations against me. They so wrought that an English Minister was sometimes brought to the place where I am streightly kept, which was wont to say certain prayers in the vulgar tongue, and because I am not at my own liberty, nor permitted to use any other Religion, I have not refused to hear him, thinking I had committed no errour. Wherein nevertheless most Holy Father, if I have offended or failed in that or any thing else, I ask *misericordia* of your Holinesse, beseeching the same to pardon and to absolve me, and to be sure and certain that I have never had any other will then constantly to live the most devout and most obedient Daughter of the Holy Catholick Roman Church, in which I will live and die according to your Holinesse advises and precepts. I offer to make such amends and pennance that all Catholick Princes, especially your Holinesse, as Monarch of the world, shall have occasion to rest satisfied and contented with me. In the mean time I will devoutly kiss your Holinesse feet, praying God long to conserve the same for the benefit of his Holy Church. Written from *Castle* [a] *Boulton* the last of *November* 1568.

a The Lord *Scroop* his house in *Yorkshire*, where Sr. *Fra. Knowls* was her keeper.

The most devout and obedient
Daughter, to your Holinesse, the
Q: of *Scotland*, Widdow of *France*

MARIA.

I meet

Anno Regin Eliz. 10.

Anno Dom. 1568

I meet not with the anſwer which his *Holineſſe* returned unto her, and for the preſent leave this *Lady* in ſafe cuſtody, foreſeeing that this her *exchange of letters* with *Forraign Princes*, and the *Pope* eſpecially will finally cauſe her deſtruction.

14. *Thomas Young Arch-Biſhop of Yorke* died at *Sheffield*, and was buried in his own *Cathedrall*. He plucked down the *great Hall* at *Yorke*, built by *Thomas* his predeceſſour five hundred yeers before, ſo far did *plumbi ſacra ſames*, deſire to gain by the *trade*, prevail with him. Yet one preſumeth to avouch, that all that *lead* in effect proved but *droſs* unto him, being [a] in fine defeated of the profit thereof. He was the firſt *Proteſtant Engliſh Biſhop* that died in the dayes of Q. *Elizabeth*.

The death of *T. Young* Arch-Biſhop of *Yorke*.

June 26. Anno Regin 11.

[a] S. J. *Harington* in his addition to Bp. *Godwins* catalogue.

Nove. 14. Mund

1569

15. *Thomas Piercy Earle* of *Northumberland*, and *Charles Nevill Earle* of *Weſtmerland* brake out into *open Rebellion* againſt the *Queen*. *Lords* of *right noble extraction* and *large revenue* (whoſe titles met with their eſtates in the *Northern Parts*) and indeed the *height* of their *honour* was more then the *depths* of their *judgement*. Theſe intended to reſtore the *Romiſh Religion*, ſet free the *Queen* of *Scots*, pretending much zeal for the liberty of the people, and honour of the nation, complaining of *Queen Elizabeth* her neglect of the *ancient Nobility*, and advancing mean perſons to the places of higheſt truſt and command, though indeed could ſhe have made her *Noblemen wiſe*, (as ſhe did her *Wiſe men Noble*) theſe *Earls* had never undertaken this *Rebellion*. Numerous their *Tenants* in the *North*, and their obligations the higher for the low *rent* they paid, though now alaſs poor ſouls they paid a heavy *fine*, loſing their lives in the cauſe of their *Landlords*.

The Rebellion of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*.

16. Their firſt valour was to fight againſt the *Engliſh Bible*, and *Service-Booke* in *Durham*, tearing them in pieces. And as yet unable to go to the coſt of ſaying *Maſſe*, for want of *Veſtiments*, they began with the cheapeſt piece of *Popery*. *Holy water*, their *Wells* plentifully affording water, and *Plumtree* the *Prieſt* quickly conferring *conſecration*. Afterwards better provided, they ſet up *Maſs* in moſt places where they came, *Richard Norton* an ancient and aged *Gentleman* carrying the *Croſs* before them, and others bearing in their *Banners* the five wounds of *Chriſt*, or a *Chalice*, according to their different devices. No great matter was atchieved by them, ſave the taking of *Bainards Caſtle* in the *Biſhoprick*, which indeed took it ſelf in effect, the *Defenders* thereof being deſtitute of *Victuals* and *Proviſions*.

More ſuperſtitious then valiant.

18. Wells Anno Regin 12. Dece. 10.

[b] *Sows Cron.* 663.

17. But hearing how the *Garriſons* of *Carlile* and *Barwick* were manned againſt them on their backs, and the *Earle* of *Suſſex* advancing out of the South with an *Army* to oppoſe them, their ſpirits quickly ſunk, and being better armed then diſciplined, wanting expert *Commanders* (how eaſily is a *rout*, routed) they fled *Northwards* and mouldered away without ſtanding a battell.

Routed by the Queen her forces.

18. An *Italian Authour* writing the life of *Pope Pius Quintus* giveth us this brief account of this expedition.

> They did not overrun the Kingdom as they ought to have done, and followed after *Elizabeth*, for which they could not have wanted followers enough; but they ſtood ſtill, and not being able to maintain themſelves long in the field for want of mony, they finally withdrew themſelves into *Scotland* without any thing doing.

An Italian Authour reckoning without his Hoaſt.

So eaſie it is for this *Authors* fancy (which ſcaleth the *higheſt walls* without *Ladders*, gaineth the *ſtraighteſt paſſes* without *blows*, croſſes the *deepeſt Rivers* without *Bridge*, *Ford*, or *Ferry*) to overrun *England*, though otherwiſe this handfull of men (never exceeding ſix hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot) were unlikely to *run* through other *ſhiers*, who could not *ſtand* a *blow*, in their own *Country*.

19. *Northumberland*

Anno Dom. 1569. Anno Regin. Eliz. 12.

Northumberland with many more of the Rebels executed.

19. *Northumberland* fled into *Scotland*, lurked there a time, was betrayed to *Earle Murrey*, sent back into *England*, and beheaded at *Yorke*. *Westmerland* made his escape into *Flanders* (the wisest work that ever he did) where he long lived very poore, on a *small*, and *ill paied Pension*. Many were executed by Sr. *George Bowes Knight Marshall*, every *market Town* being then made a *shire Town* for his *Assises*, betwixt *New-Castle*, and *Witherby*, (a about sixty miles in length, and forty in breadth) much terrifying those parts with his severity. Insomuch that when next year *Leonard Dacres* put together the ends of the *quenched brands* of this *Rebellion*, with intent to *rekindle* them, they would not take fire, but by the vigilancy and valour of the L. *Hunsdon* his designe was seasonably defeated.

a *Stow* his Chronicle. p. 663.

The execution of Dr. *Story*.

20. *John Story D. of Law, a cruel persecutor* in the dayes of Q. *Mary* (being said for his share to have martyred two or three hundred) fled afterwards over into *Brabant*, and because great with *Duke de Alva* (*like cup, like cover*) he made him *searcher* at *Antwerp* for *English goods*. Where if he could detect either *Bible*, or *Heretical Books*, as they termed them in any ship, it either cost their persons imprisonment, or goods confiscation. But now being trained into the *ship* of Mr. *Parker* an Englishman, the *Master* hoised sail (time and tide winde and water consenting to that designe) and over was this Tyrant and Traitor brought into *England*: where refusing to take the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, and professing himself subject to the King of *Spain*, he was executed at *Tyburne*; Where being cut down halfe dead, after his * privie members were cut off, he rushed on the Executioner, and gave him a blow on the eare, to the wonder (saith my Author) of all the standers by, and I (who was not there) wonder more that it was not recounted amongst the *Romish miracles*.

* *Fox Acts & Mon. p.* 2152.

* *Fox Acts & Mon. ut prius.*

The original of the English Colledges beyond the seas.

21. The old store of Papists in *England* began now very much to diminish, and decay; insomuch that the Romanists perceiv'd, they could not *spend at this rate* out of the *main stock*, but it would quickly make them *Bankerupt*. Prisons consumed many, Age moe of their Priests, and they had no place in *England* whence to recruit themselves. The largest cisterne with long drawing will grow dry, if wanting a fountain to feed the daily decay thereof. Hereupon they resolved to erect Colledges beyond the seas, for *English* youth to have their education therein. A project now begun, and so effectually prosecuted, that within the compasse of fifty years, nine Colledges were by them founded, and furnished with Students, and they with maintenance, as by the following Catalogue may appear, as they stood at the last yeer of King *James*. Since (no doubt) they have been enlarged in greatnesse, increased in number, enriched in revenues, as such who shall succeed us in continuing this Story, may report to posterity. May they at my request (if having the conveniencies of leisure, and instructions) be pleased to perfect this my Catalogue, and replenish the vacuities thereof with their more exact observations. And let no Papists laugh at our light mistakes, *Protestants* not pretending to such exact intelligence of *their* Colledges, as *they* have of *ours*. Indeed they have too criticall instructions of all our English *societies*, by their agents living amongst us; and it is a bad signe, when suspicious persons are over-preying to know the windows, doors, all the passages and contrivances of their neighbours houses, as intending therein some designe for themselves.

Colledge.

Anno Regin Eliz. 12. Anno Dom. 1569.

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactors.	Means.
1. *Douay Colledge in Flanders*, founded 1569. Thence (for fear of the wars) removed to *Rhems* in *France* about 1508. where *Henry* the third King of *France*, did patronize, and protect them. And some twenty years after brought back hither again.	*Philip*, the Second King of *Spaine*.	All the Recusants in *England*.	A pension out of the King of *Spains* Treasury, which being sometimes but badly paid, the Scholars are fain to feed on patience. 2. A yearly collection from the Catholicks of *England*. 3. Sale of Masses, Rich mens mortuaries, which also are the *staple* maintenance of all other Colledges.

Number.	Rector.	Eminent Schollars.
Uncertain, but numerous. For, here they do not pick and choose, for wit, or wealth, (as in other Colledges) but they receive all that come unto them.	1. *William Allen* (afterwards Cardinal) a principal procurer, and advancer of this foundation. (*Lancaster*) He died 1594. 2. *Tho. Worthington* (of an ancient family in *Lancashire*) Rector 1609. 3. *Matthew Kelison*, a *North-Hamptonshire* man, Rector 1624. Note, That whereas the government of all other English Colledges belongs to *Jesuits*, this only is ruled by *Secular Priests*.	Dr. *Web*, whom they brag to be the best *Casuist* in the world. He lived to sing his *Mass of Jubile*, having been a Priest full fifty years.

Anno Dom. 1569.

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactour.	Means.
2. *Colledge* of *Rome*, founded 1579.	*Gregory* the 13. Pope exhibited maintenance, first to six, then to fourteen, at last to threescore Scholars therein, to the yearly value of foure thousand Crowns.	*Owen Lewes Referendary* Apostolical, was a principal promoter thereof.	The Welsh Hospital in *Rome* (founded, and endowed many hundred yeers since, by *Cadwallader*, King of *Wales*, for Welsh pilgrims) with the rich lands thereof, conferred by Pope *Gregorie* the 13. on this Colledge. They have at *Frascata* (which is the Popes Sommer house, lying some ten miles East of *Rome*) three or four farmes, where corne for the Colledge, and other provision groweth.

Number.	Rectour.	Eminent Scholars.
One hundred at the least. But Italian aire not well agreeing with English bodies, they bury yearly ten, or twelve of their fresh-men. Note; that whereas *Anno* 1576. there were but *thirty old Priests* remaining in this Realm, these two Colledges alone within few years sent above three hundred Priests into England.	1. D. *Maurice.* He was removed out of his place for being too favourable to his Countrimen, the Welsh. 2. *Ferdinando*, a Neapolitan Jesuite succeeded him. 3. *Robert Persons*, Rectour for twenty three years, from 1587. to 1610. where he died. 4. *Thomas Fitzherbert*, one of great age, and parentage, Rectour 1623.	*Francis Mounfort*, who *Anno* 1591. being to depart the Colledge for *England*, took his farewell of Pope *Clement* the eighth, with so passionate a latin Oration, that it fetch'd tears from the tender heart of his Holines. This *Mounfort*, some moneths after, was executed in *England*.

a Extant the continuation of *Sanders de Schis. Angl.* pag. 119. Image of both Churches pag. 330. *Sanders de Schism. Angl.* pag. 365.

Anno Regni Eliz. 8. Anno Dom. 1566.

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactours.	Means.
3. *Colledge* of *Valladolit* in Old *Caſtile* founded 1589.	*Philip* the ſecond, King of *Spain.*	*Dona Luyſa de Caravaial*, a rich widow Ladie in *Spain*, gave all her eſtate (being very great) to this Colledge, and came over into *England*, where ſhe died.	Lands they have not purchaſed much in *Spain* (being loth the *Spaniard* ſhould take notice of their wealth) but great ſums of mony they have at uſe in *Brabant*. As alſo with Engliſh Factours in *Spain* (perverted to their perſwaſion) they have a great ſtock in trading.

Number.	Rector.	Eminent Scholars.
They are fewer now than formerly, ever ſince the Spaniſh Court was removed by *Philip* the Third, from *Valladolit*, to *Madrid.*	*Father Walpoole* (if not Rectour) was principall actour herein, about the year 1605. When by pretending to have gained Mr. *Pickering Wotton*, (ſon, and heir to *Lord Wotton*) to the Romiſh Church, he got above [a] five hundred pound to his Colledge.	

Know that Sr. *Francis Ingleſield*, Privie Councellour to Queen *Mary*, forſaking his fair Eſtate in *Bark-ſhire* in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, fled beyond the Sea. He afterwards was a bountifull benefactor to the Colledge at *Valladolit*; Yea he is beheld by the Engliſh Papiſts as a *Benefactor Generall* to their *Nation*, for the priviledges he procured them from *Pope Gregory the thirteenth*, whereof hereafter. He lieth buried in this Colledge, and his Grave is ſhewen with great reſpect to Travellers of our Country coming thither

[a] See this forgery at large in *Lewes Owen* his Running Regiſter. p. 59 to whom I am much beholding for my inſtructions in this ſubject.

Anno Dom. 1589.

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactours.	Means.
4. *Colledge* of *Sivil*, founded 1593.	*Philip* the second, King of *Spain*.	Our English Merchants, and Factours there residing, even often against their own wills, to secure themselves from the searchers in the Inquisition. So that it is a *Nemo scit*, what here is gotten for a *Ne noceant*.	They have a Box in every ship sailing to the *West-Indies*. Upon it is the picture of Sᵘᵗ. *Thomas Becket* (on the *Octaves* of whose day this Colledge forsooth was first founded) and into it (through an hole in the lid thereof) Merchants put in their devotion. The key of this (not *Christmas*, but *all-the-year-long*) *box* is kept by the Rector of the Colledge, who only knoweth to how much this money amounteth.

Number.	Rector.	Eminent Scholars.

* Cunning conveyances to pass over the seas.

* Here expect not of me a discovery (being no Spie by my profession) of the cunning contrivances, whereby these Jesuits pass, and repass the seas, without any detection, yea, suspicion of them. Sometimes under the protection of a *Pass* (procured from some Lords of the *Privie Councell*) for a young Gentleman to go over into *France* (with two, or three, of his Serving-men) to learn the language. Sometimes they shuffle themselves into the company of an Embassadour, or his meniall servants, and so cover their *private falsehood*, under his *publick Faith*. Many English Gentlewomen intended for Nunns, are first *vailed* (before their going beyond seas) under pretence of travelling to the *Spaw* for their healths. In their return for *England*, these Jesuits have found *the fartherest way about*, for them *the neerest way home*. For, out of *France*, or *Spain*, first they will sail into the *Low-Countries*, and thence into *England*; and so, coming immediately out of Protestant parts, escape without any, or with easie examination. And yet these curious Engineers, who flie so high, and carry their conveyances so farr above all common discovery, have sometimes one of their *wheels* or *strings* broken, and then down they fall into *Newgate*, or some other prison, notwithstanding all their verbal, and real equivocations.

Anno Regin. Eliz. 13. Anno Dom. 1569

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactours.	Means.
5. Saint *Omers* in *Artois* founded about the year 1596.	*Philip* the second, who gave them a good annuity, for whose soul they say every day a *Mass*, and every year an *Obitum*.	English Catholicks, especially the parents, or friends of such youths, as here have their education.	*Watton-Cloister*, being a most pleasant place, with good land, and a fair wood, some two leagues off. It anciently belonged to the *Benedictines*, of whom the Jesuits here bought it, Pope *Paulus Quintus*, and the King of *Spain*, confirming their bargain. It is said to be worth five hundred pounds a year.

Number.	Rectour.	Eminent Scholars.
Welnigh an hundred of Gentlemens sons (not as yet professed Jesuits, though like them in habit, but) young Scholars. Besides above twenty Jesuits (Priests, and Laybrethren) having an inspection over them.	Though this Colledge be of English only, yet their Rectour generally is a *Fleming*, and that out of a double designe. First, that he may solicite their suits in that country, the better by the advantage of his language, and acquaintance. Secondly, that they may the more colourably, deny such English passengers as begg of them, pleading, that their Rectour, being a stranger, will part with no money, and they have none of their own.	Father { *Fleck.* *Floid.* *Wilson.*

Colledge.

Anno Dom. 1569. Anno Regni Eliz. 12.

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactours.	Means.
6. *Colledge of Madrid* in *New Castile* in *Spain* founded 1606.	*Joseph Creswel*, Jesuite, with money of the two Colledges of *Valladolit* and *Sivil*, bought an house here, and built a Colledge thereon.		What they gain by soliciting of suits for Merchants, and others, in the Spanish Court. The rest is supplied unto Colledges, from the *Parents* thereof, I mean, the two Colledges of *Valladolit*, and *Sivil*.

Number.	Rector.	Eminent Scholars.

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactour.	Means.
7. *Colledge of Lovain* in *Brabant*, founded about the year 1606.	*Philip* the Third, King of *Spain*, gave a Castle (then much decayed, never much defensive for this City) with a pension to the English Jesuits, to build them a Colledge therewith.		

Number.	Rector.	Eminent Scholars.
Uncertain, as much in motion, and never all resident here together.		

Colledge.

Anno Regni Eliz. 12 | Anno Dom. 1569

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactours.	Means.
8. *Colledge* of *Liege* in *Lukeland* founded 1616.	The Arch-Bishop of *Collen* (being at this time also Bishop of *Liege*) gave them a pension to live on, and leave to build a fair Colledge here.	Many of the English Nobility, and Gentry, under pretence of passing to the *Spaw* for recovery of their healths, here drop much of their gold by the way. It is doubtfull how soveraign the *Spaw-water* will prove to these passengers, but certain that their gold is cordial to these Jesuits.	

Number.	Rector.	Eminent Scholars.
		Mr. *Brown*, brother to the last Vicount *Mountacute* in *Sussex*, became here a Jesuite.

Colledge.	Founder.	Benefactours.	Means.
9. *Colledge* of *Gant* in *Flanders* founded 1624.	*Philip* the Fourth, who gave them a pension.		

Number.	Rector.	Eminent Scholars.

One may observe a kinde of gradation in these *Colledges*. St. *Omers*, generally is for *boyes*, to be taught in *Grammar*: *Rome*, for *youths* studying the arts; all the rest for *men* (*Novices*, or professed *Jesuits*) save that *Doway* is for *any*, of what age or parts soever. Compare these *Colledges* amongst themselves, *Rome* will appear the richest in visible; *Valladolist*, the cunningest in concealed wealth. *Doway* the largest in men, and straightest in means; *Liege*, getting the most from passengers on land; *Sivil*, gaining the best by Travellers at sea; *Madrid*, wearing the bravest cloaths (where all the

the Jesuits are constant Courtiers) and S^t. *Omers* eating the best meat, as neerest to *England*, whence many a dainty bit is daily sent unto them.

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The bounty of English Catholicks.

22. It is incredible what a mass of mony (much in specie, more in exchange) was yearly made over out of *England*, for the maintenance of these *Colledges:* having here their *Provincials*, *Sub-Provincials*, *Assistants*, *Agents*, *Coadjutours*, *Familiars* &c. who collected vast sums for them, especially from *Catholicks* possessed of considerable estates out of Abby-lands, his Holinesse dispensing with them, to hold the same with a clear conscience, if bountifull on all such occasions.

The oath taken by English Fugitives at their admission.

23. We will conclude all with the solemn *Oath*, which each Student (arrived at mans estate) ceremoniously sweareth, when admitted into one of these *Colledges*;

I. A. B. [a] one bred in this English Colledge, considering how great benefits God hath bestowed upon me, but then especially, when he brought me out of mine own Country, so much infected with Heresie, and made me a member of the Catholick Church, as also desiring with a thankfull heart, to improve so great a mercy of God, have resolved to offer my self wholy up to Divine Service, as much as I may to fulfill the end for which this our Colledge was founded. I promise therefore, and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine heart, with the assistance of Divine Grace, in due time to receive Holy Orders, and to return into England, *to convert the souls of my Countrymen, and kindred, when, and as often as it shall seem good to the Superiour of this Colledge &c.*

[a] In the continuation of *Sanders de schismate Anglicano p.* 116.

Be it remembred, that our *long Vacation*, is their chiefest *Term*; for, in the moneths of *August*, or *September*, these *Colledges* receive their annual supplies of *green Students*, and then dispatch their *ripe Noviciats* for *England*; or, if you will, then take in *young spawn*, and send their *old frogs* over hither a croaking. All that I will adde is this; If covetousnes should prevail so far, as to pluck down *Protestant-Colledges* in *England*, whilest superstition preserves, and increaseth *Popish Seminaries* beyond the seas, sad would the sight be, to behold the truth on our side encumbred with ignorance, to encounter falsehood on theirs, advantaged with learning and languages.

The Pope excommunicateth the Queen.

24. Pope *Pius* the fifth had now long patiently expected the amendment of Queen *Elizabeth*; and, weary with his waiting in vain, resolved at last (if not wisely, valiantly) that, seeing *desperate diseases must have desperate cures*, he would thunder his Excommunication against Her, according to the tenour following.

A Sentence

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A Sentence Declaratory of our Holy Lord Pope PIUS QUINTUS, against ELIZABETH Queen of England, and the Hereticks adhering unto Her.

Wherein also Her Subjects are declared absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and every other thing due unto Her whatsoever. And those, which from henceforth obey Her, are innodated with the Anathema.

Pius Bishop, servant to Gods servants, for a future memorial of the matter.

HE that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven, and in earth, committed One Holy Catholick, and Apostolick Church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, namely to *Peter* the chief of the Apostles, and to *Peters* Successour, the Bishop of Rome to be governed in fulness of power. Him alone he made Prince over all people, and all Kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build: that he may contain the faithfull that are knit together, with the band of charity in the unity of the Spirit, and present them spotlesse, and unblameable to their Saviour. In discharge of which function, We, which are by Gods goodnesse called to the government of the aforesaid Church, do spare no pains, labouring with all earnestnes, that Unity, and the Catholick Religion (which the Author thereof hath, for the triall of his childrens faith, and for our amendment, suffered with so great afflictions) might be preserved uncorrupt. But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such power, that there is now no place left in the whole world, which they have not assayed to corrupt, with their most wicked Doctrines. Amongst others, *Elizabeth*, the pretended Queen of *England*, the servant of wickedness, lending thereunto her helping hand, with whom, as in a Sanctuary, the most pernicious of all have found a refuge. This very woman, having seised on the Kingdom, and monstrously usurping the place of Supreme Head of the Church, in all *England*, and the chief authority, and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said Kingdom into miserable destruction, which was then newly reduced to the Catholick Faith, and good fruits.

For, having by strong hand inhibited the exercise of the true Religion, which *Mary* the lawfull Queen, of famous memory, had by

the help of this See restored, after it had been formerly overthrown by *Henry* the eighth, a revolter therefrom: and following, and embracing the errours of Hereticks, She hath removed the Royall Councell consisting of the English Nobility, and filled it with obscure men, being Hereticks, suppressed the embracers of the Catholick Faith, placed dishonest Preachers, and Ministers of impieties, abolished the sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers, Fastings, Choice of meats, Unmarried life, and the Catholick Rites, and Ceremonies; commanded Books to be read in the whole Realm, containing manifest Heresie, and impious mysteries, and institutions by Her self entertained, and observed, according to the prescript of *Calvin*, to be likewise observed by Her Subjects: presumed to throw Bishops, Parsons of Churches, and other Catholick Priests, out of their Churches, and Benefices, and to bestow them, and other Church-livings upon Hereticks, and to determine of Church causes; prohibited the Prelates, Clergy, and People, to acknowledge the Church of *Rome*, or obey the Precepts, and Canonicall Sanctions thereof; compelled most of them to condescend to Her wicked Laws, and to abjure the authority, and obedience of the Bishop of Rome, and to acknowledge Her to be sole Ladie in temporall and spirituall matters, and this by oath; imposed penalties, and punishments upon those which obeyed not, and exacted them of those, which persevered in the unity of the faith, and their obedience aforesaid; cast the Catholick Prelates, and Rectors of Churches in prison, where many of them, being spent with long languishing, and sorrow, miserably ended their lives. All which things, seeing they are manifest, and notorious to all Nations, and by the gravest testimony of very many, so substantially proved, that there is no place at all left for excuse, defence, or evasion. We, seeing that impieties, and wicked actions are multiplied one upon another; and moreover, that the persecution of the faithfull, and affliction for Religion, groweth every day heavier, and heavier, through the instigation, and means of the said *Elizabeth*; because We understand Her minde to be so hardened, and indurate, that She hath not only contemned the godly requests, and admonitions of Catholick Princes, concerning Her healing, and conversion; but (alas) hath not so much as permitted the *Nuncios* of this See, to cross the seas into *England*: are constrained of necessity to betake our selves to the weapons of justice against Her, not being able to mitigate our sorrow; that We are drawn to take punishment upon one, to whose Ancestors the whole state of all Christendome hath been so much bounden. Being therefore supported with His authority, whose pleasure it was to place Us (though unable for so great a burden) in this supreme throne of justice, We do, out of the fulnesse of Our Apostolick Power, declare the aforesaid *Elizabeth*, being an Heretick, and a favourer of Heresies, and Her adherents in the matters aforesaid, to have incurred sentence of *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And moreover, We do declare Her to be deprived of Her pretended title to the Kingdom aforesaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity, and Priviledge whatsoever; and also the Nobility, Subjects, and People of the said Kingdom, and all other which have in any sort sworn unto Her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and all manner of duty of Dominion, Allegiance, and Obedience; As We do also by authority of these presents absolve them, and do deprive the same *Elizabeth* of Her pretended title to the Kingdom, and all other things above-said. And We do command, and interdict all, and every the Noble-men, Subjects, People,

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People, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey Her, or Her monitions, mandates, and laws; and those which shall do the contrary, We do innodate with the like Sentence of *Anathema*. And, because it were a matter of too much difficulty, to convey these presents to all places, wheresoever it shall be needfull, Our will is, that the copies thereof, under a publick Notaries hand, and sealed with the seal of an Ecclesiastical Prelate, or of his court, shall carry together the same credit, with all people, judicially, and extrajudicially, as these presents should do, if they were exhibited or shewed.

Given at Rome at S^t. *Peters*, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, one thousand five hundred sixty nine, the fifth of the Kalends of *March*, and of Our Popedom, the fifth year.

Cæ: Glorierius.
H. Cumyn.

25. The principall persons, whose importunity solicited the Pope to thunder out this excommunication, were D^r. *Harding*, D^r. *Stapleton*, D^r. *Morton*, and D^r. *Web*. And now the news thereof, flying over into *England*, variously affected the Catholicks, according to their several dispositions.

The different opinions of English Catholicks, concerning this excommunication.

1. Some admired, and applauded the resolution of His holinesse, expecting, all persons should instantly start, from the *infectious* presence of the *Queen*; and that that *virgin-rose*, so blasted, should immediately wither.
2. Others would not believe that there was any such excommunication at all, but, that it was a mere slander, devised by the *common enemy*, to make all Catholicks odious.
3. Others accounted such *Excommunication*, though denounced, of no validity, [a] because the reasons which moved the Pope thereunto, were falsely, and surreptitiously suggested to His Holiness.
4. Others did question the *lawfulnesse* of all *excommunications of Princes*, according to the rule of S^t. *Thomas*, *Princeps, & multitudo non est excommunicanda*, where the uncertain profit, which might follow, could not countervail the certain mischief which would ensue.
5. Others did condemne the present *excommunication*, *pro hic, & nunc*, as unexpedient, probable to incense, and exasperate the Queen to more severity, and make Her gird Her government closer to their sides, who thought to shake it off. This was apparent by the wofull experience of the *excommunication* denounced against King *Henry the eighth*. Yea, *Watson*, Bishop of *Lincolne* (if his [b] namesake may be credited) was exceedingly grieved at the Popes proceedings herein, foreseeing the inconvenience would thence arise. This same *Watson* was he, who, in the first of *Queen Elizabeth*, would in all hast, by his own bare Episcopal power, have excommunicated Her; but now, *older and wiser*, mollified with ten years durance, he altered his opinion.
6. Others were unsatisfied in the Authenticalnes of the instrument, who never did or durst see the original, and were unresolved, whether the copies were sufficiently attested.

[a] *Watsons Quodlibets* pag. 262.

[b] *Watsons Quodlibets* pag. 260.

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7. Others were perplexed in point of conſcience, how far they were bound to obey herein, ſeeing the law of nature obligeth the wife in duty to her huſband excommunicated, and the ſame reaſon is of the ſervant to the Maſter, Subject to the Prince.

8. Laſtly, Others were troubled in point of policy, having their perſons, and eſtates in the Queens power; and *Baunes* the School-man pleadeth, that *Subjects are not bound to deſert, or reſiſt their Prince, when ſuch actions neceſſarily infer danger of death, and loſt of goods.*

But, leaving them to have their ſcruples ſatisfied by their Confeſſours, this cauſeleſſe *curſe* to *Queen Elizabeth* was turn'd into a *bleſſing*: and, as the *Barbarians* looked, when St. *Paul* (having the viper upon [a] his hand) *ſhould have ſwoln, and falne down dead*, whilſt he ſhooke it off into the fire without any hurt, or harme: ſo *Papiſts* expected, when the *Queen* ſhould have miſerably expired, ſtung to the heart with this excommunication, when She, nothing frighted thereat, in ſilence ſlighted, and neglected it, without the leaſt dammage to Her power, or perſon, and no whit the leſs lov'd of Her ſubjects, or fear'd of Her enemies. And moſt falſe it is which *Sanders* [b] reports, that She, by the mediation of ſome great men, ſecretly laboured in vain in the Court of *Rome*, to procure a Revocation of the Popes ſentence againſt Her, as what another [c] relateth: how She was wont to ſay, that *the thing it ſelf grieved Her not ſo much, as becauſe done by P. Pius, whoſe Election and life, ſhe held for miraculous.*

a Acts 28.6.

b De *Schiſm. Anglicano* pag. 372.

c An Italian in the life of *Pius Quintus.*

The death of Bp. *Barlow*, and *Bourn.*

26. This year two eminent Biſhops, once of the ſame Cathedral, but different Religions, ended their lives. *William Barlow*, Dr. of Divinity, Canon of St. *Oſith*, then Prior of *Breſham*, ſucceſſively Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, St. *Davids*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, in the dayes of *King Edward* the ſixth. Afterwards an exile, in the reign of Queen *Mary* in *Germany*, where he lived in great want, and poverty, and by Queen *Elizabeth* he was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, where he was buried. The other *Gilbert Bourne* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, though a zealous Papiſt, yet of a good nature, well deſerving of his Cathedral, and who found alſo fair uſage in his reſtraint, living in free cuſtody with the Dean of *Exeter*, and lies buried in the Pariſh-Church of *Silverton.*

Popiſh expectation deſeated.

c *Camdens Eliz.* in Anno 1570.

27. Now was *the twelfth year* of the *Queen* fully paſt with her ſafety and Honour. In which the Credulous Papiſts truſting the predictions of Southſayers, had promiſed to themſelves a *Golden* [c] *day* as they called it. Inſtead whereof they are likely to finde many *Leaden years* hereafter. And henceforward the ſeventeenth of *November*, the day of the Queens Inauguration was celebrated with far greater Solemnity then ever before. Saint *Hugh* being for fourty four years left out of our Calenders to make Room for Her Majeſty: And *John Felton*, who faſtned the Popes Bull to the Palace of *London*, being taken and refuſing to fly, was hanged on a Gibbet before the Popes Palace. 1570 July 15. Aug. 1.

The foundation of *Jeſus* Col. in *Oxford.*

28. *Hugh Price* Dr. of the Civill Law, procured the foundation of a *Colledge in Oxford* on a Ground, where *White-hall* had been formerly ſituated, which with Edifices and Gardens thereto belonging, being then in the Crown, Queen *Elizabeth* gave to ſo pious a uſe, and therefore is ſtiled the Foundreſs in this Mortmain. However the ſaid Doctor inſcribed theſe following verſes over the Gate, when the Building of the Colledge was but begun,

Struxit Hugo Pricius *tibi clara Palatia Jeſu,*
Ut Doctor Legum Pectora Docta daret.
Hugh Price this Palace did to *Jeſus* Build,
That a Laws *Doctor* Learned men might yield.

But

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But an *Oxford* [a] Author telleth us that a Satyrical Pen did under-write with Wit and Wagary enough these following verses.

[a] *Pitz. de Ang. Ox. pag. 37.*

Nondum struxit Hugo, vix fundamenta locavit,
Det Deus ut possit dicere struxit Hugo.

Hugh hath not *Built* it yet, may it be said
Hugh Built it, who hath scarce the *Ground-work Laid.*

But no doubt the Scholars therein at their first admission, know how to justifie their reputed Founders words by the Figure of *Prolepsis*, and can tell you that *what is well began is half finished.*

Principalls.	Bishops.	Benefactors.	Learned-writers.
Dr. *David Lewis*, * Dr. of Laws. 1. Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. of Law, and Dean of the Arches 2. Dr. *Griffin Lloyd*, Chanc. of *Oxon* 3. Dr. *Fra Bevans* 4. Dr. *Jo. Williams*, Marg. Prof. 5. *Griffith Powell*, Bac. of Law. 6. *Francis Mansell*, D. D. Fellow of *All-Souls*. 7. He resigned his place to Sr. *Eubule Thelwel*, (one of the Masters of the Chancery) conceiving he might be more serviceable to the Colledge. Sr. *Eubule Thelwel*. K. 8. Dr. *Francis Mansel*, rechosen. 9. *Michael Roberts*, D. D. 10.	*Morgan Owen*, Bishop of *Landaffe*. *Thomas Howel*, Bishop of *Bristoll*, A most excellent Preacher.	*Herbert Westfalling*, Bp. of *Hereford*. *Hen. Rowland*, Bp. of *Bangor*. *Griffith Lloyd*, Dr. of Law. *Griffith Powell*. *John Williams* Dr. of Divinity. Sr. *Eubule Thelwell*, K. who made a Court in a manner four-square, builded and wainscotted the Hall, perfected the Chappel with a curious and costly Roof &c. Mistres *Jane Wood*: widdow of *Owen Wood* Dean of *Armagh*.	*James Howel* an elegant writer.

* This Coll. hath had ten *Principals*, whereas *Trin. Coll.* in the same University, founded 14. years before, hath had but five *Presidents.*

So that in the year 1634. It had one *Principall*, sixteen *Fellows*, sixteen *Scholers*, most of the ancient British Nation, besides officers and servants of the Foundation, and other Students. All which made up the Number of one hundred and nine.

29. Hitherto Papists generally without regret, repaired to the publike places of Divine Service, and were present at our Prayers, Sermons, and Sacraments. What they thought in their hearts, He knew who knoweth hearts; but in outward conformity, they kept communion with the Church

The first beginning of Recusancie.

Church of *England*. In which ſenſe one may ſay, that the whole land was *of one language, and one ſpeech*. But now began the tower of *Babel* to be built, and Popery to encreaſe, which brought with it the diviſion of tongues, and the common diſtinction of *Papiſt*, and *Proteſtant*, the former now ſeparating themſelves from our publick Congregations; *They went out from us, becauſe they were not of us, for, had they been of us, they would have continued with us*. Indeed the Pope ſet his mark of favour on ſuch reputed ſheep, as abſented themſelves from our Churches, henceforward accounting them goats that repaired thither. And now began the word *Recuſant* to be firſt born and bred in mens mouths. Which (though formerly in being to ſignify ſuch as refuſed to obey the edicts of lawfull authority) was now confined in common diſcourſe, to expreſs thoſe of the Church of *Rome*.

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Papiſts their own perſecutors.

30. Indeed hitherto the Engliſh Papiſts *ſlept in a whole ſkin*, and ſo might have continued had they not wilfully torn it themſelves. For, the late rebellion in the North, and the Pope thundring out his excommunication againſt the Queen, with many ſcandalous and pernicious pamphlets daily diſperſed, made Her Majeſty about this time, firſt to frown on Papiſts, then to chide, then to ſtrike them with penalties; and laſt to draw life-blood from them, by the ſeverity of Her laws. For, now the Parliament ſate at *Weſtminſter*, cutting (as one may ſay) with a *three-edg'd-ſword*, as making ſharp edicts againſt Papiſts, non-Conformiſts, and covetous-Conformiſts of the Church of *England*.

A Parliament cutting with three edges.

31. Againſt Papiſts it was [a] enacted, that to write, print, preach, expreſs, publiſh, or affirme, that the Queen was an Heretick, Schiſmatick &c. ſhould be adjudged treaſon. Alſo that it ſhould be ſo accounted, and puniſhed, to bring, and put in execution, any Bulls, writings, inſtruments, or other ſuperſtitious things from the See of *Rome*, from the firſt of *July* following. A ſevere Act alſo was made againſt Fugitives, who, being the natural borne ſubjects of this Realm, departed the ſame without licenſe, and fled into forraign parts. Againſt non-Conformiſts it was provided, that every Prieſt or Miniſter, ſhould before the Nativity of Chriſt next following, in the preſence of his Dioceſan, or his deputy, declare his aſſent, and ſubſcribe to all the Articles of Religion, agreed on in the Convocation, One thouſand five hundred ſixty and two, upon pain of Deprivation on his refuſal thereof. Againſt covetous-conformiſts it was provided, that no ſpirituall perſon, Colledge, or Hoſpitall, ſhall let leaſe, other than for the terme of twenty one years, or three lives; the rent accuſtomed, or more, reſerved payable yearly during the ſaid terme.

[a] See the ſtatutes 13 *Eliz.*

Covetous Clergie men bridled.

32. Indeed this law came very ſeaſonably, to retrench the unconſcionable covetouſneſs of ſome Clergy men, who by long, and *unreaſonable* leaſes (as the Statute tearmed them) dilapidated the lands of their Churches. Here it came to paſs what the Spouſe [b] complains, that *the keepers of the walls tooke her vail away from her*. It being true what one ſaid, that *thoſe who ſhould have righted her of her wrongs, did wrong her of her rights*. Many a Biſhoprick ſo *bruiſed* it ſelf when it *fell* vacant, that it loſt ſome land before a new Biſhop was ſetled therein; where the *Elects* contracted with their *Promoters* on *unworthy conditions*.

[b] *Cant.* 5. 7.

Covetouſneſs creeps in at a ſmall cranie.

33. But no *armour* can be made *of proof* againſt the darts of covetouſneſs, eſpecially when they come from an high and heavy hand of great men in authority. This law was not ſo cautiouſly drawn up, but that ſome Courtiers found a way to evade it, ſeeing the *Crown* was not expreſſed therein, and left capable of ſuch leaſes (as, God-willing [c] hereafter ſhall be largely related) by which ſingle ſhift they fruſtrated the effect of this law. Thus a ſhip may (though not as ſuddenly, as certainly) be ſunk with one, as with a thouſand leaks.

[c] *Vide* 1604. *Secundo Reg. Jacobi.*

34. We

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34. We return to the *Queen* of *Scots*, of whom we have heard nothing this three years of Eccleſiaſticall cognizance, nor now meet with any thing of that nature ſave this letter, which though ſomewhat long, yet becauſe never as yet printed, and acquainting us with ſome paſſages in her reſtraint, is not unworthy the peruſall.

The ſecond letter of *Mary* Q. of *Scots* to the Pope.

Moſt Bleſſed Father,

Octob 31. AFter the kiſſing of your moſt *holy feet*, about the begining of *October*, I received your *Holineſs* Letter, written the thirteenth of *July*, by which I underſtood not only the *Benediction* which your *Holineſs* ſent me, and which was, and ſhall be alwayes to me moſt acceptable, but alſo the great demonſtration of your good will to comfort me. I reſted therewith ſingularly comforted indeed, partly becauſe it was pleaſed earneſtly, to recommend both me, and the affairs of my eſtate to the moſt *Potent Princes*, and eſpecially to the moſt renouned Kings of *France* and *Spain*. But withall there is yet remaining on the other part to work ſo with *Chriſtian Princes*, that making a ſtrict league among themſelves, they ſhould ſpare no *vigilance*, nor *Travels*, nor *expences*, once to abate the moſt *Cruell* * *Tyrant* who continually thinketh of no other thing, then to move warr againſt us all. And might it pleaſe God, that all other things might correſpond with my will, beſides that I were to do the ſame alſo, your *Bleſſednesſe* ſhould ſee it with effect, which ſhould be, that not only I, but alſo my ſubjects, with a will conform to their body, and together with other *Chriſtians*, would put our ſelves forward to do our utmoſt force. But what thing is there to be ſeen more worthy of compaſſion, then to ſee my ſelf fallen into ſo great infelicity, from that happineſſe wherein I found my ſelf lately; What thing is more lamentable then from a *Free-woman* as I was, to become a *Servant*. To theſe miſeries is added, that my *Country* is at this day, wrapped in ſuch and ſo many calamities, and beaten down with ſo many inroads of the *Engliſh*, that many and many *Towns* have been ſet on fire, and flames, many *Caſtles* and moſt *fair Churches* ruinated to the very *Foundations*. But that which is worſe, my *Inhabitants* and *Subjects*, without ſcarce doing the leaſt offence unto them, have been more cruelly ſlain. But What? ſhall I ſay nothing of my ſelf? Is it not clear unto all men, how I have been continually in divers and ſundry perils. I call God to witneſſe, who knows with what greatneſs of miſeries I have been alwayes ſtifled, and that which yet makes this *Tempeſt* more cruel unto me is, that thoſe who had promiſed to make proviſions for my good, have afterwards failed me, nor given me the leaſt favour in the world, nor do I hope that ever they will do it, except perhaps theſe made or prepared for or journey moſt inclined to help me, ſhall not be moved to undertake ſuch enterpriſes in my behalf. But to ſay the truth of it, although there were ſuccours gathered together, and a moſt aſſured *Army* of-from beyond the *Seas*, certainly not without great perill, could they croſs the *Ocean* into *Scotland* in the *winter time*, which then is wont to be moſt turbulent and ſtormy. But the *Engliſh* on the other ſide, who are not ſeparated from the *Scots*, with any *River* interpoſed between them, are able not only in *Summer*, but in *Winter time* alſo to move warr againſt the *Scots* themſelves, who when there doth riſe up even the leaſt occaſion of diſcord between them, are wont ſuddenly to put themſelves effectually into *Arms*. Conſtrained

* This is meant of the Turke, and not (as ſome may ſuſpect) of Q. *Elizabeth*.

* This letter to the Pope was written in Latine, then tranſlated into Italian, then retranſlated into Engliſh. Wonder not therefore if it loſe ſome native luſtre thereof.

ſtrained therefore by theſe principall reſpects, without I ſhould expoſe the intereſt of my *Life* and *Country*, to the hazard of the greateſt dangers, I am by no means able to help it, but that even to my greateſt diſadvantage I muſt *make peace* with the *Engliſh*, ſaving alwayes (as they ſay) my *honour* and *conſcience*, becauſe honour doth regard the civill adminiſtration, whereby to be able afterwards to rule or govern the *Commonwealth*. Then the *conſcience*, as being the forme and force divine given to men to direct them to a good end, which admitting it to be ſometimes ſtraightned and bound with calamities; Yet neverthelefs may it neither for torments, nor for promiſes of rewards be ever expelled or deprived from the Communion, and obedience of the *Catholick Church*. But amongſt other things, it now happeneth that I muſt relate to your *Holineſs* one thing moſt truly bitter unto me, that is, that we are come to thoſe tearms of deſiring my only Son, the *Heir* of the *Temporal Kingdoms*, to be delivered by a certain time into the hands of the *Engliſh*, by way of *Hoſtage* or *pledge*, reſerving to me nevertheleſs, the liberty to appoint him ſuch *Governours* and *Counſellours* afterwards, as ſhall beſt pleaſe me. There is moreover granted leave of acceſſion unto him, not only for me, but likewiſe to all thoſe that for my ſatisfaction ſhall be ſent into *England* to viſit him. Let not your *Holineſs* for this cauſe have any doubt, but that he ſhall be not only full of good and holy converſation, but alſo (though he be amongſt an *unluckie nation*) a perfect member of the *Catholick* and *Apoſtolick Church*, and alwayes ready and prone to help the ſame. But becauſe that by this my letter, I may not extend my ſelf in greater length beyond my duty, I do conclude with this, that I have determined with my ſelf, nevertheleſs to give your *Holineſs* to underſtand of my eſtate, and of all theſe things which for the preſent do paſs between them and me, and if theſe alſo which ſhall happen in the journey of any importance, and becauſe it is a moſt difficult thing to put all my occaſions in writing, I have for that cauſe informed the *Biſhop* of *Dublin* with all mine occurrences, as him that is, and alwayes hath been, my moſt *faithfull Nuncio*, and moſt lovingly affected towards your *Holineſs*, and the *ſeat Apoſtolick*. May it pleaſe your *Holineſs* to give faith unto him, concerning all the things whereof he ſhall treat with you in my name. Mean time I pray our Lord God, that he by his moſt *holy grace*, protect the *Catholick Church* from all the wicked thoughts of her *Adverſaries*, in which caſe all we have fixed our eyes upon your *Holineſs*, as upon a moſt clear light, expecting of the ſame continually in name of his *Divine Majeſty* your moſt *Holy Benediction*. And all with the ſame minde do deſire unto your *Holineſs* a moſt long life, to the glory of the moſt mighty God, and comfort of all the faithfull. From *Chattiſworth* in *England*, the laſt of *October* 1570.

Anno Dom. 1571. Anno Regni Eliz. 14.

The moſt Devout Daughter
of your Holineſs
Mary the Queen.

Who ſo conſults our State-Hiſtorians in this very juncture of time, ſhall finde the Queen of *Scots* on tolerable tearms (daily likely to amend) with Queen *Elizabeth*. Yea, now ſhe was in the *Verticall* of her favour, wherein hence-forward ſhe began to decline, principally for practiſing with the Pope and Forraign Princes.

35. This

Anno Regin Eliz. 15. Anno Dom. 1572.

Section. III.

To Mrs. Anne Danvers of *Chelsey*.

Madam,

Let not your Maiden modesty *be betrayed to a* blush, *seeing your self here* left alone, *sorrounded on all sides with* Masculine Dedications. *It will keep you in countenance, if reflecting your eye, either on the* first page *of this* Booke, *or* side Columnes *of this* page: *Where you shall finde the* Queen of Virgins *in the* front *thereof, whose Reign in this* Booke *is described. Indeed a portion thereof, being designed to your* late Brother, (*now* glorious Saint) *falls of course to you, with his* goods, and Chattells, *as his sole Executrix. If any* Latine Letters *occurr in this* Section, *I doubt not, but* God *will seasonably provide you such a* Consort, *who,* (*amongst his many other Virtues*) *will* change you *to a* happy wife, *and* translate them *to your* understanding.

1. About this time deceased *William Alley* Bishop of *Exeter*, a *Painfull Preacher*, and *John Jewell* of *Salisbury*, of whom largely before. He was borne in *Devonshire*, bred first in *Merton*, then *Corpus Christi Colledge* in *Oxford*, first *Pupill* to, afterwards *Fellow Exile* with Mr. *Parkhurst* in *Germany*. After *Queen Maries* death *Parkehurst* durst not for danger return with *Jewell*, but went a securer way (as he supposed) by himself. Though *Jewell* came safe and sound home, whilest *Parkehurst* was robbed of all in his return, and relieved by the other at his journies end, and soon after both of them were made *Bishops*. Mr. *Parkehurst* of *Norwich*, and *Jewell* of *Salisbury*.

The death of the Bps. of *Exeter* and *Salisbury*. * *Vide supra* in the first year of Queen *Mary*.

2. A Jewell (sometimes taken for a single *precious stone*) is properly a *collective* of many, orderly set together to their best advantage. So severall eminences met in this *worthy man*. *Naturals*, *Artificials* (amongst which I recount

The praise of Bp. *Jewell*.

Anno Dom. 1570. Anno Regni Eliz. 13.

recount his ſtudied memory, deſerving as well as *Theodectes* the *Sophiſter*, the *Sirname* of *Mnemonicus*) *Moralls*, but principally *Spirituall*. So *devout* in the *Pew* where he *prayed*, *diligent* in the *Pulpit* where he *preached*, *grave* on the *Bench*, where he *aſſiſted*, *milde* in the *Conſiſtory* where he *judged*, *pleaſant* at the *Table* where he *fed*, *patient* in the *bed* where he *died*, that well it were if in relation to him, *Secundam uſum Sarum* * were made *Precedentiall* to all *Poſterity*. He gave at his death to *Peter Martyr a golden roſe* (yet more fragrant for the *Worth* of the *Giver*, then the *value* of the *gift*) To the *City* of *Zurich* a *Preſent* which they converted into a piece of *Plate* with *Jewells Arms* thereon. To ſeverall *Scholars*, large *Legacies*. To the *Church* of *Saliſburie* a *fair Library*, and another to the *Church* of *England*, I mean his learned APOLOGIE. It is hard to ſay, whether his *ſoul*, or his *Ejaculations* arrived firſt in *Heaven*, ſeeing he prayed dying, and died praying. He was buried in the *Quire* by *Biſhop Wivill*. Two *Champions* of the *Church* lying together, one who with his *ſword* proffered to maintain the *Lands*; The other, who with his *penn* defended the *Doctrine* thereof. In the abſence of *Doctor Humfreys* deſigned for that ſervice, Mr. *Giles Laurence* preached his *Funeralls*, who formerly (being *Tutor* to the *Children* of Sr. *Arthur Darcy* by *Algate* in *London*) in *Queen Maries* dayes preſerved *Jewells* life, and provided accommodation for his flight beyond the *Seas*.

* *Laurence Humfrey* in the larg life of Bp *Jewell*.

Subſcription why now more rigorouſly urged.

3. Hitherto, the *Biſhops* had been the more *ſparing* in preſſing, and *others* more *daring* in denying *ſubſcription*, becauſe the *Canons* made in the *Convocation* 1563, were not for 9. years after confirmed by act of Parliament. But now the ſame being ratified, by Parliamentall authority, they began the urging thereof more ſeverely then before, which made many *diſſenters* keep their *private meetings* in [a] woods, fields, their friends houſes &c. I ſay *private meetings*, for *Conventicles* I muſt not call them, having read what one hath written, *that name* (*which agreeth to Anabaptiſts*) *is too light and contemptuous, to ſet forth ſuch aſſemblies, where Gods Word and Sacraments are adminiſtred, even by the confeſſion of their adverſaries*.

a Bp. *Bancroft* in his Engliſh Scottizing, 3. Book 1. Cap.
b *Tho. Cartwrights* ſecond reply Pag. 38.

The true notion of a Conventicle.

4. Indeed no diſgrace is imported in the *notation of the word Conventicle*, ſounding nothing elſe but a *ſmall Convention*. And (ſome will ſay) can the *Infant* the [*diminutive*] be a tearm of reproach, where the *mother* the [*primitive*] is creditable in the acception thereof? However Cuſtome (the ſole *mint-maſter of currant words*) hath took of *Conventicles* from ſignifying a *ſmall number*, to denote the meeting of ſuch (how many ſoever) in a *clandeſtine way*, contrary to the commands of the preſent lawfull Authority.

T. C. preſents to the Parliament an [diſtaſted] admonition.

5. And now *Thomas Cartwright* (chief of the *nonconformiſts*) preſents the Parliament with a Book cal'd *an admonition*, ſome *members* taking diſtaſte at the *Title* thereof. For ſeeing *Admonition* is the loweſt of Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, and a *preparative* (if neglected) to *Suſpenſion*, and *Excommunication*, ſuch ſuggeſted, that if the Parliament complied not with this *Admonitors* deſires, his party, (whereof he the ſpeaker) would proceed to higher and lowder *Fulminations* againſt the Parliament. Whereas *admonition* is a *ſoft word* in the *Common* (but eſpecially in the *ſcripture*) acception thereof, and may with humility on juſt occaſion be tendered from Inferiours, to any ſingle Perſons or *Chriſtian Corporation*. This *Admonition* contained their grievances who preſented it, with a declaration of the only way to redreſs them, viz. *by admitting that platforme which was there preſcribed*. This not finding the entertainment it expected, was ſeconded by another, more importunate to the ſame effect.

Bandying of books betwixt two learned men chief of their parties.

6. It will not be amiſs to ſet down what writings, *pro*, and *con*, paſſed on the occaſion of this Booke, between two eminent Authors of oppoſite parties.

1. The

Anno Regin Eliz. 15. Anno Dom. 1572.

1. The *Admonition*, *first*, and *second*, made by Mr. *Cartwright*.
2. The *Anſwer* to the *Admonition* by Dr. *John Whitgift*.
3. The *reply to the anſwer* of the *Admonition* by Mr. *Tho. Cartwright*.
4. The *defence* of the *anſwer* by Dr. *John Whitgift*.

This laſt kept the field, and (for ought I can finde) received no ſolemn refutation.

7. Sundry reaſons are aſſigned of Mr. *Cartwrights* ſilence, all beleeving, as they are affected, and moſt being affected, as led by their intereſt. Some aſcribed it to his *weakneſs*, who having ſpent all his *powder* and *ſhot* in *former fights*, was forced to be quiet for the *future*. Others, to his *pride* (*undervaluing*, what he could not *over-come*) counting *Whitgifts laſt anſwer*, *no anſwer*, but a repetition of what was confuted before. Others imputed it to his *Patience*, ſeeing otherwiſe multiplying of *Replies*, would make brauls infinite, and whilſt *women* ſtrive for the *laſt word*, *men* pleaſe themſelves with the *laſt reaſon*. Others, to the *policy* of that party, reſolving to go a *new way to work*, and to turne their *ſerious books*, into *Satyricall pamphlets*. Some few attributed it to Mr. *Cartwrights* modeſt reſpect to his *Adverſary*, who had gotten the *upper ground* of him, (*Whitgift* being ſoon after made Bp. and Arch Biſhop) though in my minde this would more *heighten*, then *abate* their oppoſition.

Severall reaſons of Mr. Cartwrights not replying again.

8. The Nonconformiſts though over-powred for the preſent in Parliament, yet found ſuch favour therein, that after the diſſolution thereof, they preſumed to erect a *Presbitery* at [a] *Wandſworth* in *Surrey*. Eleven Elders were choſen therein, and their Offices, and generall rules (by them to be obſerved) agreed upon and deſcribed, as appears by a bill indorſed with the hand of Mr. *Field*, the *Lecturer* (as I take it) of that place, but living in *London*. Mr. *Smith* of *Micham*, and Mr. *Crane* of *Roughampton*, (neighbouring villages) are mentioned for their approbation of all paſſages therein. This was the *firſt-born* of all *Presbyteries* in *England*, and *ſecundum uſum Wandeſworth*, as much honoured by ſome, as *ſecundum uſum Sarum* by others.

The firſt Presbytery in England, ſet up at Wandſworth, in Surrey.

a Bp. *Bancroft* Engliſh Scottizing 3. Book. cap. 1.

9. It may ſeem a wonder that the Presbyterian diſcipline, ſhould ripen ſooner in this countrey Village then in *London* it ſelf, whereas yet they were not arrived at ſo formall a conſtitution, though we may obſerve two ſorts of Miniſters:

The chief non-conformiſts in London.

First Mr.	1 *Field.*	5 *Bonham.*	Afterwards Mr.	1 *Charke.*	5 *Cheſton.*
	2 *Wilcox.*	6 *Scintloe.*		2 *Travers.*	6 *Crooke.*
	3 *Standen.*	7 *Crane.*		3 *Barber.*	7 *Egerton.*
	4 *Jackſon.*	8 *Edmonds.*		4 *Gardner.*	8 ——

The former of theſe were principally againſt Miniſters attire, and the common prayer booke. The later, indeavoured the modelling of a new diſcipline, and it was not long, before both ſtreams uniting together, *Nonconformity* began to bear a large and great Channell in the City of *London*.

10. This ſame year happened a cruell maſſacre in *Paris*, the *French* Proteſtants being *bidden* thither under the pretence of a *nuptiall ſolemnitie*. But never were ſuch *black favours* given at a wedding. *Admirall Coligny*, (the pillar of the reformed Church) being ſlain in his bed on *Bartholomew-eve*, whoſe *day* then, and for ſome years after, was there remarkable for wet weather.

The maſſacre in Paris.

Bartholomeus flet, quia Gallicus occubat Atlas.
Bartholomew bemoans with rain
The *Gallicke Atlas* thereon slain.

Anno Dom. 1572. Anno Regin. Eliz. 15.

* *Camdens Eliz. in hoc anno.*

William Cecill Lord *Burley* * invited to be there, wisely kept himself at home, otherwise perchance our *English Nestor*, had been sent the same way with the *French Atlas*, and ten thousand Protestants of name and note slain in that City within three dayes.

Two *impostresses* discovered. a *Stows* Chronicle pag. 678. *& alijs.*

11. Let not the following passage be censured for *superfluous* in this our Booke, whose omission would be condemned as a *defect* by others, [a] *Agnes Bridges* a maid about 20. and *Rachel Pinder* a girle about 12. years old, so cunningly counterfeited themselves possest with the Devill, that they deceived many Ministers in *London*, from whom more wisdome and less credulity, might justly have been expected. Thus these liars, belied the *father of lies* by their dissimulation. And now what praying, and preaching, and fasting, was there to dispossesse them, to the no small derision of prophane persons when their forgery was discovered. However such *scoffing* may be punished, when the others shall have their *erroneous judgement* pardoned, and *well-intended charity* rewarded. Soon after those impostresses were detected, penance at S[t]. *Pauls-cross* on them imposed, by them publickly (and for outward view) penitently performed, the present beholders satisfied, the formerly deluded rectified, to be more wise, and wary for the future. 1573 16. Aug. 13.

Anabaptists discovered. a *Stow* his cronicle pag. 679.

12. Now began the *Anabaptists* wonderfully to increase in the *land*, and as we are sorry that *any Countrymen* should be seduced with that opinion, so we are glad that *English* as yet were free from that infection. For on *Easter day* was disclosed a *Congregation* of *Dutch* [a] *Anabaptists* without *Algate* in *London*, whereof seven and twenty were taken and imprisoned, and foure bearing faggots at *Pauls Cross* solemnly recanted their dangerous opinions. 1575 18. April & May 15.

Eleven of them condemned. b *Idem. p.* 680.

13. Next moneth one *Dutchman* [b] and ten women were condemned, of whom, *One woman* was converted to renounce her errours, *eight* were banished the *Land*, *two* more so obstinate, that command was issued out for their burning in *Smithfield*. But, to reprieve them from so cruel a death, a *grave Divine* sent the following letter to *Queen Elizabeth*, which we request the Reader to peruse, and guess at the *Author* thereof.

A Divines letter to the Queen to forbear burning them.

SEreniſsima, Beatiſsima Princeps, Regina illuſtriſsima, Patriæ Decus, Sæculi Ornamentum. Ut nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione abfuit longius, quàm ut majeſtatis tuæ ampliſsimam excellentiam moleſta unquam interpellatione obturbarem: ita vehementer dolet ſilentium hoc, quo hactenus conſtanter ſum uſus, non eadem conſtantia perpetuo tueri ita ut volebam licuiſſe. Ita nunc præter ſpem ac opinionem meam neſcio qua infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minime, id contra me maxime faciat hoc tempore. Qui cum ita vixerim hucuſque, ut moleſtus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc cogar contra naturam Principi etiam ipſi eſſe importunus, non re ulla aut cauſa mea, ſed aliena induſtus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior ſit & luctuoſior hoc acriores mihi addit ad deprecandum ſtimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Anglia hîc eſſe non Anglos, ſed adventitios, Belgas quidem opinor, partim viros, partim Fœminas, nuper ob improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quorum aliquot fœliciter reducti publica luerunt pœnitentia, complures in exilium ſunt condemnati, idque rectiſsimè meo judicio factum eſſe arbitror. Iam ex hoc numero unum eſſe aut alterum audio, de quibus ultimum exuſtionis ſupplicium (niſi ſuccurrat

Anno Regin. Eliz. 18. Anno Dom. 1575.

rat tua pietas) brevi ſit ſtatuendum, Qua una in re duo contineri perſpicio, quorum alterum ad errorum pravitatem, alterum ad ſupplicii acerbitatem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipſis nihil poſſit abſurdius eſſe, ſanus nemo eſt qui dubitat, mirorque tam fœda opinionum portenta in quoſquam potuiſſe Chriſtianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, ſi divina paululum luce deſtituti nobis relinquimur, quo non ruimus præcipites? Atque equidem hoc nomine Chriſto gratias quam maximas habeo, quod Anglorum hodie neminem huic inſaniæ affinem video. Quod igitur ad phanaticas iſtas ſectas attinet, eas certe in republica nullo modo fovendas eſſe, ſed idonea comprimendas correctione cenſeo. Verum enim vero ignibus ac flammis, pice ac ſulphure æſtuantibus viva miſerorum corpora torrefacere judicii magis cæcitate quàm impetu voluntatis errantium, durum iſtud ac Romani magis exempli eſſe quam Evangelicæ conſuetudinis videtur, ac planè ejuſmodi, ut niſi à Romanis Pontificibus, authore Innocentio tertio primùm profluxiſſet, nunquam iſtum Perillitaurum quiſquam in mitem Chriſti eccleſiam importaviſſet. Non quod maleficiis delectet, aut erroribus cujusquam faveam dicta hæc eſſe velim, vitæ hominum, ipſe homo quum ſim, faveo ideoque faveo, non ut erret, ſed ut reſcipiſcat. Ac neque hominum ſolum, Utinam & pecudibus ipſis opitulari poſſem. Ita enim ſum (ſtultè fortaſsis hæc de meipſo, at verè dico) macellum ipſum ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris ſenſu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipſius valde admiror, venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis & abjectis, quæ ſacrificiis olim parabantur, id proſpexerat, nè prius ignibus mandarentur, quàm ſanguis eorum ad Baſim altaris effunderetur. Unde diſceremus in exigendis ſuppliciis, quamvis juſtis, non quid omnino rigori liceat, ſed ut clementia ſimul adhibita rigoris temperet aſperitatem.

Quamobrem ſi tantum mihi apud Principis tanti majeſtatem audere liceret, ſupplex pro Chriſto rogarem clementiſsimam hanc regiæ ſublimitatis excellentiam pro authoritate hac mea, qua ad vitam multorum conſecrandam pellere, Te divina voluit clementia, ut vitæ ſi fieri poſſit (quid enim non poſſit iis in rebus authoritas tua?) miſerorum parcatur, ſaltem ut horrori obſiſtatur, atque in aliud quodcunque commutetur ſupplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, incluſiones retruſæ, ſunt vincula, ſunt perpetua exilia, ſunt ſtigmata, & πλάγματα aut etiam patibula, id unum valde deprecor, ne piras ac flammas Smithfieldianas jam diu fauſtiſsimis tuis auſpiciis huc uſq; ſopitas ſinas nunc recandeſcere. Quod ſi nè id quidem obtineri poſſit, id ſaltem omnibus ſupplicandi modis efflagito τῶν τὰ πλαγματα pectoris tui implorans, ut meſsem tamen unum aut alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an à periculoſis erroribus dederit Dominus ut reſanescant, ne cum corporum jactura, animæ pariter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio.

This letter was written by Mr. *John Fox* (from whoſe own hand I tranſcribed it) very loath that *Smithfield* formerly conſecrated with *Martyrs aſhes*, ſhould now be prophaned with *Hereticks*, and deſirous that the *Papiſts* might enjoy their own *Monopolie* of cruelty in *burning condemned Perſons*. But though *Queen Elizabeth* conſtantly called him Her *Father Fox*, yet herein was ſhe no *dutifull Daughter*, giving him a flat * deniall. Indeed damnable were their impieties, and ſhe neceſſitated to this ſeverity, who having formerly puniſhed ſome *Traitours*, if now ſparing theſe *Blaſphemers*, the world would condemn her, as being more earneſt in aſſerting her own ſafety, then Gods honour. Hereupon the *Writ de Hæretico comburendo* (which for ſeventeen years had hung only up in *terrorem*) was now taken down and put in execution, and the two *Anabaptiſts burned* in *Smithfield*, died in great [a] horrour with crying and roaring.

* As to the ſaving of their lives, if after a moneths reprieve and conference with Divines, they would not recant their errours.

[a] Stow ut prius

14. I am

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Another usefull letter of the same Author.

14. I am loath this letter should stand alone, and therefore will second it with another (though nothing of this nature) which I may call a *private-publick* one, *private* for the Subject, *publick* for the use thereof. First to acquaint us with the character of *Magdalen Colledge*, and generally of all *Oxford*, (not to say *England*) in those dayes, secondly to shew that though Mr. *Fox* came not up in all particulars to *cleave the pin* of *Conformity* (as refusing to subscribe) yet he utterly distasted the *factious People* of that age. Lastly, that the *Papists* who miscalled him *Iohn Lack-latine* may appear as so many *Lack-Truths* by his fluent and familiar language.

The occasion thereof.

15. Only a word to the *Reader*, informing him with the cause of this letter. *Samuel* his eldest *Son*, *Batchelour of Arts*, and *Fellow* of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, travelled beyond the *Seas*, without leave either from *Father* or *Colledge*. At his return he was causelessly accused for a *Papist*, and expelled the *Colledge* by a *Faction* of people, whose names I had rather the *Reader* should take from Mr. *Fox* his pen then mine own. And now as once *Tully pro domo sua* strained all the nerves of his *Rhetorick*, so see here how *Pathetically* this old man *pro filio suo* writes to a reverend *Bishop* of the Church.

* This I saw carefully transcribed out of the originall.

Quando, quomodo, quibus verbis, qua dicendi figura pares agam gratias singulari vixque credibili humanitati tuæ (Vir reverende, idemque Doctissime Præsul) qua me miserum tot, tantisque ærumnis obsitum, imo obrutum, literis tam amanter scriptis, & erigere jacentem, & erectum, refocillare volueris. In quo pulchrè tu quidem hoc exemplo repræsentas, quid sit verè Episcopum agere in Domo Domini. Quid enim Antistetem verè Christianum, verius vel arguit, vel commendat insigniùs, quàm charitas toties in Christianis literis exhibita. Aut ubinam hæc ipsa charitas vim suam poterit illustriùs explicare, quam in sacro hoc consolandi officio, ἐν τῷ παραμυθεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδυνατοῦντα, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ ἀδυνάτων τίνι, ἐν τῷ ἐπείλλειν σι, ὅτι ἐνδέχεται τῶν ἴδιων ἴσως συμβῆναι ἐνιαυτῷ τινι, ἐν ἀκμαιοτέρᾳ τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας σε ἑκάστων γεγενημένων, Usque adeo tot simul adversæ res omnem mihi & constantiam & patientiam penè expectorabunt. Cui enim, quamlibet adamantinum pectus, non consterneret inaudita hæc hominum ingratissimorum inhumanitas, in ea præsertim Academia, eóque Collegio, unde nihil unquam minùs expectabam quàm tale aliquid ab iis mihi eventurum. Quos si non meæ senectutis & paupertatis ratio commovere, at ipsorum tamen vel humanitas, vel literarum, quas profitentur, consuetudo polire ad humaniorem modestiam debuisset. Quod autem de meis, vel erga illos, vel erga alios meritis, honoranda tua pietas humanissimè prædicat in eo τὸ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας σου μέγεθος satis contemplor; In me nihil agnosco eorum quæ tribuis. Illud confiteor, semper cavisse me sedulò, ut si minùs prodesse multis licuerit, ne sciens tamen obessem cuiquam, tum minimè verò omnium Magdalensibus, quo magis id mihi admirationi habetur, quis tam turbulentus Genius factiosa ista Puritanorum *capita afflaverit, ut sic violatis gratiarum legibus, spretis meis ad se literis & precibus, contempta ipsius Præsidis intercessione, nulla præmissa admonitione, nec causa reddita, tantam hanc in me, filiumque tyrannidem exercuerint. Atqui verò ut hoc ijs concedam, non tam purum esse & immunem ab omni nævo filium meum, atque sunt isti terpuri* Puritani. *At in his tamen nævis illius, nullum adhuc comperi τὸ μέγεθος tam magnum, quàm majores sortè τὸ ἀνωμαλὲς in moribus ipsorum conspicere liceat. Et ubi interim fraterna illa inter fratres admonitio, quam tantopere exigit Evangelica cautio, ubi disciplina illa Apostolica ἔλεγξον, ἐπίμεινον, παρακάλεσον? Certè plusquam atrox facinus intercedat oportet, quod tam atroci ejectionis vindicatione luendum sit; sed latet in hac herba alius fortasse anguis, quam quia ipsi*

proferre

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proferre non audent, ego in lucem producam. Flagrat Collegium hoc horribili factione, cujus altera pars propenſioribus ſtudiis incumbit in ſuum Præſidentem. Altera iſtorum eſt quos dico τῶν καθαιρέσεων, qui modis omnibus dant operam ut partes ſui Præſidis labefactent, ipſumque vel in ſuam redigant poteſtatem, vel ſede prorſus evertant. Quia vero filius meus cum altero ejus Collega, Præfecto ſuo ita, ut par erat, inclinatior videbatur, propterea ſocietate exhæredatur. Accedit huic & alia cauſa, quam tam filio quam mihi ipſi imputo.

Quod ſi enim is eſſem, qui perbacchari cum eis contra Epiſcopos, & Archi-Epiſcopos, aut ſcribam me præbere illorum ordini, hoc eſt, inſanire cum illis voluiſſem, nunquam iſtos in me aculeos exacuiſſent. Nunc quia totus ab ijs alienus partes illas ſectari malui, quæ modeſtiæ ſunt, & publicæ tranquillitatis, hinc odium in me conceptum jam diu, in hanc demum eſſerbuit acerbitatem. Quod cùm ita ſit, non jam quid mea cauſa velitis facere, id poſtulo, quin potius quid veſtra ipſorum cauſa cogitandum ſit, Vos qui Proceres eſtis eccleſiæ etiam atque etiam deliberate. Quod ad me autem attinet, quamvis erepta filio ſocietas haud leni afficit animum ægritudine, tamen quia res privata agitur, hoc fero moderatius. Magis me commovet publica Eccleſiæ ratio. Videor enim ſuboriri quoddam hominum genus, qui ſi invaleſcant, viresque in hoc Regno colligant, piget hic referre, quid futuræ perturbationis præſagit mihi animus; Olim ſub Monachorum ſucata hypocriſi quanta ſit nata lues Religioni Chriſtianæ, minimè ignorat prudentia tua, Nunc in iſtis neſcio quod novum Monachorum genus reviviſcere videtur, tantò illis perniciоſius, quantò calidiore fallendi artificio ſub prætextu perfectionis perſonati iſti Hiſtriones gravius occultant venenum, qui dum omnia exigunt ad ſtrictiſſimæ ſuæ diſciplinæ, & conſcientiæ gnomones, haud videntur prius deſituri, donec omnia in Judaicam redigant ſervitutem. Sed de ijs alius fortaſsis pleniore manu ἐπισφίγξει ὁ λύκος.

Interim celeberimæ tuæ dignitati Vir honorande, cum publico eccleſiæ nomine, & animum iſtum, & ſedem quam tenes meritò gratulor, tum mea privatim cauſa ob ſingulare tuum in me ſtudium gratias habeo permaximas; Precorque Dominum omnium gratiarum fontem cumulatiſſimum, ut eccleſiam ſuam periculoſiſſimis ijs temporibus propugnet ac tueatur, ut Paſtores ſe dignos foveat, provehatque, tum intra iſtos, Te inprimis ſacris ipſius bonis, donisque indies magis magisque locupletet, ὡς κἂν ἀναπλήσῃ τὰς ἐνεμούσας αἰωλίας τῶν μεγιλάνων, ἓξ μὲν μοι περίεχει τὰ μεγαλεῖα τῶν γεγραμμένων σου. Ampliſsime, juxta ac ornatiſsime Præſul,

Tuus in Chriſto κατὰ πνεῦμα

Joannes Foxus.

If this good man appeareth too paſſionate herein, ſcore it neither on his old age, nor on his affection to his *Son*, but on the unjuſt affront offered unto him, who at laſt was reſtored *Fellow* by the *Queen* her *Mandate*, and he privately caſt out by a *Faction*, to his great diſgrace, was publickly brought in again by authority, to his greater reputation.

16. We may plainly perceive by this letter, how powerfull the *Party* of *Non-conformiſts* was grown at this time, and to what violences and extravagancies ſome went in their practices, inſomuch that Dr. *Humphred* then *Preſident* of *Maudlins*, and Mr. *Fox* himſelf (both which ſcrupled *ſubſcription* in ſome particulars) were deſerted by them as *Luke-warme* and remiſs in the *Cauſe*. Yea even of thoſe who were *Duriores Puritani*, all were not

The violence of rigid Non-conformiſts.

not equally rigid, but *Coleman*, *Burton*, *Hallingham*, and *Benſon* out-did all of their own opinions. Thus thoſe *leaves* which are *ejuſdem farinæ* (of the ſame meale, yea of one *Batch*, out of the ſame *Oven*) are not all hard and cruſtie alike. Anno Dom. 1575. Anno Regin. Eliz. 18.

The death and praiſe of *Matth. Parker.*

17. The death of *Matthew Parker*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, added much to their increaſe. He was a *Parker* indeed, carefull to keep the fences, and ſhut the gates of *Diſcipline* againſt all ſuch *Night-Stealers* as would invade the ſame. No wonder then if the tongues and pens of many were whetted againſt Him, whoſe complaints are beheld by diſcreet men, like the exclamations of *Truantly-Schollers* againſt their *Maſters* ſeverity, correcting them for their faults. This *Arch-Biſhop* was an excellent *Antiquarie* (without any *Anticknesſe*) a great *Benefactour* to *Bennet Colledge* in *Cambridge*, on which he beſtowed many *Manuſcripts*, ſo that that *Librarie* (for a private one) was the *Sun* of *Engliſh Antiquity* in thoſe dayes, though now no more then the *Moon*, ſince that of Sr. *Robert Cottons* is riſen up. May 17.

His memory cauſeleſly aſperſed.

18. But a large *Authour*, though not daring to deny due praiſes to his memory, cauſeleſsly taxed him for being too *Pontificall* in his *Buildings* and *Feaſtings*. Particularly he charged him, that whereas the *Pope* thundred out an *Excommunication* againſt *Queen Elizabeth*, yet (ſaith he) *I read of no refutation made of it by this Arch-Prelate*, as if this were ſuch a *ſin of omiſſion* in him, and he bound by his place to anſwer every *Romiſh railing Rabſhekah*. But let him know that in his learned *Book* of *Antiquitates Britanicæ*, he hath laid down thoſe Hiſtoricall grounds, which may be improved to the baiting of the whole *Herd* of *Popiſh Bulls*, or if you will to make all thoſe *Bubbles ſinke* to nothing. A worke, out of which his *Accuſer* hath taken ſo much, that he cannot pretend to the commendation of *Induſtrie* (the pooreſt praiſe of a *Writer*) being no better then a lazie *Tranſlatour*. And as the *Spleen* is ſubſervient to the *Liver*, to take from it only the moſt putrid and feculent blood, ſo hath he ſolely tranſcribed thence (and from Bp. *Godwins Catalogue*) the faults and failings of all the *Engliſh Prelacie*, paſſing over in ſilence their due and juſt commendation. *Ed. Grindall* ſucceeded him in his place, a Prelate moſt PRIMITIVE in all his converſation.

a Mr. *Prinne* in his book of the treaſon of Prelates pag. 149.

His exemplarie wife.

19. We muſt not forget *Margaret* the *Wife of Arch-Biſhop Parker*, a patern for all *Prelates Wives*. In the reign of *King Henry* the *eighth*, though ſeven years contracted (by mutuall conſent forbearing marriage, then unlawfull for *Clergie-men*) ſuch her fidelity, that ſhe was deaf to richer proffers. When married under *Edward* the *ſixth*, ſo modeſt, that Bp. *Ridley* aſked, *whether* Ms. *Parker had a ſiſter*, intimating that ſuch a *Conſort* would make him recede from his reſolution of a ſingle life. In Queen *Maries* dayes, not only great her patience to partake of, but induſtry to relieve her Huſbands wants. In Queen *Elizabeths* time, ſo admirable her humility, as no whit elated with proſperity.

b In D. *Parkers* life, extant in Trin: Hall *Library* in *Cambridge*.

Priviledges obtained by Sr. F. E. for Engliſh Catholicks.

20. Sr. *Francis Engleſield*, of whom formerly in the Colledge of *Valladolt*, to leave a Monument to poſterity, of his induſtry and good will to the *Catholick-Cauſe*; He with *William Allen* obtained of *Pope Gregory* the thirtieth, thirteen *Indulgencies* for the *Engliſh Nation* and the *will-wiſhers* of their *Converſion*. Whereof this the firſt, 1576 d.

> That whoſoever ſhould carry about him ſuch conſecrated Beads, faſt on *Wedneſday*, forbear one meal on *Saturday*, pray for the Holy Father the Pope, the peace of the Church, and chiefly for the reconciling of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the Church of *Rome*, ſhould have an hundred years pardon. But if this faſt be obſerved with bread and water, a thouſand years pardon.

It

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It may ſeem in ſome ſort an argument for the Antiquity of thoſe *Indulgences*, that the reſent of the vivacity of the *ancient Patriarks* before the *Flood* in pardoning ſo many years above the poſſibility of our age. Now what becommeth of the *Surplus-age* of theſe *Pardons* after the Parties life, let others diſpute. Namely, whether *Indulgentia moritur cum perſona*, or whether they be bequeathable by *will*, and in caſe the perſon dies *Inteſtate*, fall like *goods* and *Chattells* to his next heir. Sure I am Sr. *Francis* is beheld by *Catholicks* as a *Benefactour Generall* to our *Nation*, and theſe *Grants* were ſolemnly paſſed *ſub annulo Piſcatoris*, and *Glorierius* atteſting the ſame. This Sr. *Francis* was afterwards buried in the *Engliſh Colledge* at *Valadolid* in *Spain* having bountifully contributed to the erecting thereof.

June 6.

21. *James Pilkinton* Bp. of *Durham* ended his life, formerly *Maſter* of Sr. *Johns Colledge* in *Cambridge*. He was (as appeareth by many of his letters) a great *Conniver* at *Nonconformity*, and eminent for commencing a *Suite* againſt *Queen Elizabeth*, for the lands and goods of the *Earls* of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland* after their attaindor, as forfeited to him *Prince Palatine* within his *Dioceſs*. But the *Queen* prevailed, becauſe on her charges ſhe had defended *Biſhop* and *Biſhoprick* againſt that *Rebellion*, when both his *Infant-Daughters* (conveyed away in *Beggars cloaths*) were ſought for to be killed by the *Papiſts*. Theſe afterwards with foure thouſand pounds apiece, were married (the one to Sr. *James Harrington*, the other to Mr. *Dunce* of *Bark-ſhire*) which portions the *Courtiers* of that age did behold with enviouseyes, for which the *Biſhoprick* ſped no whit the better.

The death of B. *Pilkington*.

22. The ſame year concluded the life of *Edward Deering* an eminent *Divine*, born of a very ancient and worthy family in *Kent*, bred *Fellow* of *Chriſts Colledge* in *Cambridge*, a pious man and painfull *Preacher*, but diſaffected to *Biſhops* and *Ceremonies*. Once preaching before *Queen Elizabeth*, he told her, that when in perſecution under her ſiſter *Queen Mary*, her *Motto* was *Tanquam Ovis* as a ſheep, but now it might be, *Tanquam indomita juvenca* as an untamed Heifer. But ſurely the *Queen* ſtill retained much of her ancient *Motto as a ſheep*, in that ſhe patiently endured ſo publick (and conceived cauſeleſs) reproof, in inflicting no puniſhment upon him, ſave commanding him to forbear further preaching at the *Court*.

And of Mr. *Deering*.

20. July 4. 5. 6. 1577.

23. *Rowland Jenkes*, a Popiſh Book-ſeller was indicted at the *Summer Aſſiſes* in *Oxford*, for diſperſing of ſcandalous Pamphlets defamatory to the Queen and State. Here, on a ſuddain happened a ſtrange mortality, whereof died,

A ſtrange mortality at *Oxford*.

Sr. *Robert Bell*, Lord Chief Baron, a great Lawyer.	Mr. *De Oile*. High Sheriffe.	Mr. *Kerle*.	Gentlemen of good account.
Sr. *Robert De Oile*.	Mr. *Wenman*.	Mr. *Greenwood*.	
Sr. *Will. Babington*.	Mr. *Danvers*. Mr. *Fettiplace*. Mr. *Hare-Court*. Juſtices.	Mr. *Foſter*. Mr. *Naſh*.	
		Sergeant Bernham an excellent Pleader.	

Almoſt all the *Jurie-men*, and of other perſons there preſent three [a] hundred died in the *Town*, and two hundred more ſickning there died in other places within a *Moneth*. Amongſt whom not [b] either *Woman* or *Child*.

a *Camden* his *Eliz. in hoc an.* b *Stows Chro.* pag. 681. Improved by Papiſts to their advantage. *De ſchiſmate* pag. 375. Sr. *Fra: Bacon* his judgement of infectious ſmells.

24. *Sanders* calleth this, *ingens miraculum*, and aſcribeth it as a juſt puniſhment on the cruelty of the *Judge* for ſentencing the *Stationer*, to *loſe his Ears*. Adding moreover, that the *Proteſtants* (whoſe *Philoſophers* and *Phyſitians* could not finde the naturall cauſe thereof) gave it out, that the *Papiſts* by *Magick arts* had procured this infection. The beſt is, his words are no ſlanders.

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De ſchiſmate pag. 375 Sr. Fra. Bacon his judgement of infectious ſmells.

25. But heare how a *profound Scholler*, no leſs happy in finding, then diligent in ſearching the *myſteries* of nature, and utterly unconcerned in this quarrel, delivereth his judgement in the like caſe.

a Naturall Hiſt. Cent tenth, Num. 914.

a *The moſt pernicious infection next to the Plague, is the ſmell of the Jaile; when Priſoners have been long, and cloſe, naſtily kept. Whereof we have had experience twice or thrice in our time; when both the Judges that ſate upon the Jail, and numbers of thoſe that attended the buſineſs, or were preſent, ſickned upon it, and died. Therefore it were good wiſedome that in ſuch caſes, the Jaile were aired, before they be brought forth. Otherwiſe moſt dangerous are the ſmells of mans-fleſh, or ſweat putrified; For they are not thoſe ſtinckes, which the Noſtrills ſtreight abhor, and expell, which are moſt pernicious; But ſuch aires as have ſome ſimilitude with mans body; And ſo inſinuate themſelves and betray the Spirits.*

Of theſe *Mortalities* mentioned by this *Author*, the firſt probably was this at *Oxford* (happening within the *verge* of youthfull memory) the other two at *Hereford* in the *Reigns* of *King James*, and *King Charls*. The like chanced ſome foure years ſince at *Croydon*, in *Surrey*, where a great depopulation happened, at the *aſſiſes* of *Perſons* of quality, and the two *Judges*, *Baron Yates*, and *Baron Rigby* getting their banes there, died few dayes after. Yet here no *Papiſts* were arraigned to amount it to a *Popiſh miracle*, ſo that *Saunders* his obſervation is no whit concluſive, naturall cauſes being afforded of ſuch caſualties.

Many a Prieſt executed.

26. We may remember how in the year, One thouſand five hundred ſeuenty and one, a ſevere *Law* was made againſt ſuch who brought any *ſuperſtitious Trinkets* (*Badges* of the *Romiſh* vaſſalage) into *England*. This *Law* lay *Dormant* for theſe laſt ſix years, and was never put into execution, that *Papiſts* might not pretend themſelves ſurpriſed into puniſhment through the ignorance of the *Law*, ſo long a time being allowed unto them, that they might take ſerious cognizance of the ſaid *Statute* in this behalf: And therefore let ſuch *Catholicks* who complaine of cruelty herein, produce a *Precedent* of the like lenity amongſt them uſed to *Offenders*. But now one *Cuthbert Maine a Prieſt*, was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Lanſton* in *Cornwall*, for his obſtinate maintaining of the *Papall power*, and one *Tragian* a *Gentleman* of that *County*, was condemned to loſs of all his goods and perpetuall impriſonment for affording harbour unto him.

None. 30.

The vivacity of Engliſh Proteſtant Biſhops. * We account in this number not any Popiſh Bps. nor *Scory* and *Barlow*, Proteſtants made in the reign of K *Edward*. The death of B *Bullingham*. b Sr. *I. Haring*. his addition to B. *Godwin*.

27. Hitherto the Engliſh Biſhops had been vivacious almoſt to wonder. For neceſſarily preſumed of good years, before entering on their office, in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth* it was much that but *five* died for the firſt *twenty* years of her reign. Whereas now *ſeven* deceaſed within the compaſſe of *two* years. Thus when a generation of contemporary perſons begins to *crack*, it quickly *falls*, and the *leaſes* of their *clay cottage*, commencing it ſeems, much from the *ſame date*, at the *ſame terme* did *expire*. We will ſeverally reckon them up, the rather, becauſe all the Remarks of Church-Hiſtory for thoſe two years, is folded up in their characters.

28. *Nicholas Bullingham* began the *breach*, tranſlated from *Lincolne* to *Worceſter*, whereat my b Author doth much admire, conceiving [belike] ſuch advancement a degradation, and can only render this reaſon, that for his own eaſe he changed a larger, for a leſſer Dioceſs. But what if *Worceſter* were alſo the better Biſhoprick, and ſo the *warmer ſeat* for his old age?

29. *William Bradbridge* bred in *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, was ſnatcht away with a ſudden death. And in the ſame year *Edmond Gueſt*, Bp. of *Salisbury*, bred in *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, who wrote

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wrote many books (reckoned up by *J. Bale*) bought and bestowed more on the library of *Salisbury*, the case whereof, was built by Bp. *Jewell*.

Bp. *Cheyney* a great Lutheran wrongfully accused to die a Papist.

Jan. 27. Feb. 28.

30. *Richard Cheyney*, Bishop of *Bristol*, holding *Gloceſter* therewith in dispensation, bred in *Cambridge*, of whom Mr. * *Camden* giveth this character, that he was *Luthero addictiſſimus*, *Most addicted to Luther*. Bishop * *Godwin* saith, *Luthero addictior fortaſſe quàm par erat*, *Perchance more addicted to Luther then was meet*. Adding moreover, that in the first convocation in the reign of Queen *Mary*, he so earnestly opposed Popery, that he wondereth how he escaped with life. But I wonder more, how since his death, the scandalous rumour is raised, that he died a Papist, suspended by Arch-Bishop *Grindall* from his Episcopall function, and this one (his successour in that See) will perswade others to believe.

* *Camd.* in his *Eliz.* 1559.

* In his Catalogue of the Bishops of *Gloceſter*.

* All my search cannot finde out such an Instrument in any office.

His vindication.

31. However the words of Mrs. *Goldsborrough* (widdow to Bp. *Goldsborrough* of *Gloceſter*) a grave Matron, prevail'd with me to the contrary. Who at a publick entertainment, in the presence of many, and amongst * them of my *judicious friend*, gave a just check to this false report, and avowed that to her knowledge he died a true and sincere Protestant.

Mr. *Langley* the worthy Schoolmaster of St. *Pauls*.

Eliz. 21. June 1. 1579.

32. *Robert Horne* succeeded. *Borne* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, bred in St. *Johns* in *Cambridge*, one, *valido & facundo ingenio*, saith my Author. *Of a spritefull and fruitfull wit*. One who would go thorough whatsoever he undertook, be it against *Papists* or *Nonconformists*, and his adversaries playing with his *name*, (as denoting his *nature hard*, and *inflexible*) nothing moved him to abate of his resolution.

* *Camdens Eliz. in Anno* 1559.

Followed by Bp. *Bentham*.

Feb. 21.

33. *Thomas Bentham* followed him, Bishop of *Coventry*, and *Leichfield*, bred in *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, of whose christian valour in that *Colledge*, against superstition in Queen *Maries* reign, we have spoken before.

The death of Bishop *Cox*.

34. *Richard Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, concludes this Bill of Mortality, Tutor to *King Edw. the 6.* of whom largely before in the troubles at *Frankford*. I am sorry so much is charged on his memory, and so little can be said in his vindication, and would willingly impute it, not to his want of innocence, but ours, of intelligence. It moves me much his accusation of * covetousness, dilapidating (or rather *deligating* his Bishoprick, cutting down the woods thereof) for which he fell into the Queens displeasure: But am more offended at his taking (if true) the many ancient manuscripts from *Oxford*, under the pretence of a visitation. He was an excellent poet, though the verses written on his own tombe, are none of the best, and scarce worth our translating.

* Said to feed his servants with powdered venison (shrewdly hurt) to save other meats *Sr. I. Harring.* in his additions to B. G.

Vita cadaca vile, ſalveto vita perennis,
Corpus terra tegit, ſpiritus alta petit.
In terra Chriſti Gallus Chriſtum reſonabam,
Da Chriſte in Cœlis, te ſine fine ſonem.

Frail life farewell, welcome life without end,
Earth hides my corps, my soule doth heaven ascend,
CHRISTS COCK on earth, I chanted Christ his name,
Grant without end, in Heaven I sound the same.

It seems some took exceptions at the Epitaph, as *parcell-Popish*, because (though supposing his *possession*) praying for the *perpetuation* of his happinesse, and on that account, twenty years after his death, it was partly demolished.

Gresham Col. founded by St. *T. Gresham*.

35. This year also St. *Thomas Gresham* ended his life, whose *Royall-Exchange* in *London*, with all the Magnificence thereof, could not properly intitle

intitle him to a mention in this our Church-History; had he not also, by his will bequeathed maintenance, for the erecting of a *Colledge* in *Bishops-gate-street*, allowing an annuall Salary of fifty pound to severall Professors in *Divinity*, *Civill Law*, *Physick*, *Astronomie*, *Geometry*, *Musick*, and *Rhetorick*. It is therefore no mistake in * *Mercator* when counting three Universities, in *England*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, and *London*, seeing the last may be so esteemed, both in relation to the *Inns-of-Court*, and this *Colledge*.

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* In his Atlas pag. 66.

The obscure Original of the Familists.

36. The *Family of love*, began now to grow so numerous, factious, and dangerous, that the Privy Councell thought fit to endeavour their suppression. Being now to deduce the Originall of this Sect, we desire that the *Clock of Time* on the margin of our Book may *stand still*, intending not to discompose the method of years therein: though we go backward for awhile in our History, to fetch in the beginning of these *Familists*. Most obscure was their Originall, according to the Apostles [a] words, *There are certain men crept in unawares, Crept in*, shewing the *slownesse of their pace*, and the *lowneese of their posture*. The later proceeding partly from their *Guiltinesi*, not daring to go upright, to justifie, avouch, and maintain their doctrine, partly out of *Policy*, to worke themselves in, the [b] more invisibly. But these *Creepers* at first, turn'd *Flyers* afterwarde (*flying Serpents* no contradiction) so that the State accounted it necessary to cut down their arrogancy and increase, whose beginning with the means thereof we come now to relate.

a Jude 4.

b Isa. 30. 6.

Hen. Nicholas their first founder.

37. One *Henry Nicholas* born in *Amsterdam*, first vented this doctrine (about the year 1550.) in his own country. He was one who wanted learning in himself, and hated it in others, and yet was conceived, (which at first procured pitty unto him) though of wilde and confused notions, with absurd and improper expressions, yet of honest and harmless intentions. Men thought him unable, both to manage his Apprehensions *whole* (as to make sense of them) and too weak by distinctions to parcel and divide them (wanting Logick for that purpose) and yet they charitably conceived, his minde might be better then his mouth, and that he did mean better, then he could interpret his own meaning. For meeting with many [c] places in Scripture, which speak *the union* and *communion* of *Christians* with *Christ*, *Christ* with *God* (how quickly are *mysteries* made *blasphemies*, when unskilfull hands meddle with them?) he made of them a most *carnall-spirituall* exposition.

c John 17. 21, 22, 23. &c.

His mock Apostolick stile.

38. Yea in process of time, he grew so bad, that *charity* it self would blush to have a favourable thought of his Opinions. Not content to confine his Errours to his own Country, over he comes into *England*, and in the later end of the reign of King *Edward* the sixth, joyned himself to the Dutch Congregation in *London*, where he seduced a number of Artificers and silly women, amongst whom two daughters of one *Warwick*, (to whom he dedicated an epistle) were his principall *Perverts*. Mr. *Martin Micronius*, and Mr. *Nicholaus Charineus*, then the ministers of the Dutch Congregation, zealously confuted his errours, but it seems their Antidotes pierced not so deep as his poisons. Many of our English Nation were by him deceived, and may the Reader but peruse this his *mock-Apostolick* Stile, (his charm to delude silly people therewith) and let him tell me whether the *Ape* did not well deserve a *whip*, for his *over-imitation* therein.

d In his Evangelium Regni, or the joyfull message of the kingdom.

H. Nicholas *through the grace and mercy of God, through the Holy Spirit of the love of Jesus Christ. Raised up by the highest God from the death, according to the providence of God, and his promises. Anointed with the Holy Ghost, in the old age of the holy understanding of Jesus Christ. Godded with*

God

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God in the Spirit of his love. Illuminated in the Spirit with the heavenly truth, the true light of perfect being. Made heir with Christ in the Heavenly goods, of the riches of God. Elected to be a minister of the gracious word, which is now in the last times raised up by God, according to his promises in the most holy service of God, under the obedience of his love.

The followers of this *Nicholas* assumed to themselves the Title of the *family of Love. Family* [a] *of faith*, we finde in Scripture, but this *new-name* was one first invented by, and falsely applied unto this Faction, who might more fitly, from *Nicholas* their father and founder, be stiled *Nicolaitans*, as their *name-sakes* (*hated by* [b] *God* for thir filthinesse) were called so, from [c] *Nicolas the proselyte* of *Antioch*. These *Familists* (besides many monstrosities they maintained about their *Communion with God*) attenuated all Scriptures into *Allegories*, and under pretence to turn *it into Spirit*, made them aery, empty, nothing. They counterfeited Revelations, and those not *explicatory* or *applicatory* of Scripture, (such may and must be allowed to Gods Servants in all ages) but *additionall* therunto, and of equal necessity and infallibility to be believed therewith. In a word, as in the small pox, (pardon my plain and homely, but true and proper comparison) when at first they kindly come forth, every one of them may severally and distinctly be discerned, but when once they *run and matter*, they break one into another, and can no longer be dividedly discovered; so though at first there was a reall difference, betwixt *Familists*, *Enthusiasts*, *Antinomians* (not to adde *highflown Anabaptists*) in their opinions, yet (process of time plucking up the *Pales* betwixt them) afterwards they did so *interfere* amongst themselves, that it is almost impossible to banke, and bound their severall absurdities.

a Gal. 6. 10.

b Rev. 2. 6.
c Acts 6. 5.

39. The practises of these *Familists* were worse than their opinions. *They grieved the Comforter*, charging all their sins on Gods Spirit, for not effectually assisting them against the same: accounting themselves as innocent as the [d] *maid forced in the field, crying out, and having none to help her.* Yea, St. *Pauls* [e] *supposition, Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?* was their *position*. What he started from, they embraced; what he branded with a *God forbid*, they welcomed with a *well done good and faithfull servant*: sinning on designe, that their wickednesse might be a foile to Gods mercy, to set it off the brighter.

The Familists worse in practice than opinion.

d Deut. 22. 27.
e Rom. 6. 1.

Octo. 10.

40. The Privie Councell therefore took them into consideration, and tendred unto them this following abjuration.

Their abjuration.

Whosoever teacheth that the dead which are fallen asleep in the Lord, rise up in this day of his judgement, and appear unto us in godly glory, which shall henceforth live in us everlastingly with Christ, and reign upon the earth, is a detestable heretick. Whosoever teacheth, that to be born of the Virgin Mary, *out of the seed of* David *after the flesh, is to be expounded of the pure doctrine out of the seed of love, is a detestable Heretick. Whosoever teacheth, that Jesus Christ is come again unto us according to his promise, to the end, that they all which love God, and his righteousnesse, and Christ, and perfect being, might presently enter into the true rest, which God hath prepared from the beginning for his elect, and inherit the everlasting life, is a detestable heretick.*

No fewer than ten of the Privy Councell tendered this abjuration to each Familist, but with what success I finde not. If any of these Familists were of

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of their opinion in *Higher Germany*, who were called [a] *Liberi Fratres, Free Brethren*, who maintain'd themselves *delivered by Christ from all covenants, vows, and debts*, (if from prison too on deniall of payment, it were excellent) all was to little purpose, seeing a bird may as soon be impounded, as these spirits confin'd by any oaths, or carnall obligation. Pass we from them to others more dangerous, because more learned, even the Jesuits (hoping at last to light on the temperate zone, when we have done with these dull, frozen, ignorant Sectaries, and fiery, torrid, overactive Papists) whereof two principall ones, *Persons*, and *Campian*, living at *Rome*, importun'd his Holiness for license to come over into *England*.

[a] *See Rutherfords* survey of the Spirituall Antichrist pag. 11.

Persons and *Campian* come into *England*. Their severall characters.

41. Having obtained this gracious faculty, over they come into *England*, and distill superstition, and disloyalty into the Queens Subjects. This *Persons* was a *Summersetshire* man, formerly of *Baliol Colledge* in *Oxford*, till for his [b] dishonesty he was expelled with disgrace. But, what *Oxford* cast away for dross, *Rome* received for gold, entertaining, and rewarding him as a man of a daring, and undertaking spirit, and of a nature turbulent, and seditious. *Campian*, born in *London*, and bred in S^t. *Johns Colledge*, of the same University (whereof he was Proctor *Anno* 1568.) was one of a sweet nature, constantly carrying about him the charms of a plausible behaviour: of a fluent tongue, and good parts, which he knew how to shew to the best advantage. These two effectually advanced the Roman cause, appearing in moe severall shapes than *Proteus* himself, in the disguised habits of Souldiers, Courtiers, Ministers of the word, Apparitours, as they were advised by their profit, and safety: and, as if his Holiness had infused an ubiquitarines into them, they acted in city, court, and country. *Persons* was the *axe* to hew knottie controversies, where deep learning was needfull; *Campian* was the *plainer* to come after him, and smooth matters with his eloquence; yea, the former frighted fearfull people into Popery with his fierceness, the later flattered them in it with his courteous behaviour. But, none can give a better account of *Campians* proceedings, then this his own letter which followeth.

[b] *Camdens Eliz. Anno* 1580.

To the right Reverend Father *Everard Mercurian*, Provost General of the Society of *Jesus*.

"AFter that, trusting on Gods goodness, I live now
"the fifth moneth in these parts, I thought it my
"duty, Reverend Father, to acquaint you by letters, what
"the state of our matters is, and what it is likely to be.
"For I know ful well, that you desire to know, what I do,
"what I hope, how I profit, and that both out of constant
"care for the common good, and also out of the great love
"you bear unto my self. The former I wrote from S^t.
"*Omers*, now receive in few words, what things have since
"happened unto us.

"I impute it as proceeding from Divine Providence,
"that, whereas I had waited foure full dayes for a [c] pros-
"perous winde; at last on the fifth (which was the feast of
"*John Baptist*, and my tutelary Saint, to whom I had of-
"ten commended both my cause, and journey) at even we

[c] A good wind which blows a traitour to Tiburne.

put

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"put forth to sea. The next day very early we arrived at "*Dover*, I and my little man, where we escaped very "[a] narrowly, that both of us were not taken. Being "commanded, we appear before the Major of the town, "he conjectures several all things, guessing us to be, what in-"deed we were, namely, enemies to the heretical party, "lovers of the old religion, that we had dissembled our "names, gone away for Religion, being return'd with de-"sire to propagate it. One thing he press'd that I was *Allen*, "which I denied, (and if need had been) I would have de-"posed the contrary on my oath.

"At last he determines, and this he often repeats, "that we ought to be sent with a guard to the Privie Coun-"cell. Nor do I know who altered his minde, except it "were God, to whom in the mean time I made my silent "supplication, using the intercession of S[t]. *John*, by whose "favour I came thither. Presently out came the [b] old "man (well fare his heart for it) it is our pleasure (said "he) that you shall be dismissed. Farewell. Away we "flew. These and the like things, which here I finde, "when I recount them with my self, I am confirm'd in this "opinion, that when the matter shall make more for "[c] Gods glory, then I shall be taken, and not before. I "arrive at *London*. A good Angel led me, without my "knowledge to the same house, which had formerly re-"ceived Father *Robert*. Many Gentlemen run to me, sa-"lute me, cloath me, [d] adorn me, arm me, send me out "of the city. Every day almost I ride about some coast "of the Country. The harvest is altogether very great. "Sitting on my horse I meditate a short Sermon, which "coming into the house, I perfectly polish. Afterward "if any come to me, I discourse with them, or hear their "confessions. In the morning, Service being done, I make "a Sermon, they bring thirstie ears, and most frequently "receive the Sacraments.

"In the administring of them we are assisted by the "Priests, whom we finde every where. Thus it comes to "pass, that both the people are pleased, and the worke is "made less wearisom unto us. Our Countriemen which "are Priests, being themselves eminent for learning, and "holiness, have raised such a reverend esteem of our Or-"der, that I conceive, that Veneration which the Catho-"licks give us, is not to be mentioned but with some [e] fear. "Wherefore the more care is to be taken, that such as shall "be sent as a supply unto us (whom now we very much "want) may be so [f] qualified, that they may well under-"take all these things. Above all things, Let them be "well exercised in preaching. We can not long [g] escape "the hands of Hereticks, so many are the eyes, the tongues, "and treacheries of our enemies.

"I am in a most antick habit, which I often [h] change, "as also my [i] name. Just now I read a letter, in whose "front it was written, *Campian is taken*. This old song "now so rings in mine ears, whersoever I come, that ve-"ry fear hath driven all fear from me. my life is alwaies "in my hand. Let them that shall be sent hither for our "supply,

a Ominous that his foot should stumble at the threshold, newly landed in the Kingdom. Tis probable, he that was suspected at his coming in, will be detected before his going out.

b See how a crafty equivocating Jesuite, is an overmatch for a country well meaning Magistrate.

c *Caiphas*. Truly propheci-ed, if truly applyed.

d *Heu, quanta patimur?* Oh pitifull persecution, enough almost to make an Epicure complain of hard usage.

e Left the world should know, how simple people give, and shamless Jesuits take so much honour, where so little is due.

f With fair tongues, false hearts, cunning heads, and bold faces: *Campian* is the copie, and the rest must be like him.

g His Predictions were indicted from his guiltiness. Offenders fear what they deserve.

h His often Changing speaks him but a valiant coward in the cause.

i *Homo multorum nominum, non boni nominis.*

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"ſupply, bring this along with them, well thought on be-
"fore hand.

"But the comforts which are mingled in this matter,
"are ſuch, as not only do recompence the fear of pain, but
"any pains whatſoever, with an infinite pleaſure; name-
"ly, a pure conſcience, unconquered ſtrength, incredible
"zeal. Eminent work we have effected, innumerable
"number of converts, high, low, of the middle rank, of
"all ages, and ſexes. Hence it is grown into a proverb
"amongſt the Hereticks themſelves, that if any of them be
"better natur'd then others, they preſently call them [a] *Ca-*
"*tholicks*, who will pay the debts which they owe. Inſo-
"much, that if any Catholicks ſhould chance to uſe a man
"hardly, he is expoſtulated with in this reſpect, that in
"no caſe ſuch things ought to be done by men of their pro-
"feſſion.

"In brief, hereſie is ill reported of all, nor is there any
"ſort of men more vile, and rotten then are their [b] Mi-
"niſters. We are deſervedly full of indignation, that in
"ſo bad a cauſe, men ſo unlearned, ſo wicked, ſo diſſo-
"lute, ſo vile, do domineere over moſt flouriſhing
"wits.

"Moſt threatening edicts are carried about againſt us.
"By warineſs, and the prayers of good people, and (which
"is the main) by Gods goodneſs, we have in ſafety gone
"over a great part of the *Iſland*. I ſee many [c] forgetting
"themſelves to be carefull for us. Something happened
"in thoſe dayes by Gods will, which I did not ſo much as
"hope for.

"I had articulatly ſet down in writing our points, and
"certain moſt equal demands, confeſſing my ſelf to be a
"Prieſt of the Society, coming with an intent to ampliſie
"the Catholick faith, teach the Goſpel, adminiſter Sacra-
"ments. I requeſted audience of the Queen, and the
"Peers of the Realm, and [d] challenged my adverſaries to
"the combate. I reſolved to keep one copy to my ſelf,
"that it might be carried to the Judges with me; another
"I had committed to my friend with this intent, that if
"they took me, and my copy, the other ſhould preſently be
"ſpread abroad.

"My friend did not conceal it, he publiſhed it; it is
"worne in every mans hand. Our adverſaries are ſtark
"mad. Out of their Pulpits their Preachers anſwer, that
"they indeed deſire it, but the Queen is not willing, that
"matters now being ſetled, there ſhould be any farther
"diſputation. They rend us with their railings, call us
"Seditious, Hypocrites, yea and Hereticks alſo, which is
"moſt laughed at. The people in this point are altogether
"ours. This Errour hath made marvelouſly for our ad-
"vantage. If we be commanded on the Publick Faith,
"[e] *dabimus non curiam*. But they intend nothing leſs.

"All our Priſons are filled with Catholicks, new ones
"are preparing. Now at laſt they openly maintain, that
"it is better to deliver a few Traitors over to death, then
"to betray the ſouls of ſo many men. Now they ſay no-
"thing of their own Martyrs, for we conquer in Cauſe,
"Number,

[a] Would the Catholicks would themſelves pay the twenty pound a moneth which they owe to the King for their Recuſancy.

[b] Thus when the herneſhaw cannot beat the hawk with ſtrength, ſhe dungs upon him. Railing muſt help where reaſon wants.

[c] Good affections ill imployed. God ſend them leſs heat, or more light.

[d] Barr challenging. They that long moſt for duells, firſt furfeit of them.

[e] So my printed copie wherein I ſuſpect ſome miſtake.

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"Number, Dignity, and the Opinion of all men.

"We produce, for a few Apoſtates, or Coblers burnt, "Biſhops, [a] [*Regulos*] petty Princes, Knights, and moſt "eminent of the Gentry, (mirrors of learning, honeſty, "and wiſdome) the choiſeſt youth, illuſtrious Matrons. "The reſt of middle eſtate almoſt innumerable, all of them "at once, or every day conſumed. Whilſt I write theſe "things, a moſt cruel perſecution rageth. The houſe is "ſad; for they preſage, either the death of their friends, "or that to ſave their lives, they muſt hide, be in priſon, "or ſuffer the loſs of all their goods; yet they go on cou-"ragiouſly.

"Very many even now are reconciled to our Church. "New Souldiers inliſt their names, and old ones freely "ſhed their blood. Herewith, and with theſe holy ſacri-"fices, God will be merited, and out of doubt, in ſhort "time we ſhall overcome. You ſee therefore Reverend "Father, how much we need your ſacrifices, prayers, and "heavenly aſſiſtance.

"There will be ſome in *England*, who may provide "for their own ſafety; and there will be thoſe, who may "promote the good of others. Man may be angry, and "the Devill mad: ſo long the Church here will ſtand, whi-"leſt the ſhepheards are not wanting to their ſheep. I am "hindred with a report of a moſt preſent danger, that I can "write no more at this time. *Let God ariſe, and let his ene-"mies be ſcattered.*

[a] Not one Popiſh Biſhop put to death, (nor Peer of the Realm, ſave for actuall rebellion) in all the Queens Reign. Whereas in the Marian dayes, we had an Arch-Biſhop, and foure Biſhops burnt, for meer matters of conſcience.

Farewell.
Edmond Campian.

* Secretary *Walſingham*, one of a ſteadie head (no more than needfull for him, who was to dive into ſuch whirle-pools of State) laid out for *Campians* apprehenſion. Many were his lime-twigs to this purpoſe. Some of his Emiſſaries were bred in *Rome* it ſelf. It ſeems his Holineſs was not infallible in every thing, who paid penſions to ſome of *Walſinghams* ſpies ſent thither to deteſt Catholicks. Of theſe, *Sled* and *Eliot* were the principal. Surely theſe Setters could not accompliſh their ends, but with deep diſſembling and damnable lying. If any account ſuch officers *evils*, I deny it not, but adde them to be *neceſſary evils*, in ſuch a dangerous juncture of time. Alwayes ſet a —— to catch a ——; and the greateſt dear-ſtealers, make the beſt Parke-keepers. Indeed theſe ſpies were ſo cunning, they could trace a labyrinth, without the guidance of a clew of thread; and knew all by-corners at home, and abroad. At laſt *Eliot* ſnapt *Campian* in his own lodging, and in great triumph he was carried to the Tower.

* *Campian* catcht by *Walſinghams* ſetters.

42. The Papiſts tell us of *ſeven deadly racks* in the Tower, all of them exerciſed on ſome or other their priſoners therein. One rack called the *Duke of Exeters*, the other the *Scavengers daughter*, and theſe haply had their grand-children: God keep all good men in the joyfull ignorance of them, and their iſſue. *Campian* is ſaid * thrice, or four times, to have been tortured on them, *ad luxationem, ac quaſſationem omnium membrorum*; if the report thereof be not rackt beyond the proportion of truth. However we requeſt the ingenuous;

Pretended cruelty in racking Papiſts.

* *Sanders* De Schiſ. Anglicano pag. 409.

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43. First, to consider, there scarce passed a leap-year, wherein the Papists did not lay their eggs, or hatch some treason against the Queen, which excuseth such severity used to detect conspiracies. Secondly, I finde when Father *Briant*, a Priest was [a] rack'd most cruelly, he confesseth, *Se nihil quicquam doloris sensisse*, That he felt no pain at all. Were this false, I wonder so religious a man would report it; were it true, I wonder that *Campian* (every inch as religious as *Briant*) had not the same miraculous favour indulged to him. Thirdly, *Campian* presently after his racking, wrote letters with his own [b] hand; which shews he was not so disjoynted, with such cruelty as is pretended. Lastly, those who complain of *Campians* usage have forgotten, or will not remember, how *Anne Lake*, and *Cuthbert Simpson* (on whom no shaddow of treason could be charged) were most cruelly, and causelessly rack'd by Popish persecutors, as a preface to their ensuing martyrdome.

Excused in some degree. a *Ribadeneira* his continuation of *Sanders de Schis. Ang.* in his Diarie *An.* 1581. Moneth of March.

b *Camb. Eliz.* in this year.

44. We leave *Campian* for a time in a safe place, where we are sure to finde him at our return, to behold how it fared with Father *Persons*, diligently sought for by *Walsinghams* setters, and therefore as eminent for making his *three escapes*, as writing his *three conversions*.

Persons his three wonderfull escapes.

1. By hiding himself in a stack of hay, hard by a publick Inne, whither messengers were sent to attach him.
2. Being amused with grief, and fear, and fright, he could not finde an [c] house in *London* (otherwise well known unto him) whither he intended to go, and by losing his way saved his life, that place being beset with souldiers to apprehend him.
3. When scarce gone out of an house on the *Thames* side, but the same was searched by the officers, who routed an armie of crucifixes, medalls, Agnus Dei's, and other Papish trinkets therein.

c *Continuatio Sanderi De Schis. Ang.* pag. 404.

To these a fourth may be added, more [d] miraculous than all the rest, *when Persons was apprehended by a Pursevant at* Northwich *in* Cheshire, *and put into a chamber fast bolted, and locked upon him, the doore did, three times together, miraculously, and of its own accord flie open.*

d *Vide Sheld. of Mirac.* pag. 25. & Gee his One foot out of the snare 71. Our observation on his fourth escape.

45. By the Readers favour, as I dare not deny belief to this passage attested by a Catholick Father: so I cannot but wonder thereat. *Peter*, and *Paul*, each of them had [e] once their prison doors open: *Persons* exceeds them both, three severall solemne times his prison was set open. Did he not tempt Divine providence, which once, and again offered unto him a way to escape, to expect a third call to come forth? Had Providence (angry that the courtesie twice tendred, was not accepted) left him alone, none would have pitied him if caught, and sent to keep company with his dear friend Father *Campian* in the Tower.

e Acts 12. 7. & Acts 16. 26.

46. But *Persons* knew full well, that miracles (though cordials in extremity) are no bill of fare for mens daily diet, and therefore he must not constantly expect such wonderfull deliverances. Besides, no doubt he remembred what pass'd in the fable; though this his good Genius had help'd him at a dead lift, yet the same intended not to wear out all his shooes, and to goe barefoot himself, in making a trade constantly to preserve him. Wherefore, *Juniores ad labores*, Let younger men take the task, and trouble upon them. This wary bird would not be catcht, to whistle in the cage to the *tune of Walsingham*. Wherefore over he went to *Rome*, and there slept in a whole skin, as good reason it was, so great a Generall should secure his person from danger.

Persons politickly returneth to Rome.

SECT.

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Section IIII.

To Mr. *James Bovey* of *London* Merchant.

ONe (*if not the* only) *good which our civill warr hath produced, is, That on the ranſacking of* Studies, *many* manuſcripts, *which otherwiſe would have remained concealed, and uſefull only for private perſons, have been printed for the publick benefit. Amongſt which, ſome may ſuſpect the following letter of Arch-Biſhop* Grindall *to be one.*

But to clear that ſcruple, I muſt avow, that a * *Reverend perſon was* proprietary *of an authentick Copy thereof, before the thing* plunder *was* owned *in* England, *and may* (*I ſhall well hope*) *notwithſtanding his* gray hairs *remain ſo, after it is* diſclaimed.

* A. B. of *Armagh.*

1. KNow that a Parliament and Convocation, beeing this year called, the latter appeared rather a *trunke*, than a *body*, becauſe *Edmond Grindal*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, groning under the Queens diſpleaſure, was forbidden acceſs to the Convocation. Whereupon, it began ſadly (not to ſay ſullenly) without the ſolemnity of a Sermon, abruptly entering on the ſmall buſineſſe they had to doe. Some hotſpurs therein motioned, that they ſhould refuſe to meet together, till their company were compleated, and the Arch-Biſhop reſtored unto them. But the gravity of the reſt ſoon retrenched this diſtemper, and at laſt all agreed, that *Tobie Watthew*, *Dean* of *Chriſt-Church* (commanding a pure, and fluent pen) ſhould in the name of the Convocation, draw an humble ſupplication to Her Majeſty for the reſtitution of the Arch-Biſhop to his place, which was done according to the tenour following.

A petition in the name of the whole convocation for the reſtitution of Arch-Biſhop *Grindal.*

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Sereniſsimæ, ac Potentiſsimæ Reginæ *Elizabethæ*, *Angliæ*, *Franciæ*, & *Hiberniæ* Reginæ, Fidei Defenſatrici &c.

ETſi Majeſtatem Regiam ſive verbo, ſive ſcripto interpellare (Sereniſſima Princeps Elizabetha *) non decere, niſi rariùs; non licere, niſi gravioribus de cauſis arbitramur: tamen cum præcipiat Apoſtolus, ut, dum tempus habeamus, benefacimus omnibus, maximè verò domeſticis fidei, committere nullo modo poſſumus, quin illud hoc tempore à Tua Celſitate humiliter contendamus, quod nobis ad petendum utile, & neceſſarium; totæ Eccleſiæ, & Reipublicæ ad obtinendum ſalutare, & fructuoſum; Tuæ denique Majeſtati ad concedendum, perfacile, & honorificum ſit futurum. Quanquam igitur acerbiſſimè dolemus, & contriſtamur, Reverendiſſimum Patrem, Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum, poſt tot annos, in tantam, tamque diuturnam Majeſtatis Tuæ offenſionem incidiſſe; tamen valde vehementer ſperamus, nos veniam adepturos, ſi pro uno multi, pro Archiepiſcopo Epiſcopi, pro tanto Præſule tot Miniſtri, ſeriò, & ſuppliciter intercedamus. Quod ſi deprecantium authoritas in petitione valeret, hæc cauſa jamdudum à nobilibus viris; ſi voluntas, ab amiciſſimis; ſi experientia, à prudentiſſimis; ſi religio, a reverendiſſimis; ſi multitudo, à plurimis: ſicut noſtræ partes nullæ nunc aliæ videantur, quàm ut orationem cum illorum rationibus, noſtras preces cum illorum petitionibus ſuppliciſſimè, ac demiſſiſſimè conjungamus.*

Ut enim Cæſar Octavius jucundiſſimus propterea fuiſſe ſcribitur, quòd apud eum quoties quiſque voluit, dixit, & quod voluit, dum humiliter; ſic ex infinitis illis virtutibus, quibus Regium Tuum pectus abundè cumulatur, vix ulla vel Majeſtati Tuæ honorificentior, vel in populum Tuum gratioſior exiſtit, quàm in admittendis hominibus facilitas, in cauſis audiendis lenitas, prudentia in ſecernendis, in ſatisfaciendis pietas, & clementia. Nihil eſt enim tam populare quàm bonitas; atque Principes ad præpotentem Deum nulla re propiùs accedunt, quàm offenſionibus deponendis, & obliviſcendis injurijs; non dicimus ſepties, ſed ſeptuagies ſepties. Nam, ſi decem millia talentorum dimittantur nobis; nonne nos fratribus, conſervis, ſubditis, centum denarios condonabimus? Liceat enim nobis illud Chriſti præceptum, ad iſtud inſtitutum, bona Tua cum pace accommodare. Præſertim cum hortetur Apoſtolus, ut manſuetudo noſtra nota ſit omnibus; Chriſtuſque jubeat, ut miſericordes ſimus ſicut Pater noſter cœleſtis miſericors eſt. Vinum in vulnus infundere ſalutare eſt, & ſalutarius oleum; Chriſtus utrumque adhibuit. Judicium cantare, Domino jucundum eſt, ac jucundius miſericordiam; David *utrumque perfecit. Gratioſa eſt in omnibus hominibus clementia, in Proceribus gratioſior, in Principe verò gratioſiſſima. Glorioſa eſt Regi manſuetudo, Reginæ glorioſior, Virgini verò glorioſiſſima: ſi non ſemper, at ſæpius; ſi non in omnes, at in pios; ſi non in vulgus, at in Magiſtratus, at in Miniſtros, at in eum qui in tam ſublimi loco conſtitutus, magnâ apud nos authoritate, magnâ apud alios exiſtimatione, ſummâ in Sacratiſſimam Tuam Majeſtatem fide, & obſervantia præditus; ut non ſæpe in vitâ deliquiſſe, ſed ſemel tantum in vitâ diſplicuiſſe videatur, idque non tam præſractâ voluntate, quam tenera conſcientiâ, cujus tantam eſſe vim, magni authores, & optimi quique viri ſcripſerunt, ut quicquid, eâ vel reclamante, vel errante, vel hæſitante fiat, non leve peccatum eſſe ſtatuerint. Ac ut, quod verum eſt, ingenuè*

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genuè & humiliter attendamus; & illud omnium quod unam agitur, vel neceſſario ſilentio, vel voluntariâ oblectatione obruamus: Si laudabile eſt, vitam non modo ab omni crimine, ſed ſuſpicione criminis, liberam traduxiſſe, traduxit; ſi honeſtum, Religionem ab omni, non modo Papiſtica corruptela, ſed à ſchiſmatica pravitate, integram conſervare, conſervavit; ſi Chriſtianum, non modo, propter juſtitiam, perſecutionem paſſum eſſe, ſed per cæteras nationes propter Evangelium, oberraſſe; & paſſus eſt, & oberravit.

Quæ cum ita ſint (Regina Clementiſſima) omnes hæ noſtræ voces ad Celſitudinem Tuam profectæ, hoc unum demiſſiſſimè, & quàm fieri poteſt ſubjectiſſimè comprecantur, idque per ſingularem naturæ Tuæ bonitatem, per anteactæ Tuæ vitæ conſuetudinem, per pietatem Regiam in ſubditos, per charitatem Chriſtianam in inimicos, perque eam, qua reliquos omnes & privatos, & Principes excellis lenitatem; ut velis Majeſtatem Tuam manſuetudine, juſtitiam miſericordiâ, iram placabilitate, offenſionem indulgentiâ mitigare; & Archiepiſcopum mœrore fractum, & debilitatum, non modo extollere jacentem, ſed Eccleſiam ipſi, ipſum Eccleſiæ, Tuis civibus, ſuis fratribus, exteris nationibus, denique pijs omnibus tandem aliquando reſtituere. Quod ſi fecerit Majeſtas Tua, vel potiùs cùm fecerit (quod enim ſummè cupimus, ſummè etiam ſperare jucundum eſt) non dubitamus, quin illum Reverendiſſimum Patrem, ſupplicem, & abjectum, non tam à pedes, quàm ad nutûs Tuos perpetuò ſis habitura. Ita Celſitati Tuæ perſanctè pollicemur, nobis neque in Eccleſia conſtituenda curam, neque in Religione propagandâ ſtudium, neque in Schiſmatibus tollendis diligentiam, neque in hoc beneficio præcipuè recolendo memoriam, neque in ferendo quas debemus gratias, gratam animi benevolentiam ullo unquam tempore defuturam.

Dominus Jeſus Majeſtatem Tuam, ad Reipublicæ tranquillitatem, ad Eccleſiæ conſervationem, ad ſuæ veritatis amplificationem, omni fœlicitatis genere diutiſſimè proſequatur.

This petition, though preſented with all advantage, found no other entertainment than delays, which ended in a final deniall; it being daily ſuggeſted to the Queen, that *Grindal* was a great patrone of *propheſyings* (now ſet up in ſeverall parts of the land) which, if permitted to take place, would in fine prove the bane of the Church, and Commonwealth.

2. Theſe *propheſyings* were founded on the Apoſtles[a] precept, *For, ye may all propheſie one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted*; but ſo, as *to make it out*, they were fain to make uſe of humane prudential additions, modelling their *propheſyings* as followeth.

The model and method of propheſyings. [a] 1 Cor. 14. 13.

1. The Miniſters of the ſame precinct, by their own appointment (not ſtrictly ſtanding on the old diviſion of Deanries) met at the principal place therein.
2. The junior Divine went firſt into the pulpit, and for halfe an hour, more or leſs (as he could with clearneſs contract his meditations) treated upon a portion of Scripture, formerly by a joynt-agreement aſſigned unto him. After him, foure or five moe, obſerving their ſeniority ſucceſſively dilated on the ſame text.

3. At

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3. At last a grave Divine, appointed on purpose (as *Father of the Act*) made the closing sermon, somewhat larger then the rest, praising the pains, and performance of such, who best deserved it; meekly, and mildly reproving the mistakes, and failings of such of those, if any were found in their Sermons. Then all was ended as it was begun with a solemn prayer: and at a publick refection of those Ministers together (with many of the Gentry repairing unto them) the next time of their meeting was appointed, text assigned, Preachers deputed, a new Moderator elected, or the old one continued, and so all were dissolved.

This exercise proved (though often long) seldome tedious; and peoples attentions, though travelling farr, were little tired, because entertained with much variety.

The inconveniences of propheſyings detected, or suspected.

3. However, some inconveniences were seen, and more foreseen by wise (or at least suspected by fearfull) men, if these *propheſies* might generally take place in the land.

1. Many modest Ministers, and those profitable Preachers in their private Parishes, were loath to appear in this publick way, which made them undeservedly sleighted and neglected by others.
2. Many young men, of more boldness than learning, readiness, than solidity, carried away the credit, to the great disheartning of those of more age, and ability.
3. This consort of Preachers kept not always time and tune amongst themselves, much jarring of personal reflections often disturbing their harmony.
4. Many would make impertinent excursions from their text, to inveigh against the present discipline, and government of the Church. Such Preachers being more plausible to the people, generally best pleased with them, who manifest their displeasure against the present authority.
5. A wise person was often wanting to moderate the Moderator, partially passing his censures, rather according to affection, than judgement.
6. People factiously cried up, some one Minister, some another, to the disgrace of Gods Ordinance.
7. These *propheſyings*, being accounted the *faires* for spiritual merchandizes, made the weekly *markets* for the same holy commodities, on the Lords day, to be less respected, and Ministers to be neglected in their respective Parishes.
8. In a word, the Queen was so perfectly prepossessed with prejudice against these *propheſyings*, (as if they foretold the rise of schisme, and faction) that she was implacably incensed against Arch-Bishop *Grindal*, as the principal Patrone, and promoter thereof.

However the good Arch-Bishop, to vindicate himself, and state the usefulness of these *propheſyings*, wrote a large letter to the Queen: and although we cannot exactly tell the just * time thereof; yet, knowing it will be welcome to the pious reader at any time, here we present the true copie thereof.

* To the day and moneth being confident this was the year.

20 Dec. 1576

With

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The most remarkable letter of Arch-Bishop *Grindall*, in defence of Prophesies and Church-jurisdiction.

With most humble remembrance of bounden duty to your Majesty. It may please the same to be advertized, that the speeches which it pleased you to deliver unto me when I last attended on your Highness concerning the abridging the number of Preachers, and the utter subversion of all learned exercises, and conferences amongst the Ministers of the Church, allowed by the Bishops and Ordinaries have exceedingly dismayed and discomforted me: not so much for that, the said speeches sounded very hardly against my own person, being but one particular man, and not so much to be accounted of; but most of all, for that the same might tend to the publick harme of Gods Church, whereof your Majesty by office ought to be Nutricia, *and also the heavy burden of your conscience before God if they should be put to strict execution. It was not your Majesties pleasure then (the time not serving thereto) to hear me at any length concerning the said two matters then expounded. I thought it therefore my duty by writing to declare some part of my mind unto your Highness, beseeching the same with patience to read over this which I now send written with my own rude scribling hand, which seemeth indeed to be of more length then it is: for I say with* Ambrose Ad Valentinianum Imper: Scribo manu mea, quod sola legas. *Madam, first of all I must, and will during my life, confess that there is no earthly creature to whom I am so much bounden as to your Majesty, who (notwithstanding mine insufficiency, which commendeth your grace the more) hath bestowed upon me so many and so great benefits, as I could never hope for, much less deserve. I do therefore according to my bounden duty, with all thanksgiving, bear towards your Majesty a most humble, thankfull, and faithfull heart, and that knoweth he, that knoweth all things: Neither do I intend ever to offend your Majesty in any thing, unless in the cause of God, or his Church by necessity of office and burden laid upon me, and burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be inforced, and in these cases, which I trust in God shall never be urged upon me. If I should use dissembling silence, I should very ill requite so many your Majesties, and so great benefits. For in so doing, both you might fall into perill towards God, and I my self into endless damnation. The Prophet* Ezekiel *termeth us Ministers of the Church* Speculatores, *and not* Adulatores. *If we therefore see the sword coming by reason of any offence towards God, we must of necessity give warning, else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands. I beseech your Majesty thus to think of me, that I do not conceive any ill opinion of you, although I cannot assent unto those two Articles then expounded. I do with the rest of all your good Subjects acknowledge, that we have received by your government, many and most excellent benefits, as amongst others, freedome of conscience, suppression of Idolatry, sincere preaching of the Gospell, with publick peace and tranquillity. I am also perswaded that ever in these matters which you seem to urge, your meaning and zeal is for the best: the like hath happened to many of the best Princes that ever were, yet have not refused afterwards to be better informed, and instructed out of Gods word: King* David *so much commended in the Scriptures, had no evill meaning, when he commanded the people to be numbred, he thought it good policy in so doing, to understand what forces he had in store to imploy against Gods enemies, if occasion so required: yet afterwards saith the Scripture, his own heart stroke him, and God by the Prophet* Gad, *reprehended him for his offence, and gave him for the same, choice of three hard pennances, that is to say, Famine, Warr, and Pestilence. Good King* Ezechias *of curtesie, and good affection, shewed to the Embassadors of the King of* Babylon, *the treasures of the house of God, and of his own house, and yet the Prophet* Isaiah *told him, that God was therewith displeased. The godly King* Jehosaphat *making*

league

league with his neighbour King Ahab, and of like good meaning no doubt was likewise reprehended by Jehu the Prophet in this forme of words; Impio præbes auxilium, & ijs qui oderunt Dominum, amicitia jungeris. Ambrose writing to Theodosius the Emperor, useth these words; Novi pietatem tuam erga Deum, lenitatem in homines, oblectatus sum beneficijs tuis &c. and yet for all that, the said Ambrose doth not forbear in the same Epistle to perswade the said Emperour, to revoke an ungodly Edict, wherein he had commanded a godly Bishop to reedifie a Jewish Synagogue pulled down by the Christian people. And so to come to the present case, I may very well use to your Highness, the words of Ambrose above written, Novi pietatem &c. But surely I cannot marvell enough, how this strange opinion should once enter into your minde; that it should be good for the Church to have few preachers. Alass Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any thing, then that the gospell of Christ should be plentifully preached: and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lords harvest, which being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few, but of many workmen. There was appointed to the building of Solomons materiall Temple artificers and labourers, besides 3000. overseers: and shall we think, that a few preachers, may suffice to the building and edifying of the spirituall Temple of Christ, which is his Church: Christ when he sent forth his Disciples and Apostles, said unto them, Ite, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ; but all Gods creatures cannot be instructed in the gospell, unless all possible means be used to have multitudes of preachers and teachers to preach unto them. Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulenter, Saith S. Paul Col. 3. and 2 Tim. 4. Prædica Sermonem, insta tempestivè, intempestivè, argue, increpa, exhortare &c. which thing cannot be done without often and much teaching and preaching. To this agreeth the practise of Christs Apostles, Qui constituebant per singulas Ecclesias presbyteros. Acts 14. S. Paul likewise writeth to Titus, 1. Hujus rei gratia, reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt, pergas corrigere, & constituas oppidatim Presbyteros. And afterwards describes how the same presbytery were to be qualified, not such as we are compelled to admit for mere necessity, unless we should have a great many of Churches utterly desolate: but such indeed as were able to exhort, per suam doctrinam, & contradicentes convincere. And in this place, I beseech your Majesty to note one thing necessary to be noted, which is this. If the Holy Ghost prescribeth expressly, that preachers should be placed oppidatim; How can it then well be thought, that three or foure preachers may suffice for a shire: Publick and continuall preaching of Gods word, is the ordinary means, and instrument of the salvation of mankinde. S. Paul calleth it the Ministry of reconciliation of man unto God: by the preaching of Gods word, the glory of God is encreased and enlarged, faith nourished, and charity encreased; by it the ignorant are instructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborne rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those, that sin of malicious wickedness, the wrath of God is threatned: By preaching also, due obedience to God and Christian Princes, and Magistrates, is planted in the hearts of Subjects; for obedience proceedeth of conscience, conscience is grounded upon the word of God, and the word of God worketh his effect by preaching; so as generally where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth. No Prince ever had more lively experience hereof then your Majesty hath had in your time, and may have daily; if your Majesty comes to the City of London never so often, what gratulations, what joy, what concourse of the people is there to be seen? Yea, what acclamations and prayers to God for your long life; and other manifest significations are there to be heard, of inward and unfeined love, joyned with most humble and hearty obedience are there to be heard? whereof commeth this Madam, but of the continuall preaching of Gods word in that City, whereby that people hath

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hath been plentifully inſtructed in their duty towards God and your Majeſty. On the contrary, what bred the Rebellion in the North? was it not Papiſtry, and ignorance of Gods word, through want of often preaching in the time of that rebelling? were not all men of all ſtates that made profeſſion of the goſpel, moſt ready to offer their lives for your defence? in ſo much that one poore pariſh in York-ſhire, which by continuall preaching, hath been better inſtructed then the reſt. Halifax I mean was ready to bring three or foure thouſand able men into the field, to ſerve you againſt the ſaid rebels. How can your Majeſty have a more lively triall and experience of the effects of much preaching, or little or no preaching? the one worketh moſt faithfull obedience, the other working moſt unnaturall diſobedience and rebellion; but it is thought that many are admitted to preach, and few able to do it well, that unable preachers be removed is very requiſite, if ability and ſufficiency may be rightly weighed and judged, and therein I truſt as much is, and ſhall be done as can be; for both I for my own part, let it be ſpoken without any oſtentation, I am very carefull in allowing of ſuch preachers only, as be able both for the knowledge in the Scriptures, and alſo for teſtimony of their godly life and converſation; and beſides that, I have given very great charge to the reſt of my brethren, the Biſhops of this Province to do the like, we admited no man to the office of preaching, that either profeſſeth Papiſtry, or puritaniſme, the graduats of the Univerſities are only admitted to be preachers, unleſs it be ſome few, which have excellent gifts of knowledge in the Scriptures, joyned with good utterance and godly perſwaſions. I my ſelf procured above 40. learned preachers and graduats within leſs then theſe ſix years to be placed within the Dioceſs of York, beſides theſe I found there, and there I left them, the fruits of whoſe travell in preaching, your Majeſty is like to reap daily by moſt aſſured dutifull obedience of your ſubjects in thoſe parts. But indeed this age judgeth hardly, and nothing indifferently of the ability of preachers of our time, judging few or none to be able in their opinion, which hard judgement groweth upon divers ill diſpoſitions of men. St. Paul doth command the preaching of Chriſt crucified be abſque eminentia ſermonis, but in our time, many have ſo delicate eares, that no preaching can ſatisfie them, unleſs it be ſauced with much ſweetneſs and exornation of ſpeech, which the ſame apoſtle utterly condemneth, and giveth this reaſon, ne evacuetur crux Chriſti. Some there be alſo, that are miſlikers of the godly reformation in religion now eſtabliſhed, wiſhing indeed, that there were no preachers at all, and ſo by depraving of miniſters, impugne religion, non aperto Martis, ſed in cuniculis, much like to the Popiſh Biſhops in your fathers time, who would have had the engliſh tranſlation of the Bible called in, as evill tranſlated, and the new tranſlation thereof to be committed to them, which they never intended to performe. A number there is, and that exceeding great, whereof ſome are altogether worldly minded, and altogether bent covetouſly to gather worldly goods and poſſeſſions, ſerving all carnall, vain, diſſolute, and laſcivious life. Voluptatis amores, magis quam Dei, & ſemetipſos dediderunt ad patrandum omnem immunditiem cum aviditate. Eph. 4. 19. and becauſe the preaching of Gods word, (which to all Chriſtians conſcience is ſweet, and delectable) to them, having cauterizatas conſcientias is bitter and grievous, for as St. Ambroſe ſaith ſuper Pſal. 119. quomodo poſſunt verba Dei dulcia eſſe in faucibus tuis, in quibus eſt amaritudo? There they wiſh alſo that there were no preachers at all, but becauſe they dare not directly condemne the office of preaching, ſo expreſsly commanded by Gods word, for that the ſame were open blaſphemy, they turne themſelves altogether, and with the ſame meaning as others do, to make exceptions againſt the perſons of them that be admitted to preach. But God forbid Madam, that you ſhould open your eares to any of theſe wicked perſwaſions, or any way to diminiſh the preaching of Chriſts goſpell for that you would ruinate altogether

altogether at length. Cum defecerit propheta, diſſipabitur populus. Pro. 27. ſaith Solomon. *Now where it is though that the reading of godly Homilies, ſet forth by publick authority may ſuffice (I continue in the ſame minde I was, when I attended upon your Majeſty) the reading of Homilies hath his commodities, but it is nothing comparable to the office of preaching. The godly preacher is learned in the goſpell.* Fidelis ſervus qui novit, *Who can apply his ſpeech to the diverſity of times, places, and hearers, which cannot be done in homilies. Exhortations, reprehenſions, and perſwaſions are uttered with more affections to the moving of the hearers in ſermons, then in Homilies. Beſides, Homilies were deviſed by godly Biſhops in your brothers dayes, only to ſupply neceſſity, by want of preachers, and are by the ſtatute, not to be preferred, but to give place to ſermons, whereſoever they may be had, and were never thought in themſelves to contain alone ſufficient inſtruction for the Church of* England; *for it was then found (as it is found now) that this Church of* England *hath been by appropriations, and that not without ſacrilege ſpoiled of the livings, which at the firſt were appointed to the office of preaching and teaching, which appropriations were firſt annexed to Abbyes, and after came to the crown, and now are diſpoſed to private mens poſſeſſions, without hope to reduce the ſame to the originall Inſtitution. So that at this day in my opinion, where one Church is able to yield ſufficient living to a learned preacher, there are at the leaſt ſeven Churches unable to do the ſame, where there be* * *ſoules (the more is the pitty) there are not ſeven pounds a year reſerved for the Miniſter. In ſuch pariſhes as it is not poſſible to place able preachers for want of convenient ſtipend, if every flock might have a preaching paſtor, which is rather to be wiſhed then hoped for, then were reading of Homilies altogether unneceſſary, but to ſupply that want of preaching Gods word, which is the food of the ſoul, growing upon the neceſſities before mentioned, both in your brothers time, and in your time alſo, certain Homilies have been deviſed that the people ſhould not altogether be deſtitute of inſtruction, for it is an old proverb, better a loaf then no bread. Now for the ſecond point, which is concerning the learned exerciſes and conferences amongſt the miniſters of the Church, I have conſulted with divers of my brethren the Biſhops, who think of the ſame as I do, a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued, and I truſt your Majeſty will think the like, when your Majeſty ſhall have been informed of the matter and order thereof, what authority it hath of the ſcriptures, what commodity it bringeth with it, and what diſcommodities will follow if it be clean taken away. The authors of this exerciſe are the Biſhops of the Dioceſs where this ſame is uſed, who by the law of God, and by the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church now in force, have authority to appoint exerciſe to their inferiour Miniſters for encreaſe of learning and knowledge in the Scriptures, as to them ſeemeth moſt expedient, for that pertaineth* ad diſciplinam clericalem; *the time appointed for this exerciſe is once in a moneth, or once in twenty or fifteen dayes at the diſcretion of the Ordinary. The time of this exerciſe is two hours, the place the Church of the appointed for the Aſſembly, the matter entreated of, is as followeth; ſome text of Scripture before appointed to be ſpoken is interpreted in this order. Firſt, the occaſion of the place is ſhewed, Secondly, the end. Thirdly, the proper ſence of the place. Fourthly, the property of the words, and thoſe that be learned in the tongues, ſhewing the diverſity of interpretations. Fifthly, where the like phraſes are uſed in ſcriptures. Sixthly, places of ſcripture that ſeem to repugne are reconciled. Seventhly, the arguments of the text are opened. Eighthly, it is declared what vertues and vices are therein couched, and to which of the commandements they do appertain. Ninthly, how the like hath been wreſted by the adverſary if occaſion ſo require. Tenthly and laſtly, what doctrine of faith and manners the ſaid text doth contain; the concluſion is with a prayer for your Majeſty, and all eſtates as it*

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* The word not being eaſily legible, I have left a *blank*, (as ſometimes before and after) preferring to refer the ſence to the Judicious Readers own conjecture, then to impoſe my gueſs upon him.

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is appointed by the book of Common-Prayer, and a pſalm. Theſe orders following are alſo obſerved by the ſaid exerciſe, Firſt, two, or three of the graveſt and beſt learned paſtors are appointed of the Biſhops, to be Moderators in every Aſſembly, no man may ſpeak unleſs he be firſt allowed by the Biſhop with this proviſo, that no lay man be ſuffered to ſpeak at any time, no controverſy of this preſent time and ſtate, ſhall be moved and dealt withall, if any attempt the contrary, he is put to ſilence by the Moderator, none is ſuffered to glance openly or covertly at perſons publick or private; neither yet any one to confute one another, if any man utter a wrong ſence of ſcripture, he is privately admoniſhed thereof, and better inſtructed by the Moderators, and other his fellow Miniſters, if any man uſe immoderate ſpeeches, or unreverend geſture or behaviour, or otherwiſe be ſuſpected in life, he is likewiſe admoniſhed as aforeſaid: if any man do vilify or break theſe orders, he is preſented to the Biſhop to be corrected. The ground of this, or like exerciſe is of great and ancient authority; for Samuel *did practiſe ſuch like exerciſes in his time at* Naioth *in* Ramath *and* Bethel, 1 Sam. 10. 2, 19. *So did* Elizeus *the prophet at* Jerico, *which ſtudious perſons in theſe dayes were called* filij Prophetarum *the diſciples of the Prophets, that being exerciſed in the knowledg and ſtudy of the ſcriptures, they might be able men to ſerve in Gods Church as that time required. St.* Paul *alſo doth make expreſs mention* 1 Cor. 14. *that the like in effect was uſed in the primitive Church, and giveth order for the ſame, that 2, or 3, ſhould ſpeak (by courſe he meaneth) and the reſt ſhall keep ſilence. That exerciſe in the Church in theſe dayes St.* Paul *calleth* Prophetia, *and the ſpeaker* Prophetas, *terms very odious in our dayes to ſome, becauſe they are not rightly underſtood, for indeed* propheta *in that and like places of the ſame* Paul *doth not, as it doth ſometimes ſignifie prediction of things to come, which thing, or which gift, is not now ordinary in the Church of God, but ſignifieth thereby the aſſent and conſent of the ſcriptures. And therefore doth St.* Paul *attribute unto theſe that be called* Prophetæ *in that chapter* doctrinam ad ædificationem, exortationem, & conſolationem. *This gift of expounding and interpreting the ſcriptures, was in St.* Pauls *time given unto many by a ſpeciall miracle without ſtudy, ſo was alſo by miracle the gift to ſpeak ſtrange tongues which they had never learned. But now miracles ceaſing, men muſt attain to the Hebrew, Greek and Latine tongues &c. by travell and ſtudy, God giveth the encreaſe; ſo muſt men alſo attaine by the like means to the gifts of expounding and interpreting the ſcriptures, and amongſt other helps, nothing is ſo neceſſary as theſe above named exerciſes and conferences amongſt the miniſters of the Church; which in effect are all one with the exerciſes of ſtudents in Divinity in the Univerſities, ſaving, that the firſt is done in a tongue underſtanded, to the more edifying of the learned hearers. Howſoever report hath been made to your Majeſty concerning theſe exereiſes, yet I and others of* York, *whoſe names are noted as followeth.* 1. Cantuarienſis. 2. London. 3. Winc. 4. Bathon. 5. Litchfield. 6. Gloceſter. 7. Lincolne. 8. Cheſter. 9. Exon. 10. Meneven. als. Davids. *Hereof as they have teſtified unto me by their letters, have found by experience, that theſe profits and commodities following have enſued of them.* 1. *The miniſters of the Church are more skillfull, and more ready in the ſcriptures, and more apt to teach their flocks.* 2. *It withdraweth them from idleneſs, wandring, gaming &c.* 3. *Some afore ſuſpected in doctrine, are brought to the knowledge of the truth.* 4. *Ignorant miniſters are driven to ſtudy, if not for conſcience, yet for ſhame and fear of diſcipline.* 5. *The opinion of lay men touching the ableneſs of the Clergy is hereby removed.* 6. *Nothing by experience beateth down popery more then that.* 7. *Miniſters, as ſome of my brethren do confeſs, grow to ſuch knowledge by means of theſe exerciſes, that where afore were not able Miniſters, not 3; now are 30, able, and meet to preach at* Pauls-croſs, *and 40, or 50, beſides able to inſtruct*

their own Cures; so as it is found by experience the best means to encrease knowledge in the simple, and to continue it in the learned, only backward men in religion, and contemners of learning, in the countries abroad do fret against it; which in truth doth the more commend it: the dissolution of it would breed triumph to the adversary, and great sorrow and grief to the favourers of religion, contrary to the counsell of Ezekiel 13. 18. who saith, Cor justi non est contristandum, and although some have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all. Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain, neither is there any just cause of offences to be taken, if diverse men make divers sences of one sentence of scripture, so that all the senses be good, and agreeable to the analogie and proportion of faith, for otherwise we must needs condemne all the ancient Fathers, and divers of the Church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of scripture diversly, and yet all to the good of the Church. and therefore doth Basil compare, the scriptures to a well, out of which the more a man draweth, the better and sweeter is the water. I trust when your Majesty hath considered and weighed the premises, you will rest satisfied, and judge that no such inconveniences can grow of such exercises as these, as you have been informed; but rather the clean contrary, and for my own part, because I am well assured by reasons, and also by arguments taken out of the holy scriptures, by experience the most certain seal of sure knowledge, that the said exercises for the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures, and for the exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to encrease knowledge among st ministers, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers. I am inforced with all humility, and yet plainly to protest, that I cannot with safe conscience, and without the offence of the Majesty of God, give mine assent to the suppressing of the said exercises, much less can I send out any injunction for the utter and universall subversion of the same. I say with S. Paul, I have no power to destroy, but only to edifie, and with the same Apostle, I can do nothing against the truth, but with the truth. If it be your Majesties pleasure for this or any other cause to remove me out of this place, I will with all humility yield thereunto, and render again unto your Majesty that which I have received of the same. I consider with my self, quod terrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis. I consider also, quod qui facit contra conscientiam (divinis in rebus) ædificat ad gehennam. And what shall I win if I gained, I will not say a Bishoprick, but the whole world, and lose my own soul? Beare with me I beseech you Madam, if I chuse rather to offend your earthly Majesty, then to offend the heavenly Majesty of God. And now being sorry that I have been so long and tedious to your Majesty; I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same, that you would consider these short petitions following. The first that you would referr all these Ecclesiasticall matters which touch religion, or the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church unto the Bishops, and Divines of the Church of your Realm, according to the example of all Christian Emperours and Princes of all Ages: for indeed they are to be judged as an ancient Father writeth; in Ecclesia seu Synodo, non in Palatino. When your Majesty, hath questions of the laws of your Realm, you do not decide the same in your Court or Palace, but send them to your judges to be determined. Likewise, for the duties in matters in Doctrine or Discipline of the Church, the ordinary way is to defer the decision to the Bishops, and other head Ministers of the Church. Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words. Si de causis pecuniarijs comites tuos consulis: quanto magis, in causa religionis sacerdotes Domini æquum est consulas. And likewise to the Emperour Valentinian Epist. 32. Si de fide conferendum est. Sacerdotum debet esse justa collatio, si enim factum est Constantino Augustæ memoriæ principi qui, nullas leges ante præmisit, sed liberum dedit

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dedit judicium Sacerdotis. *And in the same place, the same Father saith, that* Constantius *the Emperour, son to* Constantine *the great, began well, by reason he followed his Fathers steps at the first, but ended ill, because he took upon him* difficile intra Palatium judicare, *and thereby fell into* Arianisme, *a terrible example. The said* Ambrose *so much commended in all histories for a godly Bishop, goeth further, and writeth to the said Emperour in this forme.* Si docendus est episcopus à laico, quid sequitur? laicus ergo disputet, & Episcopus audiat à laico: At certè, si vel scripturarum seriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abundat in causa fidei, inquam fidei, episcopos solere de Imperatoribus christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare. *Would God your Majesty would follow this ordinary, you should procure to your self much quietness of minde, and better please God, avoid many offences, and the Church should be more peaceable and quietly governed, much to the comfort and quietness of your Realm. The second petition I have to make to your Majesty is this, that when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the Church of Christ, which is the Spouse bought with so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily,* quasi ex authoritate, *as you may do in civill and extern matters, but always remember, that in Gods cause, the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature is to take place. It is the antichristian voice of the Pope.* Sic volo, Sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas. *In Gods matters, all Princes ought to bow their Septers to the Son of God, and to ask counsell at his mouth what they ought to doe;* David *exhorteth all Kings and Rulers to serve God with fear and trembling. Remember Madam, that you are a mortall creature, look not only (as was said to* Theodosius) *upon the people, and princely array, wherewith you are apparreiled, but consider withall, what it is that is covered therewith. Is it not flesh and blood, is it not dust and ashes, is it not a corruptible body which must return to her earth again, God knoweth how soon? Must you not one day appear,* ante tremendum tribunal crucifixi, ut recipias ibi prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum sive malum. 2 Cor. 5. *And although you are a mighty Prince, yet remember that he that dwelleth in heaven is mightier, as the* Psalmist *saith,* 76. Terribilis est is qui aufert spiritum principum, terribilis super omnes reges. *Wherefore I beseech you Madam in* viscera Christi, *when you deal in these religious causes set the Majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside, determine with your self to obey his voice, and with all humility, say unto him,* non mea, sed tua voluntas fiat. *God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign now many years, beware you do not impute this same to your own deserts, or policy, but give God the glory, and as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity; first, to the goodness of the cause which you set forth, I mean Christs true religion. And Secondly, to the sighs, and groans of the Godly in fervent prayer to God for you, which have hitherto as it were tied and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved. Take heed that you never think of declining from God, lest it be verified of you which is written of* Joash 2 Cron. 24. *who continued a Prince of good and godly government for many years together, and afterwards,* cum corroboratus esset, elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum & neglexit Deum. *You have done many things well, but unless you persevere to the end, you cannot be blessed; for if you turn from God, then will he turn his mercifull countenance from you, and what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a horrible expectation of Gods judgement, and an heaping up of Gods wrath against the day of wrath. But I trust in God your Majesty will alwayes humble your self under his mighty hand,*

and

and goe forward in the godly and zealous setting forth of Gods true religion, always yeilding true obedience and reverence to the word of God, the only rule of faith and religion. And if you so doe, although God hath just cause many wayes to be angry with you, and us for our unthankfulness. Yet I doubt nothing, but for his own names sake, he will still hold his mercifull hand over us, shield and protect us under the shadow of his wings, as he hath hitherto done. I beseech God our heavenly Father plentifully to pour his principall spirit upon you, and always direct your heart in his holy fear.

Amen, Amen,

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What could be written with more spirit, and less animosity? more humility and less dejection? I see a *Lambe* in his own, can be a *Lion*, in God, and his churches Cause. Say not that *orbitas* and *senectus*, (the two things which made the man speak so boldly [a] to the Tyrant) only encouraged *Grindall*, in this his writing, whose necessary boldness did arise, partly from confidence in the goodness of the cause, for which, partly from the graciousnes of the Queen to whom he made his address. But alas all in vain, *Leicester* had so filled her Majesties eares with complaints against him, there was no room to receive his petition.

a *Plutarch.* Morals.

4. Indeed *Leicester* cast a covetous eye on *Lambeth-House*, alledging as good arguments for his obtaining thereof, as ever were urged by *Ahab* for *Naboths-Vineyard*. Now *Grindall*, though generally condemned for remissness in this kinde, (parting with more from his *See*, then ever his successors thanked him for) stoutly opposed the alienating of this his principal Palace, and made the *Leicestrian* Party to malice him, but more hereof [b] hereafter. Mean time may the Reader take notice, that a great Scholar and Statesman, and no Enemy to the *Hierarchie*, in his [c] worthy *considerations about Church-Government*, (tendred to King *James*) conceiveth, that such *Prophesyings* which *Grindall* did favour, might be so discreetly cautioned and moderated, as to make them without fear of faction profitable for advancing of learning and Religion. But so jealous were some Bishops of that Age, of these *Prophecyings* (as having too much *Presbyterian Analogie*, and *classical* Constitution therein) they decried the motion of them as *Schismatical*.

Lambeth house Grindals guilt.

b In *Grindals* character at his death.

c Sr. *Francis Bacon.*

5. I finde no mortality of *Protestant Worthies* this year. But amongst the Catholicks much moan for the death of *Allan Cope*, (*Herpsfields* great correspondent, and) Agent for those of his Religion at *Rome*, where he died, and was buried in the English Colledge, and *George Bullock* bred in S[t]. *Johns* in *Cambridge*, and after lived in *Antwerpe* in the Monastery of S[t]. *Michaels*.

The death of *Cope* and *Bullock*.

6. Now began Priests and Jesuites to flock faster into *England*, than ever before; having exchange of cloaths, and names, and professions. He, who on *Sunday* was a Priest, or Jesuite; was, on *Monday*, a Merchant, on *Tuesday*, a Souldier; on *Wednesday*, a Courtier; &c. and, with the *sheers of equivocation* (constantly carried about him) he could cut himself into any shape he pleased. But, under all their new shapes, they retained their old nature; being akinn in their turbulent spirits, to the *wind* pent in the subterranean concavities, which will never be quiet, untill it hath vented it self with a *State-quake* of those countries wherein they abide. These distilled traiterous principles into all people whersoever they came, and endeavoured to render them disaffected to Her Majesty; maintaining, that She

Popish locusts swarme into England.

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She neither had nor ought to have any dominion over Her Subjects, whileſt She perſiſted in an heretical diſtance from the Church of *Rome*.

Neceſſary ſeverity of the Parliament againſt them.

7. Hereupon the Parliament, which now met at *Weſtminſter*, was enforced, for the ſecurity of the State, to enact ſevere laws againſt them. Firſt, that it ſhould be treaſon to draw any from that faith eſtabliſhed in *England*, to the Romiſh religion. Secondly, that it ſhould be treaſon to be reconciled to the Romiſh religion. Thirdly, that to maintain, or conceal any ſuch perſon, longer then twenty days, ſhould be miſpriſion of treaſon. Fourthly, that ſaying maſs ſhould be two hundred marks penalty, and one years impriſonment. Fiftly, hearing Maſs ſhould be one hundred marks penalty, and one years impriſonment. Sixtly, abſence from the Church one moneth, fineable at twenty pounds. Seventhly, all they ſhalbe impriſoned, who will not, or cannot pay the forfeiture. Eightly, it was provided, that ſuch ſhould pay ten pounds a moneth, who kept a School-maſter in their houſe, who repaireth not to Church. Where by the way we may mention, that ſome ſince conceive themſelves to have diſcovered a defect in this law, becauſe no order is taken therein againſt Popiſh *School-miſtriſſes*. And although *School-maſter* may ſeem of the *Common-gender*, and inclusive of *both ſexes*, yet by the letter of the law all *ſhe-teachers* (which did miſchief to little children) evaded the puniſhment. Thus when authority hath carefully ſhut all doores, and windows imaginable, ſome little offenders will creep through the cranies thereof.

Many againſt mony-mulcts for conſcience.

8. When Sovereigns have made laws, Subjects ſometimes take the boldneſs to ſit in judgement upon them; to commend them for juſt, or condemne them for cruel, as here it came to paſs. Some (and thoſe far enough from all Popery) miſliked the impoſing of *mony-mulcts* on mens conſciences. If the *Maſs* were lawfull, let it freely be permitted; if unlawfull, let it wholy be prohibited. It is a ſad caſe to make men pay dear for their damnation, and ſo ſell them a licenſe to do that, which the receivers of their mony conceive to be unlawfull. It is part of the character of the *Whore of* [a] *Babylon* (which Proteſtants generally apply to *Rome*) that ſhe traded, or, *made a mart of the ſouls of men:* as this was little better.

[a] Rev. 18.13.

Others conceive the proportion of the fine unconſcionable.

9. Others, not diſliking a pecuniarie penalty, yet conceived the proportion thereof unreaſonable. Twenty pounds a moneth; a vaſt ſumm (eſpecially as exacted by *lunarie moneths*, conſiſting of twenty eight dayes, and ſo making thirteen moneths in the year) enough to ſhatter the *contein-ment* of a rich mans eſtate. They commended the moderation of the former Statute, which required twelve pence a Sunday of all ſuch, as could not give a reaſonable excuſe of their abſence from Church. That did *ſmart*, yet did not *fetch blood*, at the worſt, did not *break bones*. Whereas now *twenty pounds a moneth*, paid ſeverally by every Recuſant for himſelf, and as much for his wife (which, though one fleſh in Divinity, yet are two perſons in law) held ſo heavy as to *cripple* their eſtates. And as the rich hereby were almoſt undone: ſo the poore Papiſts (who alſo had ſouls to ſave) paſs'd wholy unpuniſhed, paying *nothing*, becauſe unable to pay *all* the penalty. And, although impriſonment was impoſed by law on perſons not ſolvable, yet officers were unwilling to caſt them into goale, where they might lie, and fill the goals, and rot without hopes of enlargement.

Arguments *pro*, and *con*, whether Jeſuites are to be put to death.

10. Larger were the debates both then, and ſince, in diſcourſe, and writing about the capital puniſhment, in taking away the lives of Jeſuites. Some being zealous for the vigorous execution of thoſe laws, and others as earneſt for the confining only of Jeſuits cloſe priſoners, during their life; conceiving it conducing moſt to the tranquillity of the Kingdom. But ſee their reaſons.

It is ſafeſt for *England* with vigour and rigour, to inſpirit the laws, and put Jeſuits to death.	It is ſafeſt for *England* to keep Jeſuits in perpetual durance, without taking away their lives.

1. Their

1.

Their breath is contagious to English aire, whose appearance in any Protestant-State, is as sure a presage (as the playing of *Porpoises* above water) that foul weather is to follow therein.

2.

It would render the reputation of our State lighter in the balance of the best friends thereof, if it should enact severe laws against offendors, and then hang those laws up (like *forfeits in a Barbers shop*) only to be look'd on, and laugh'd at, as never put in execution. What was this, but to make the sword of justice (which ought alwayes to be kept keen, & sharp) but to be like fencers swords, when they play in jeast-earnest, having the edge *dunted*, and the point button'd up? Might not felons, and murderers, even with some justice, promise much mercy unto themselves (whose offences are terminated in spoiling, or killing, of particular persons) if Priests, and Jesuits, publick incendiaries of the State, have such mercy indulged unto them?

3.

Favour in this kinde indulged to Jesuits, would be generally misinterpreted, to proceed (not from Her Majesties pitty, but) either from Her fearfulness, as not daring longer to enrage the Popish party; or from Her Guiltiness, Who, out of remorse of conscience, could not finde in Her heart to execute such cruel laws as She had enacted.

1.

All sinners are not Devils, and all Devils are not *Beelzebubs*. Some Priests and Jesuits are of a milder temper, and better metall'd, who by moderation may be melted into amendment.

2.

The *point, and edge of the sword of justice* [understand the law it self] may remain as sharp as it was before; Only the arme may, and ought to strike with lesse strength, and use more moderation in inflicting such severe punishments. The most wholesome laws would be poison (justice, *hot in the fourth degree*, is cruelty) if enforced at all times, and on all persons to the utmost extremity. Let the law stand unrepeal'd, only some mitigation be used in the execution thereof.

3.

Princes ought not to be affrighted from doing what is good, and honourable in it self, with the scarecrows of peoples misinterpretations thereof. If such misconstructions of Her Majesties mercy, be taken up wilfully, let such persons bear the blame, and shame, of their voluntary, and affected errours. If they be only ignorant mistakes of ingenuous persons, time will rectifie their judgements, and beget in them a better opinion of Her Majesties proceedings. However, better it is, that the Queens lenity should hazard such misconstructions thereof, than that otherwise She should be certainly censured for cruelty, and the State taxed as desirous to grow fat, by sucking the blood of Catholicks.

4. This

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4.

This in all probability will be the moſt effectuall courſe to extirpate Jeſuitiſme out of the land. For, their Superiours beyond the ſeas, ſeeing all ſuch as they ſend hither impartially cut off by the hand of juſtice, will either out of pity forbear for the future, to thruſt moe men into the jaws of death; or elſe ſuch ſubject-Jeſuits, out of policy will refuſe to be ſent by them on unavoidable deſtruction.

4.

It will rather be the way to continue, and increaſe the ſame. *The blood of Martyrs* (whether real, or reputed) is the ſeed of that Church (true or falſe) in maintenance whereof they loſe their lives. We know, clamorouſneſs, and multitude do much in *crying up* matters; and herein the Papiſts (at home, and beyond the ſeas) will play their parts, to roare out ſuch men for Martyrs: A ſucceſſion of Jeſuits to be ſent over will never fail, ſeeing that *ſervice* amongſt erroneous judgements will never want *Volunteers*, where merit of heaven is the believed wages thereof.

5.

The dead doe not bite; and, being diſpatch'd out of the way, are forgotten. Whereas if Jeſuits be only condemned to perpetual durance, their party abroad will be reſtleſs in plotting, and practizing their brethrens enlargement. It is ſafer therefore to take away *ſubjectum conatus, the ſubject, and object of their endeavours*, by riding them quite out of the way, that their complices may deſpair to relieve them. For, though priſoners may be reſcued with much might, dead men cannot be revived without miracle.

5.

The greater rage moveth to the greater revenge, and the greater [apprehended] injury cauſeth the greater rage, It will rather ſharpen the edge of Popiſh zeal, more earneſtly to revenge their *deaths*, than to reſcue them from *durance*,

6.

No precedent could ever yet be produced of any Prieſt, or Jeſuite, who was converted with impriſonment. It is therefore but juſt, that they, who will not be mended with the goale, ſhould be ended with the gallows.

6.

Though the inſtance cannot be given of any Prieſt, or Jeſuite, who hath totally renounced his religion, yet ſome have been made *ſemi-converts*, ſo far as to diſclaim the treacherous part, and principles thereof. This is moſt viſible in the Secular Prieſts, the Queens lenity ſo working on many of them, that both in writing, and preaching, they have deteſted, and confuted all ſuch traiterous practices, as againſt the laws of God.

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7.

The rather, because no Jesuite is put to death for his *religion*, but *rebellion*, they are never examined on any article of their faith, nor are their consciences burdened with any interrogatories touching their belief; but only practices against the State are charged upon them,

7.

The death of Jesuits in such cases, may fitly be stiled, the *childe* of their *rebellion*, but the *grandchilde* of their *religion*, which is *removed* but a *degree* farther. For, their obedience to their superiours putteth them on the propagation of their religion, and by all means to endeavour the same, which causeth them out of an erroneous conscience, to do that which rendereth them offenders to our State. Now, in all ages, such as have suffered for their consciences, not only immediately, and in a direct line, but also at the second hand, and by implication, receive pity from all such as behold their sufferings (whether as a debt due, or as an almes given unto them, let others dispute) and therefore such putting of Jesuits unto death, will but procure unto them a general commiseration.

These, and many other reasons (too many, and tedious to be here inserted) were brought, and bandied on both sides, every one censuring as they stood affected.

The execution of this law moderated.

11. In the execution of these laws against Jesuits, Queen *Elizabeth* embraced a middle, and moderate way. Indeed when a new rod is made, some must be whipped therewith, though it be but in *terrorem* of others. When these Statutes were first in the state, or magisteriality thereof, they were severely put in practice on such offendours as they first lighted on. But some years after, the Queen and Her Judges grew remiss in the execution thereof. Witness the only confining of many of them to *Wisbidge* Castle, where they fell out amongst themselves. And in King *James* His dayes, this *dormant* law against Jesuits only awakened some once in foure, or five years (to shew the world that it was not dead) and then fairely fell asleep again, being very sparingly put in execution against some notorious offenders.

Worst of offenders scape best.

12. The worst was, the punishment hap'ned heaviest on those, which were the least offenders. For, whereas the greatest guilt was in the *Senders*, all the penalty fell on the *Messengers*; I mean on such novices which sent hither at their Superiours commands, and who, having lost their *sight* beyond the seas (by *blinde obedience*) came over to lose their *lives* in *England*. Now Jesuitisme is a weed, whose leaves, spread into our land, may be cut off, but the root thereof is out of reach, as fixed in *Rome*, and other forrain parts. For, in the mean time their Superiours, staying at *Rome*, ate, slept, wrote, rail'd, complain'd of persecution, making offaces, and they themselves crying out *oh*, whilest they thrust the hands of others of their own religion into the fire.

13. *A loud*

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13. *A loud Parliament* is alwayes attended with a *silent Convocation*, as here it came to paſs. The activity of the former in Church-matters, left the later nothing to do. Only this account I can give thereof out of our records. Firſt, Arch-Biſhop *Grindal* appeared not at all therein, age, blindneſs, and diſgrace keeping the good father at home. Secondly, *John Elmer* Biſhop of *London*, was appointed his *locum-tenens*, or Deputy. Thirdly, this Convocation began in S^t. *Pauls* (where it continued without any removal) with reading the Letany *vulgari ſermone, in the Engliſh tongue.* Fourthly, the Biſhops commended three, namely, D^r. *Humfries*, Dean of *Winchſter*; D^r. * *George Day*, Dean of *Windſor*; and D^r. *Goodman*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, to the inferiour Clergy, to choſe one of them for their *Referendary*, or *Prolocutor*. Fifthly, D^r. *Day* was elected, and preſented for that office. Sixthly, motion was made of drawing up ſome articles againſt the dangerous opinions *of the Family of love*, a ſect then much encreaſing, but nothing was effected. Seventhly, at ſeveral *Seſſions* they met, and prayed, and confer'd, and prorogued their meeting, and departed. Laſtly, the Clergy granted a Subſidie (afterwards confirmed by the Parliament) and ſo the convocation was diſſolved.

The acts of a ſilent Convocation.

* So called by miſtake in Records, otherwiſe his name was *William*.

1581

14. Now can I not ſatisfie my ſelf on my ſtricteſt enquiry, what Jeſuite, or Prieſt had the firſt hanſell of that ſevere Statute made againſt them. Indeed I finde a Prieſt, *John Pain* by name, executed at *Chelmſford March* the 31. (which was but thirteen dayes after the diſſolution of the Parliament) for certain ſpeeches by him uttered, but cannot avouch him for certainly tried on this Statute. More probable it is, that *Thomas Ford*, *John Shert*, and *Robert Johnſon*, Prieſts, executed at *London*, were the firſt-fruits of the States ſeverity.

Quere, on whom the law was firſt hanſelled.

15. No eminent Clergy-man Proteſtant died this year, ſave *Gilbert Berkelay*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who (as his Armes do atteſt) was allied to the ancient and honourable familie of the *Berkelays*.

1582

The death of Bp. *Berkelay*.

16. The Preſbyterian party was not idle all this while, but appointed a meeting at *Cockfield* (M^r. *Knewſtubs Cure*) in *Suffolke*, where three-ſcore Miniſters of *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, and *Cambridge-ſhire*, met together, *to conferr of the Common-Prayer-Book, what might be tolerated, and what neceſſary to be refuſed in every point of it, apparrel, matter, forme, dayes, faſtings, injunctions &c.* Matters herein were carried with ſuch ſecrecy, that we can ſee no light thereof, but what only ſhineth thorough one creviſe, in a private letter [a] of one thus expreſſing himſelf to his friend. *Concerning the meeting, I hope all things were ſo proceeded in as your ſelf would like of, as well for reverence to other brethren, as for other matters, I ſuppoſe before this time, ſome of the company have told you by word, for that was permitted unto you.*

A meeting of the Presbyterians at *Cockfield*.

[a] Mr. *Pigg* in his letter to Mr. *Field* dated *May* 16.

17. We are alſo at as great a loſs, what was the reſult of their meeting at the Commencement at *Cambridge*, this being all we finde thereof in a [b] letter of one to his private friend, *concerning the Commencement I like well the motion, deſiring it might ſo come to paſs, and that it be procured to be as generall as might be, which may eaſily be brought to paſs, if you at* London *ſhall ſo think well of it, and we here may underſtand your minde, we will, we truſt, as we can further it.* M^r. Allen *liketh well of the matter.*

Another at *Cambridge*.

b *Idem Ibidem*

18. The year proved very active, eſpecially in the practices of Preſbyterians, who now found ſo much favour, as almoſt amounted to a connivence at their diſcipline. For, whileſt the ſeverity of the State was at this time intended to the height againſt Jeſuites, ſome lenity of courſe (by the very rules of oppoſition) fell to the ſhare of the Non-conformiſts, even on the ſcore of their notorious enmity to the Jeſuitical party.

The activity of the Preſbyterian.

19. The City of *Geneva* was at this time reduced to great difficulties by the *Savoyard* her potent adverſary, and forced to purchaſe peace on dear and bitter termes, ſaving that *extremity ſweetens all things*, and her preſent condition

Beza's letter to *Travers* in the behalf of *Geneva*.

condition was incapable of better conditions. Hereupon, Mr. *Beza*, the tongue and pen of that State to forrain parts, addreſſed himſelf by letter to Mr. *Walter Travers*, whom I may terme the neck (allowing Mr. *Cartwright* for the head) of the Preſbyterian party, the ſecond in honour and eſteem, then Chaplain to the Lord Treaſurer, and of whom more hereafter. The tenour of the letter is here inſerted, ſubſcribed by *Beza's* own hand (and in my poſſeſſion) which though it be of forain extraction, carries much in it of Engliſh concernment.

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Gratiam & pacem à Domino.

Si quoties tui et C. noſtri ſum recordatus, Mi Frater, toties ad te ſcripſiſſem, jam pridem eſſes literis meis obrutus. Nullus enim dies abit quin de vobis veſtriſque rebus ſolicitè cogitem, quod ita poſtulare non amicitia modo vetus noſtra, ſed etiam rerum ipſarum de quibus laboratis magnitudo videatur.

Sed cùm in ea tempora nos incidiſſe viderem, quibus ſilere me quam vobis ſcribere præſtaret ſilentium adhuc mihi invitiſſimo indixi. Nunc verò quum illum quorundam ardorem eundiam per Dei gratiam deſeruiſſe nolui hunc noſtrum abſque meis ad te literis pervenire, quibus eundem eſſe me qui fui, teſtiner, & abs te peterem, ut me viciſſim de rebus veſtris certiorem facere ne graveris. Sed & alia ſeſe præbuit ſcribendi occaſio, hujus videlicet Reip. maximæ, imo tantæ difficultates, ut, niſi aliunde ſublevetur, parva nobis admodum tuendæ inconſueto ſtatu Eccleſiæ ac ſchoolæ ſpes ſuperſit quod ita eſſe vel ex eo cognoſces quòd hæc planè in verecunda conſilia capere cogamur. Nam conceſſæ quidem nobis ſunt per Dei gratiam aliquæ induciæ, ſed parum, ut apparet, firmæ futuræ, & tantis veluti redemptæ ſumptibus ut in eris etiam alieni veluti freto jactati non temerè naufragium metuamus.

Amabo te igitur, mi frater, & precibus aſſiduis nos juvare perge, & ſiquid præterea apud nonnullos authoritate valet, quantùm non antes in Domino, quacunque honeſta ratione poteris oſtende. Scripſi verò etiam ego veſtris pluriſque præſulibus, & epiſcoporum quoque collegium ut ſi ſumus

Grace and peace from the Lord.

If as often dear brother as I have remembred thee and our *Cartwright*, ſo often I ſhould have written unto thee, long ſince you had been overwhelm'd with my letters. For there not paſſes a day wherein I do not carefully think both of you, and your matters; which not only our ancient friendſhip, but alſo the greatneſs of thoſe affairs, wherein you take paine ſeemeth ſo to require. But ſeeing I perceive, we are fallen into thoſe times wherein my ſilence may be ſafer for you then my writing, I have (though moſt unwillingly) commanded my ſelf ſilence hitherto. But now ſeeing that I hear that the heat of ſome men by Gods grace is abated, I would not have this my friend come to you without my letters, that I may teſtifie my ſelf ſtill the ſame unto you, what formerly I was, and that I may requeſt of you not to think much at his return to certifie me of your affairs. Alſo another occaſion of writing offereth it ſelf, namely the great ſtraits of this common wealth; yea ſo great, that except it be relieved from other parts, very ſmall hope remaineth unto us to maintain the Church and Univerſity in the former ſtate thereof. That theſe things are ſo, you may know from hence, that we are forced to adventure on theſe bold and unmannerly courſes for our ſupport. For by Gods grace a kinde of peace is granted unto us; but as it ſeems, not likely to laſt long, and that alſo purchaſed at ſo great a price, that toſſed as it were in the Sea of a great debt, we have great cauſe to fear ſhiprack thereby. I beſeech thee therefore my brother, both proceed to help us with thy daily prayers; and beſides,

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sumus communibus literis hac de re compellare: verùm quod sit mearum literarum pondus futurum vel ex eo conjicio, quod cùm Oxonienſi *Scho-le ſuperiore vere meam ſim obſervantiam, miſſo venerandæ planè vetuſtatis novi teſtamenti græco-latini codice, teſtatus, qui publicæ bibliothecæ conſecraretur, ne literulam quidem inde accepi, ex qua meam hanc voluntatem ipſis non ingratam fuiſſe cognoſcerem. Cujuſmodi etiam quiddam apud unum & alterum ex prioribus veſtris ſum expertus, Sed hoc, quæſo, inter nos diſtum eſto. Ego verò fruſtra etiam quidvis tentare, quàm officio in hanc Rempub. Eccleſiam ac ſcholam deeſſe tam neceſſario tempore malui. Bene vale, mi cariſſime frater. D. Ieſus tibi magis ac magis, & omnibus ipſius gloriam ſerio cupientibus benedicat.*

beſides, if you have any power to prevail with ſome perſons, ſhew us by what honeſt means you may, how much you love us in the Lord. I alſo have written to moſt of your noble men, and we have been bold with our publick letters to accquaint your *Colledge of Biſhops* of this matter: but what weight my letters are likely to bear, I can gueſs by this, that when laſt ſpring I teſtified my reſpects to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, by ſending them a new teſtament greek and latine, truly of venerable antiquity, which ſhould be kept in their publick library, I did not ſo much as receive the leaſt letter from them, whereby I might know that this my good will was acceptable to them. And ſome ſuch requital alſo I have found from one or two of your noble men; but this I pray let it be ſpoken between us alone. For my part I had rather try any thing though in vain, then to be wanting in my duty to this State, Church, and Univerſity, eſpeciall in ſo neceſſary a juncture of time. Farewell my dear brother, the Lord Jeſus every day more and more bleſs thee, and all that earneſtly deſire his glory.

Genevæ *Octobris.*

Geneva, October

1582. *



* The figure of the day not legible.

Tuus Beza aliena jam manu ſæpe uti coactus, ſua ipſius vacillante.

Thine *Beza*, often uſing another mans hand, becauſe of the ſhaking of my own.

We muſt not let ſo eminent a letter paſs without ſome obſervations upon it. See we here the ſecret ſympathy betwixt *England*, and *Geneva*, about diſcipline: *Geneva* helping *England* with her prayers, *England* aiding *Geneva* with her purſe.

20. By the Colledge of Biſhops here mentioned by *Beza*, we underſtand them aſſembled in the laſt *Convocation*. Wonder not that *Geneva's* wants, found no more pitty from the Epiſcopal party, ſeeing all thoſe Biſhops were dead, who (formerly exiles in the *Marian dayes*) had found favour

Geneva's ſuit was coldly reſented.

favour and relief in *Geneva*; and now *a new generation arose*, having as little affection, as obligation to that government. But, however it fared with *Geneva* at this time, sure I am, that some years [a] after, preferring her petition to the Prelacie (though frequent begging makes slender alms) that Common-wealth tasted largely of their liberality.

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[a] *Vide* pag. 1602. parag.

21. Whereas mention is made, of the *heat of some abated*, this relateth to the matter of *subscription*, now not pressed so earnestly, as at the first institution thereof. This remissnesse may be imputed, partly to the nature of all laws: for, though knives (if of good metall) grow sharper (because their edge thinner) by using; yet laws commonly are keenest at the first; and are blunted in process of time, in their execution: partly it is to be ascribed to Arch-Bishop *Grindals* age, and impotency, (who in his greatest strength did but weakly urge conformity;) partly to the Earle of *Leicester* his interposing himself Patron General to non-subscribers, being perswaded (as they say) by *Roger* Lord *North*, to undertake their protection.

Why the rigorous pressing of subscription was now remitted

SECT.

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Section V.

To

DANIEL HARVEY Esq; High Sheriff of *Surrey*.

I am sufficiently sensible of the great distance and disproportion betwixt my meanesse and your worth, (as at all other times, so) now especially, whilst you are a prime Officer in publick employment. Despairing therefore that my pen can produce any thing meet for your entertainment, I have endeavoured in this Section, *to accommodate you with Company fittest for your Converse, being all no meaner then* Statesmen, *and most of them* Privie Councellours, *in their severall Letters about the grand businesse of Conformity.*

God in due time bless you, and your Honorable Consort *with such issue as may be a Comfort to you, and a Credit to all your relations.*

1. VEry strongly *Leicester* (though at the Councel table Politickly complying with the rest of the Lords, and concurring alwayes with their results, when sitting in Conjunction with them) when alone, engaged his Affections in favour of the Non-conformists, and improved his power at this time very great with the Queen to obtain great liberty for them. Hence it was, that many Bishops Active in pressing subscription in their Dioceses, when repairing to Court, were checkt and snibt by this great favourite to their no small grief and discouragement. Heartned hereat the *Brethren*, who hitherto had no particular platforme of discipline amongst themselves (as universally owned and practised by their party) began in a solemne Councell held by them (but whether at *Cambridge* or *London* uncertain) To conclude, on a certain forme, as followeth in these their decrees faithfully translated out of their own latine Copie.

A forme of Discipline considered of by the Brethren in a solemn Synod with the severall Decrees thereof.

The

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The Title thereof, *videlicet*,

These be the things that (do seem) may well stand with the peace of the Church; The Decrees.

LEt no man (though he be an University man) offer himself to the Ministery, nor let any man take upon him an uncertain and vague Ministery, [a] *though it be offered unto him. But such as be called to the Ministery by some certain Church, let them impart it unto that Classis or conference (whereof themselves are) or else to some greater Church-assembly: and if such shall be found fit by them, then let them be commended, by their letters unto the Bishop, that they may be ordained Ministers by him. Those ceremonies in the Book of Common-Prayer, which being taken from Popery are in controversie, do seem, that they ought to be omitted and given over, if it may be done without danger, of being put from the Ministery; But if there be any imminent danger to be deprived, then this matter must be communicated with the Classis in which that Church is; that by the judgement thereof, it may be determined what ought to be done. If subscription to the Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common-Prayer, shall be again urged, it is thought, that the Book of Articles may be subscribed unto, according to the statute thirteenth* Elizabeth, *that is, unto such of them only as contain the sum of Christian faith, and doctrine of the Sacraments. But for many weighty causes, neither the rest of the Articles in that Book, nor the Book of Common-Prayer may be allowed, no, though a man should be deprived of his Ministery for it. It seemeth that Church-wardens, and Collectors for the poor, might thus be turned into Elders, and into Deacons, when they are to be chosen; Let the Church have warning fifteen dayes before of the time of Election, and of the Ordinance of the Realm: but especially of Christs Ordinance; touching appointing of Watchmen and Overseers in his Church, who are to fore-see that none offence or scandall do arise in the Church: and if any shall happen, that by them it may be duly abolished. And touching Deacons of both sorts (*videlicet *men and women) the Church shall be monished, what is required by the Apostle, and that they are not to chuse men, of Custome and of Course; or for their riches, but for their faith, zeal, and integrity, and that the Church is to pray (in the mean time) to be so directed, that they make choice of them that be meet. Let the names of such as are so chosen, be published the next Lords day: and after that, their duties to the Church, and the Churches towards them, shall be declared: then let them be received into the Ministery to which they are chosen, with the generall prayers of the whole Church. The Brethren are to be requested, to ordain a distribution of all Churches, according to these rules (in that behalf) that are set down in the Synodical Discipline, touching Classicall, Provinciall, Comitiall, or of Commencements, and assemblies for the whole Kingdome.*

The Classes are to be required, to keep acts of memorable matters which they shall see delivered to the Comitiall assembly, that from thence, they may be brought by the Provinciall assembly; Also they are to deal earnestly with Patrones, to present fit men, whensoever any Church is fallen void in that

[a] Under Mr. *Wights* hand (a man of the brotherhood) cited by Bp. *Bancroft* his dangerous positions. pag. 46.

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that Classis; The Comitial assemblies are to be monished to make Collections for relief of the poor, and of Scholars, but especially for relief of such Ministers here, as are put out for not subscribing to the Articles, tendered by the Bishops, also for relief of Scottish Ministers and others; and for other profitable and necessary uses. All the Provinciall Synods must continually aforehand foresee in due time, to appoint the keeping of their next Provinciall Synods: and for the sending of Chosen Persons, with certain instructions, unto the nationall Synod, to be holden whensoever the Parliament for the Kingdome shall be called at some certain set time every year.

See we here the embryo of the Presbyterian Discipline, lying as yet (as it were) in the wombe of Episcopacy, though soon after it swell'd so great, that the mother must violently be cut, before the child could be delivered into the world, as to the publick practice thereof.

2. Many observables in these *Decrees* offer themselves to our consideration. First, that they were written in latine (whereof they had two elegant penners, *Cartwright*, and *Travers*) shewing themselves no enemies to that tongue, which some ignorant Sectaries afterward condemn'd for superstitious, counting every thing *Romish*, which was *Romane*; and very Cordials to be poison, if lapp'd up in latine. Several observations on these Decrees.

2. Probably, as Artists hang a curtain before their works, whilst yet imperfect: so these *Synodists* thought fit in latine as yet, to vail their *Decrees* from vulgar eyes, seeing nothing can be projected, and perfected together. Yea, the repetition of those words *doth seem*, and *it seemeth*, carrying something of uncertainty in them, sheweth these *Decrees* as yet admitted but as *Probationers*, expecting confirmation on their good behaviour.

3. The election of the people is here made the essence of a call to a Pastoral Charge, to which the presentation of the most undoubted Patrone, is call'd in but *ad corroborandum*. As for Institution from the Bishop, it was superadded (not to compleat his Ministeriall function in point of conscience, but) legally to enable the Minister to recover his maintenance from the detainers thereof.

4. Partiall subscription is permitted to the Articles of Religion, *viz.* only to the Doctrinal part thereof, but none to those wherein Discipline is mentioned, especially to the clause at the end of the twentieth Article, *The Church hath power to decree Rites, and Ceremonies* &c. accounted by the Brethren the very sting in the tail of the locusts.

5. Those words, *If subscription shall be urged again*, plainly intimate, that the reins of Episcopal government were but loosly held, and the rigour thereof remitted, for the reasons by us fore-alledged.

6. That Church-wardens, and Collectors for the poor, are so quickly convertible, even in their opinion, into *Elders* and *Deacons* only with a more solemn, and publick election, shows, the difference betwixt those officers, to be rather nominal, then real.

7. By *Women-Deacons* here mentioned, we understand such *widows* which the Apostle appointeth in the primitive Church, to attend strangers, and sick people; and which Mr. [a] *Cartwright* affirmeth ought still to be continued, although he confesseth, *there be learned men think otherwise.*

[a] In his Admonitions pag. 163. Section 2.

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8. Their *Comitial Assemblies*, kept in the Universities at the commencements, (wisely they had an eye on the *two eyes* of the land) were conveniently chosen, as safely shadowed under a confluence of people. See we here, though the matter of their Discipline might be *Jure Divino*, humane prudence concurred much in the making thereof, as in ordering a *National Synod* alwayes to run paralell with the Parliament.

9. Mention being made of *relieving Scottish Ministers*, if any ask what northern tempest blew them hither? know, they quitted their own country about this time, upon refusal of conformity, and found *benevolence* in *England* a better livelihood, than a *Benefice* in *Scotland*.

10. The grand designe driven on in these *Decrees* was, to set up a Discipline in a Discipline, Presbytery in Episcopacy; which (as appears in the Preface) they thought *might well stand with the peace of the Church*: but this *peace* prov'd but a *truce*, this *truce* but a short one, before both parties brake into irreconcileable hostility.

Thus it is impossible to make a subordination in their *practises*, who have an opposition in their *Principles*. For, though such spheres, and orbs, which agree in one center, may proportionably move one within another; yet such as are excentricall can never observe equall distance in their motion, but will sagg aside to grind, and grate one the other. But enough hereof at this time, having jetted out a little already into the next year: no offence (we hope) seeing it makes our History more entire in this subject.

A blasphemous Heretick reclaimed.

3. This year, *Robert Dickons* a *Leicester*-shire youth, but it seems, Apprentice at *Mansell* in *Nottingham*-shire having parts, and pregnancy above his Age and profession, arrived at such a height of *Prophanenesse*, as not only to pretend to *visions*, but account himself *Eliah*, sent from God to perfect some defects in the Propheſie of *Malachy*. But by Gods blessing on the endeavours of Mr. *Henry Smith*, (whom his Unkle Mr. *Briant Cave*, this year Sheriff of *Leicester*-shire employed therein) this Heretick was [a] reclaimed, renouncing his Blasphemies, by *Subscription* under his own hand and for ought I finde to the contrary, lived peacably, and painfully, the remainder of his life.

[a] See Mr. *Smiths* Sermon of the lost sheep found.

The Character of Mr. *Henry Smith*.

4. This is that *Henry Smith*, born at *Withcock* in *Leicester*-shire, of a worshipfull family, (and elder Brother to S[t]. *Roger Smith* still surviving) bred in *Oxford*, and afterwards became that famous *Preacher* at S[t]. *Clements Danes* in *London*, commonly called the *silver-tongu'd-smith*, being but one *mettall*, in Price and Purity, beneath S[t]. *Chrysostome* himself. Yea, whereas generally the sermons of those dayes are now grown out of fashion, (such is our Ages Curiosity, and Affectation of *Noveltie*) *Smiths* Sermons keep up their constant Credit, as appears, by their daily Impressions, calculated for all times, places, and persons; so solid, the learned may partly admire; so plain the unlearned may perfectly understand them. The wonder of his worth is increased by the consideration of his tender Age, dying very young [b] about 50. years agoe.

[b] About the year 1600, as I am inform'd by his brother.

The death of *Rich. Briston*.

5. I finde three of such, who *seemed Pillars* in the *Romish* Church, deceased this year. First, *Richard Briston*, born in *Worcester*-shire, bred in *Oxford* in *Exeter Colledge*, whence he fled beyond the *Seas*, and by *Cardinall Allen* was made overseer of the English *Colledge*, first at *Doway*, then at *Rhemes*. He wrote most in English, *humili quidem stilo* (such one of his own * *Opinion*) but very solidly; for proof whereof, let his *Books* against Dr. *Fulke* be perused. For the recovery of his health, he was advised to return into his native *Land*, and died quietly neere the City of *London*.

* *Pitzeus de illustribus Angl. scriptor.*

6. The

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6. The second, *Nicholas Harpsfield*, bred first in *Winchester School*, then *New Colledge* in *Oxford*, where he proceeded *Doctor* of *Law*, and afterward, became *Arch-Deacon* of *Canterbury*. Under King *Edward* the 6th, he banished himself: under Queen *Mary* he returned, and was advanced: And, under Queen *Elizabeth* imprisoned for denying Her *Supremacy*. Yet such was his milde usage in restraint, that he had the opportunity to write much therein; and amongst the rest his *Ecclesiastical History*, no less learnedly, then painfully performed; and abating his Partiality to his own Interest, well deserving of all posterity. He wrote also six *dialogues*, in favour of his *Religion*; but, (because in durance) he durst not set it forth in his own, but under the *Name* of *Alan Cope*. Yet lest truth should be conceal'd, and friend defraud friend of his due praise, he caused these Capitall Letters to be ingraved at the end of his Book.

The death of Nicholas Harpsfield.

A. H. L. N. H. E. V. E. A. C.

Hereby mystically meaning.

Auctor Hujus Libri Nicholaus Harpesfeldus. Edidit Verò Eum Aalnus Copus.

He died this year at *London* in prison, after 20. years restraint, leaving behind him the general reputation of a *Religious man*.

7. The third, *Gregory Martin*, born at *Maxfield* in *Sussex*, bred with *Campian* in St. *Iohns Colledge* in *Oxford*; Tutor to *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, eldest son to *Thomas Duke* of *Norfolke*. Afterwards he went over beyond Sea, and became Divinity Professor in the Colledge of *Rhemes*, died there *October* 28. and is buried with a large *Epitaph*, under a plain *monument*.

The death of *Gregory Martin*.

8. I shall now withdraw my self, or at leastwise stand by a silent spectator, whilst I make room for far my betters to come forth and speak in the present controversie of Church Government. Call it not *Cowardize*, but count it *Caution* in me, if desirous in this difference to lie at a *close-guard*, and offer as little play as may be on either side. Whilst the Reader shall behold the *Masters of Defence* on both sides engaged therein in these following letters of State. *Baronius* the great Roman Annalist was wont to say, *Epistolaris Historia est optima Historia*, *that is the best History which is collected out of Letters*, How much of the *Acts of the Apostles* (especially for the regulation of time) is contained in the *Epistles of* St. *Paul*? Of the Primitive History, the most Authenticall part is what is gathered out of the letters of the Fathers, and in like manner the true estate of Ecclesiasticall affairs in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, may be extracted out of the following *dispatches*, and their *returns*, exhibiting the inclinations of their Authors in pure Naturalls without any adulterated addition, and therefore the surest for others instruction, and safest for my own protection.

Letter History best History.

9. But one thing I must clear in our entrance thereon, in excuse that these Letters are *Dateless* as to the day and moneth, a great omission which I have seen in many Originalls, whose Authors so minded the matter, that they neglected the time, the present dispatching of them being date enough to their purpose, though now the want thereof leaves Posterity at a loss. A Blew Coat without a Badge, is but a white Coat in effect; as nothing informing the Beholder to what Lord the Bearer thereof doth relate: And as little instructive (will some say) are these Letters as to the point of Chronologie. But be it known that no Readers stomack can be so sharp set on the Criticalness

Objection against Letters want of Date answered.

ticalneſs of Chronologie, but that being fed with the certainty of the year, He will not be famiſht with the uncertainty of the moneth or day. Indeed as ſuch whoſe names are caſually omitted in the Regiſter, may recover the truth of their age by a Comparative Computation of their years, who were born about the ſame time; ſo by the mixture and comparing of theſe dateleſs Letters, with thoſe having date, of ſecular affairs I could Competently have collected, and inſerted the time, ſave that I loath to obtrude any thing conjecturall on the readers belief. But we muſt begin with the enſuing Petition as the ground-work of all the reſt.

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The Miniſters of Kent *to the Privie Councel.*

The petition of the Kentiſh Miniſters.

MAy it pleaſe your Honours, of your great and wonted favour towards the diſtreſſed, to conſider theſe following. Whereas we have been called to ſubſcribe in the County of *Kent*, to certain Articles propounded by my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, unto the Miniſters and Preachers. The firſt concerning Her Majeſties authority. The ſecond, concerning no contrariety to the word of God, in the Book of Common-Prayer, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, the book of ordering Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons. And the third, that we beleeve all things in the book of the Articles of Religion, to be agreeable to the word of God: Whereupon, all have moſt willingly offered to ſubſcribe unto the other two. And being pronounced in the open Court, *Contumaces reſervata pœni*, and ſo referd to anſwer at Law the 11, and 13, of *February*. Which we feared would be proſecuted with much trouble, and no reſolution to our conſciences, we amongſt the reſt repaired with that carefull avoiding, that we could, of offence to his Lordſhips Grace, to whom when we had the firſt day made known ſome of our doubts concerning the firſt book only, (many moe in number, and as great in weight, concerning the firſt and ſecond, and ſome concerning the third, remaining beſide) we have upon our refuſall, and record taken by publick notary of one point only, from every particular refuſer, which moved him thereunto, and one place of Scripture adjoyned without collection, or the reaſon of the ſame, been ſuſpended from our Miniſtery, by which occaſion as we fear, that that account which hath been made of the conſequence of our cauſe, both in publick ſermons and pronouncing of ſentence againſt us, namely, that in denying to ſubſcribe to the two aforeſaid Articles, we ſeparated our ſelves from the Church, and condemned the right ſervice of God in prayer, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Church of *England*, and the Miniſtry of the ſame, and diſobeyed Her Majeſties Authority, hath been intimated to your Honours. So we think it our bound duties, moſt humbly on our knees to beſeech your Honours, to know and make manifeſt in our behalf to Her Majeſty: that which we before the Lord in ſimplicity proteſt, we in all reverence judge of the authority which is eſtabliſhed, and the perſons which were Authors of thoſe books, that they did not only ſpeak, but alſo did highly to the glory of God promote the true Religion of God, and the Glorious Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, and that we ſo eſteem of thoſe books, and there is nothing in them to cauſe us to ſeparate our ſelves from

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from the unity of the Church, which in the execution of our miniſtry, in participation of the publick prayers, and Sacraments, we have in our own example teſtified, and by publick doctrine maintained; And that the miniſtery of the word preached, and publick adminiſtration of the Sacraments exerciſed in this land according to Authority, is as touching the ſubſtance of it, Lawfull and greatly bleſſed of God. And laſtly, that we have and alwayes will ſhew our ſelves obedient to Her Majeſties authority in all cauſes Eccleſiaſticall and civil to whomſoever it be committed, and therefore, that as poor, but moſt faithfull ſubjects to Her Majeſty, and Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt the great cauſe we have in hand, and which conſequently (as we under your Honours correction judge) the neceſſary reformation of many things in the Church according unto Gods word, may have that ſufficient hearing, as all cauſes of our refuſall to ſubſcribe may be known, and equally out of Gods word judged of, and the lamentable eſtate of the Churches to which we appertain, with the hard condition of us, may in that manner, that your Honours moſt excellent wiſdom ſhall finde expedient in the pitty of Jeſus Chriſt, for the mean time be relieved. the Lord Almighty vouchſafe for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake long to continue, and bleſs your Honours wiſdom, and Councell to the great glory of God, and the happy government of Her Majeſtie, and flouriſhing eſtate of this Church of *England*.

Your Honours daily and faithfull Orators,
the Miniſters of Kent, *which are ſuſpended*
from the execution of their Miniſtery.

The Lords of the Councell, ſent this *Petition* with another *Bill* of complaint exhibited unto them againſt *Edmond Freak* Biſhop of *Norwich*, unto the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. What his anſwer was thereunto, the reader may informe himſelf out of the following letter.

To the Lords of the Councell.

Moſt Honorable,

The Arch-Biſhops letter in anſwer thereof.

UPon Sunday laſt in the afternoon, Mr. *Teal* brought unto me in your Lordſhips names two ſupplications, or Bills of complaint exhibited unto your Lordſhips: The one by certain Miniſters of *Suff.* againſt their Dioceſan there: The other by ſome of *Kent* againſt my ſelf, with this further meſſage, that it was your deſires I ſhould come to the Court on Sunday next; It may pleaſe your good Lordſhips to be advertiſed, that it ſeemeth ſomething ſtrange to me, that the Miniſters of *Suffolk* finding themſelves agrieved with the doings of their Dioceſan, ſhould leave the ordinary courſe of proceeding by Law (which is to appeal unto me) and extraordinarily trouble your Lordſhips in a matter not ſo incident (as I think to that moſt honourable Board, ſeeing it hath pleaſed Her Majeſty Her own

ſelf

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ſelf in expreſs words to commit theſe cauſes Eccleſiaſticall to me, as to one who is to make anſwer to God, to her Majeſty in this behalf, my office alſo and place requiring the ſame.

In anſwer of the complaint of the *Suffolk* men of their Ordinaries proceeding againſt them, I have herewith ſent to your Lordſhips a Copie of a letter which I lately received from his Lordſhip, wherein I think that part of their Bill to be fully anſwered, and his doings to have been orderly and charitable. Touching the reſt of their Bill, I know not what to judge of it, neither yet of what ſpirit it cometh: but in ſome points it talketh (as I think) modeſtly and charitably. They ſay they are no Jeſuits ſent from *Rome* to reconcile &c. True it is, neither are they charged to be ſo, but notwithſtanding they are contentious in the Church of *England*, and by their contentions miniſter occaſion of offence to thoſe which are ſeduced by Jeſuits, and give the arguments againſt the forme of publick prayer, uſed in this Church, and by law eſtabliſhed, and thereby encreaſe the number of them, and confirm them in their wilfullneſſe. They alſo make a Schiſm in the Church, and draw many other of her Majeſties ſubjects to a miſliking of her Laws and Government in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, ſo far are they from perſwading them to obedience, or at leaſt, if they perſwade them to it in the one part of her authority, it is in cauſes civill, they diſſwade them from it as much in the other, that is in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, ſo that indeed they pluck down with the one hand, that which they ſeem to build with the other: they ſay that they have faithfully travelled in perſwading to obedience &c. and have therein prevailed &c. It is but their own teſtimony, I think it were hard for them to ſhew whom they converted from Papiſtry to the Goſpell. But what ſtirrs, and diſcentions they have made amongſt thoſe which profeſſed the Goſpel before they were taught by them, I think it to be apparent. It is notorious that in King *Edwards* time, and in the beginning of her Majeſties Reign, for the ſpace of divers years, When this ſelf ſame book of publick prayers was uniformally uſed &c. by all learned Preachers maintained, and impugned by none, the Goſpell mightily prevailed, took great increaſe, and very few were known to refuſe to communicate with us in prayer, and participation of the Sacraments. But ſince this Schiſm and diviſion, the contrary effect hath fallen out, and how can it otherwiſe be, ſeeing we our ſelves condemn that publick form and order of prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, as in divers points contrary to the word of God, from which (as in like manner condemning the ſame) the Papiſts do abſent themſelves. In the later part of their Bill conteining the reaſons why they cannot ſubmit themſelves, to obſerve the form preſcribed by the book in all points, I wonder either at their ignorance or audacity. They ſay that the Learned writers of our time have ſhewed their miſlikings of ſome of our Ceremonies. The moſt learned writers in our times have not ſo done, but rather reproved the miſlikers, thoſe few that have given contrary judgement therein, have done more raſhly then learnedly, preſuming to give their Cenſures of ſuch a Church as this is, not underſtanding the fruits of the cauſe. Nor alledging any reaſon worth the hearing, eſpecially one little Colledge in either of our Univerſities, containing in it more learned men then in their Cities. But if the authority of men ſo greatly move them, why make they ſo ſmall account of thoſe moſt excellent and learned Fathers, who were the penners of the Book? whereof divers have ſealed their Religion with their Blood, which none yet have done of the impugners of the Book. The Pope (ſay they

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they) hath changed his *Officium B. Mariæ &c.* And ſo it is, neither is there any man that doubteth, but the Book of Common-Prayer may alſo be altered, if there appear good cauſe why to thoſe in Authority. But the Pope will not ſuffer that *Officium B. Mariæ &c.* to be preached againſt, or any part thereof, till it was by publick order reformed, neither will he confeſs that he hath reformed it in reſpect of any errours, but ſuch only as did creep in to the ſaid Book through private mens affections, without authority. Therefore that argument is againſt them, and only uſed by them (as it ſeemeth) in contempt the reſt is frivolous, and argueth their preſumption in writing, this to ſo honourable a Board of ſo worthy and godly a Book, which hath an hundred learned men to juſtifie it, for one that will impugne it. And thus much concerning them which I have written rather to ſatisfie your Lordſhips, then that I thought the matter worthy my labour. The complaint which thoſe of *Kent*, being of my own Dioceſs, and by oath bound to me in Canonicall obedience, have exhibited unto your Lordſhips, doth make me more to wonder, that they moſt of them being unlearned, and young (ſuch as I would be loath to admit into the Miniſtry, if they were not already admitted thereunto, much leſs to allow as Preachers) dare preſume to bring my doings againſt them into queſtion before your Lordſhips, ſeeing I have done nothing but that which God, the Law, her Majeſty, and my duty forceth me unto, dealing with them not as an Arch-Biſhop with the Inferiour ſort of the Clergy, nor as a maſter of a Colledge with his fellows, nor as a Magiſtrate with his inferiours, but as a Friend, and a Brother, (which as I think) hath ſo puffed them up, and cauſed them to be ſo preſumptuous. They came to me unſent for, in a multitude, which I reproved, becauſe it imported a conſpiracy, and had the ſhew of a Tumult or unlawfull Aſſembly. Notwithſtanding I was content to hear their complaint, I ſpent with them the whole afternoon, from two of the clock till ſeven, and heard their Reaſons, whereof ſome were frivolous, and childiſh, ſome irreligious, and all of them ſuch as gave me occaſion to think that they rather ſought quarrell againſt the Book, then to be ſatisfied, which indeed is true, as appeareth by ſome of their own confeſſions, which I am able to ſhew, when I ſhall be thereunto urged. The two whole dayes following, I ſpent likewiſe for the moſt part in dealing ſeverally with them, requiring them to give unto me the Chief, and principal of their Reaſons which moved them not to ſubſcribe, meaning to hear them in the reſt, if I could have ſatisfied them in it, or elſe not to ſpend any further time; which reaſons (if I may ſo term them) they gave unto me, and I have, and mean to make known when occaſion ſhall ſerve; Whereas they ſay in their bill, that the publick adminiſtration of the Sacraments in this Land, is as touching the ſubſtance of it lawfull &c. They ſay no more then the Papiſts themſelves do confeſs, and in truth they ſay nothing in effect to that wherewith they are charged. And yet therein they are contrary to themſelves, for they have pretended matter of ſubſtance againſt the Book. But of what ſpirit cometh it, that they being no otherwiſe then they are, dare to the greateſt Authority in this land next to her Majeſty ſo boldly offer themſelves, thus to reaſon, and diſpute as in their bill they vaunt againſt the State eſtabliſhed in matters of Religion, and againſt the book ſo learnedly, and painfully penned, and by ſo great Authority from time to time confirmed. It is not for me to ſit in this place, if every Curate within my Dioceſs or Province may be permitted ſo to uſe me; neither is it poſſible for me to per-

forme

forme the duty which her Majesty looketh for at my hands, if I may not without interruption proceed in execution of that which her Highness hath especially committed unto me. The Gospell can take no success, neither the number of Papists be diminished, if unity be not procured, which I am not in doubt in short time to bring to pass, without any great adoe or inconvenience at all, if it be not hindred. The number of those which refuse to subscribe is not great, in most parts of my Province not one, in some very few, and in some none, whereof many also and the greater part are unlearned, and unworthy the Ministry; In mine own little Dioceſs in *Canterbury* threescore Preachers and above have subscribed, whereas there are not ten worthy the name of Preachers which have as yet refused, and most of them also not allowed Preachers by lawfull Authority, and so I know it to be in all other Dioceſses within my Province, the Dioceſs of *Norwich* only excepted; Wherein nevertheless the number of the disordered is far less, then the number of such as are obedient, and quietly disposed. Now if these few disordered, which the Church may well spare, having meeter men to place in their rooms, shall be countenanced against the best, the wisest in all respects, the worthiest, and in effect the whole state of the Clergy, it will not only discourage the dutifull and obedient persons, but so encrease the schism, that there will never hereafter be hope of appeasing the same. This disordered flocking together of them at this time from divers places, and gadding from one to another argueth a Conspiracy amongst them, and some hope of incouragement, and of prevailing, which I am perswaded is not meant, nor shall ever be by me willingly consented unto. Some of them have already (as I am informed) bruted abroad, that your Lordships have sent for me to answer their complaints, and that they hope to be delivered, wherein I know they report untruly, as the manner is; for I cannot be perswaded that your Lordships have any such intent as to make me a party, or to call my doings into question, which from her Majesty are immediately committed unto me, and wherein, as I suppose, I have no other Judge but her self; And for as much as I am by God and her Majesty lawfully without any ordinary or extraordinary, or unlawfull means, called to this place and function, and appointed to be your Pastor, and to have the greatest charge over you in matters pertaining to the soul; I am the more bold to move, and desire you to aid and assist me in matters belonging to my office, namely, such as appertain to the quietness of the Church, the credit of religion established, and the maintenance of the laws made for the same. And here I do protest and testifie unto your Lordships, that the three Articles, whereunto they are moved to subscribe, are such, as I am ready by learning to defend in manner and form as they are set down, against all mislikers thereof in *England* or elsewhere. And thus desiring your Lordships to take this my answer in good part, and to forbear my comming thither in respect of this advantage that may be taken thereof by these wayward persons, I beseech Almighty God long to prosper you.

Your good Lordships in Christ

John Cantuar.

Anno Dom. 1583.

Who this Mr. *Beal* was, who brought these letters, is worthy our inquiry. I finde his Christian name *Robert*, his office *Clark of the Councell*, his abilities very great, as may appear by the publick negotiations wherein he was imployed, for he was joyned with Sr. *William Winter Anno* 1576, in a Commission to the Zealanders, about their repriſalls: And again *Anno* 1583. he was ſent to the Queen of *Scots*; Sharply to expoſtulate with her concerning ſome querulous letters. Well knew Queen *Elizabeth* what tools to uſe on knotty timber, our [a] Author giving Mr. *Beal* this Character, that he was *Homo vehemens, & auſtera acerbus*, a *Eager man*, and moſt *auſterely bitter*. His affections were wholy Preſbyterian, and I behold him as one of the beſt friends (of the *ſecond Magnitude*) that party had. What he wanted in authority, he had in activity on their ſides. And what influence ſometimes the *Hands* have on the *Head* (I mean Notaries on the Judges themſelves) at Councell Board, others may conjecture. He either compiled or countenanced a Book made againſt the Biſhops, and the reader may receive a further confirmation of his Character herein from the following Complaint.

The character of Mr. *Beal*, who brought the Bills.

[a] *Camden* in his *Elizabetha* pag. 359.

To the Lord Treaſurer.

My ſingular good Lord,

I have borne much with Mr. *Beals* intemperate ſpeeches, unſeemly for him to uſe, though not in reſpect of my ſelf, yet in reſpect of her Majeſty whom he ſerveth, and of the laws eſtabliſhed, whereunto he ought to ſhew ſome duty. Yeſterday he came to my houſe, as it ſeemed to demand the book he delivered unto me, I told him that the book was written to me, and therefore no reaſon why he ſhould require it again: eſpecially, ſeeing I was aſſured that he had a Copie thereof, otherwiſe I would cauſe it to be written out for him: whereupon, he fell into very great paſſions with me (which I think was the end of his coming) for proceeding in the execution of his Articles &c. and told me in effect, that I would be the overthrow of this Church, and a cauſe of tumult with many other bitter and hard ſpeeches, which I heard patiently, and wiſhed him to conſider with what ſpirit he was moved ſo to ſay; for I ſaid, it cannot be by the ſpirit of God, becauſe the ſpirit of God worketh in men humility, patience, and love, and your words declare you to be very Arrogant, proud, impatient, and uncharitable. Moreover the ſpirit of God moveth men to hear the word of God with meekneſs &c. And you have almoſt heard with diſdain every ſermon preached before her Majeſty this lent, gibing, and jeſting openly thereat even in the ſermon time, to the offence of many, and eſpecially at ſuch ſermons as did moſt commend her Majeſty and the State, and moved the Auditory to obedience, which he confeſſed and juſtified, accuſing ſome of the Preachers of falſe Doctrine, and wrong allegations of Scripture &c. Then he began to extoll his book, and ſaid we were never able to anſwer it, neither for the matter of Divinity, nor yet of Law; I told him, as the truth is, that there was no great ſubſtance in the book, that it might be very ſoon anſwered, and that it did appear neither his Divinity nor Law to be great. I further wiſhed him to be better adviſed of his doings, and told him indeed, that he was one of the principall cauſes of the waywardneſs of divers, becauſe he giveth incouragement

Arch. Biſhop *Whitgift* his Letter complaining of *Beals* inſolent carriage towards him.

incouragement to divers of them to ſtand in the matter, telling them that the Articles ſhall be ſhortly revoked by the Councell, and that my hands ſhall be ſtopped &c, which ſaying is ſpread abroad already in every place, and is the only cauſe why many forbear to ſubſcribe, which is true, neither could he deny it. All this while I talked with him privately in the upper part of my Gallery, my Lord of *Worceſter*, and divers ſtrangers being in the other part thereof. But Mr. *Beal* beginning to extend his voice that all might hear, I began to break off, then he being more, and more kindled, very impatiently uttered very proud and contemptuous ſpeeches, in the juſtifying of his book, and condemning of the orders eſtabliſhed to the offence of all the hearers, whereunto (being very deſirous to be rid of him) I made ſmall anſwer, but told him that his ſpeeches were miſerable, that he forgat himſelf, and that I would complain of him to her Majeſty, whereof he ſeemed to make ſmall account, and ſo he departed in great heat; I am loth to hurt him, or to be an accuſer, neither will I proceed therein further then your Lordſhips ſhall think it convenient; but I never was abuſed more by any man at any time in my life, then I have been by him ſince my coming to this place, in hardneſs of ſpeech for doing my duty, and for all things belonging to my charge. Surely my Lord this talk tendeth only to the increaſing of the contention, and to the animating of the wayward in their waywardneſs, caſting out dangerous ſpeeches, as though there were likelihood of ſome tumult in reſpect thereof; Whereas in truth God be thanked the matter groweth to greater quietneſs then I think he wiſheth, and will be ſoon quieted, if we be let alone, and they not otherwiſe encouraged. It ſeemeth he is ſome way diſcontented, and would work his anger on me. The tongues of theſe men taſt not of the Spirit of God, your Lordſhip ſeeth how bold I am to impart unto you my private cauſes. Truly if it were not that my conſcience is ſetled in theſe matters, and that I am fully perſwaded of the neceſſity of theſe proceedings in reſpect of the peace of the Church, and due obſervation of Gods laws, and that I received great comfort at her Majeſties hand (as I did moſt effectually at my laſt being at the Court) and that I were aſſured of your Lordſhips conſtancie in the cauſe, and of your unmoveable good will towards me, I ſhould be hardly able to endure ſo great a burden, which now (I thank God) in reſpect of the premiſes ſeemeth eaſie unto me, neither do I doubt but God will therein proſper me. Thus being deſirous to impart this matter to your Lordſhip, to whoſe conſideration I leave it, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God.

John Cantuar.

Nor have I ought elſe to ſay of this Mr. *Beal*, but that afterwards I finde one of his name and quality [a] dying 1601, and buried in *London* at *Allhallows* in the wall, who by all probability ſhould be the ſame perſon. Now that the Preſbyterian party was not unfriended at the Councell Board, but had thoſe there, which either out of Dictates of their conſcience, or reaſons of State, or reflections on their private intereſts, endeavoured to mitigate the Arch-Biſhops proceedings againſt them. Let their enſuing letter to him be peruſed.

[a] *Robert Beal Eſq; Stow* his ſurvey of *London* pag. 183.

After

Anno Dom. 1583.

The Privie Councellers Letter to the Arch-Bishop in favour of the nonconformists.

After our hearty commendations to both your Lordships, although we have heard of late times sundry complaints out of divers Countries of this Realm, of some proceedings against a great number of Ecclesiasticall persons, some Parsons of Churches, some Vicars, some Curates, but all Preachers; whereby some were deprived of their livings, some suspended from their Ministry, and preaching, yet we have forborn to enter into any particular examination of such complaints, thinking that howsoever inferior officers, as Chancellours, Commissaries, Arch-Deacons and such like, whose offices are of more value, and profit by such like kinde of proceedings, might in such sort proceed against the Ministers of the Church. Yet your Lordship the Arch-Bishop of that province of *Canterbury*, have besides your generall Authority some particular interest in the present Jurisdiction of sundry Bishopricks vacant. And you also the Bishop of *London*, both for your own authority in your Dioces, and as head Commissioner Ecclesiastical, would have a pastorall over the particular officers, to stay and temper them in their hasty proceedings against the Ministers, and especially against such as doe earnestly profess, and instruct the people against the dangerous sects of Papistry. But yet of late, hearing of the lamentable estate of the Church in the County of *Essex*, that is, of a great number of zealous and learned Preachers there suspended from their Cures, the Vacancy of the place for the most part, without any Ministry of Preaching, Prayers, and Sacraments. And in some places of certain appointed to those void Rooms, being persons neither of learning nor of good name, and in other places of that County, a great number of Parsons occupying the Cures being notoriously unfit, most for lack of learning, many charged or chargable with great, and erroneous faults, and drunkennes, filthines of life, gamsters at Cards, haunting of Ale-houses, and such like, against whom we hear not of any proceedings, but that they are quietly suffered, to the slander of the Church, to the offence of good people, yea to the famishing of them for lack of good teaching; and thereby dangerous to the subverting of many weaklings from their duties to God, and the Queens Majesty by secret Jesuits, and counterfet Papists. And having thus in a generall sort heard out of many parts of the like of this lamentable estate of the Church, yet to the intent we should not be deceived with the Generality of reports, we sought to be informed of some particulars, namely, of some parts of *Essex*, and having received the same credibly in writing, we have thought it our duties to her Majesty, and the Realm for the Remedy hereof without intermedling our selves with your Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, to make report unto your Lordships, as persons that ought most specially to have regard thereto, as we hope you will, and therefore have sent you herewith in writing a Catalogue of the names of persons of sundry natures, and conditions, that is, one sort, being reported to be learned, zealous, and good preachers deprived, and suspended, and so the Cures not served with meet Persons. The other sort a number of Persons, having Cures, being in sundry sorts far unmeet for any offices in the Church for their many defects, and imperfections, and so as it seems by the reports have been, and are suffered to continue without reprehension or any other proceedings against them, and thereby a great number of Christian people untaught, A matter very lamentable in this time. In a third sort a

number having double livings with Cure, and so not resident upon their Cures. But yet enjoying the benefit of their Benefices without any personall attendance upon their Cures. Against all these sorts of lewd, and evill, and unprofitable, corrupt members, we hear of no inquisition, nor of any kinde of proceeding to the Reformation of those horrible offences in the Church, but yet of great diligence, yea, and extremity used against those that are known diligent Preachers. Now therefore we for the discharge of our duties, being by our vocation under her Majesty bound to be carefull that the universall Realm may be well governed, to the honour and glory of God, and to the discharge of her Majesty being the principal governor, over all her subjects under Almighty God, do most earnestly desire your Lordships, to take some charitable consideration of these causes, that the people of the Realm may not be deprived of their Pastors being diligent, learned, and zealous, though in some points Ceremoniall, they may seem doubtfull only in Conscience, and not of wilfulness. Nor that their Cures be suffered to be vacant without good Pastors, nor that such as be placed in the Rooms of Cures be insufficient for learning, or unmeet for their conversation. And though the notes which we send you be only of Parsons belonging to *Essex*, yet we pray you to look into the rest of the Country in many other Dioceses, for we have, and do heare daily of the like in generality in many other places, but we have not sought to have their particulars so manifestly delivered of other places as of *Essex*, or rather, to say the truth, of one corner of the Country. And we shall be most glad to hear of your cares to be taken for remedy of these Enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or hear of the like complaints to continue; and so we bid your good Lordships right heartily farewell.

Anno Dom. 1583. Anno Regni Reginæ 26.

Your Lordships Loving friends, Will. Burleps,
George Shrewsbury, *A.* Warwick. R.
Leicester. C. Howard. I. Croft. Chr.
Hatton. Fra. Walsingham.

Amongst these Privy Councellors, I miss one who was mainly materiall, namel, S^r. *Francis Knowls*, treasurer of the Queens Household, and K^nt. of the Garter: Father in law to the Earl of *Leicester*, and no less considerable in himself then in his relations, this Knight being bred a banished man in *Germany* during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and conversing with M^r. *Calvin* at *Geneva*, was never after fond of Episcopacy, and though now casually absent from the Councell Board, was a great Patron of the Nonconformists. But see the Arch-Bishops answer to their letter.

The Arch-Bishops answer to the Privy Councellours Letter.

IT may please your good Lordships to be advertized, that I have received your letters of the twentieth of this moneth, with a Schedule inclosed therein, concerning certain Ministers in *Essex*, whereunto as yet I cannot make any full answer, by reason of the absence of my Lord of *London*, to whom the letter is also directed, and the parties

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parties therein named beſt known as being in his Dioceſs. Nevertheleſs in the mean time, I thought it my part to ſignifie unto your Lordſhips that I hope the information to be in moſt parts unjuſt. Certain men being in and about *Maulden*, becauſe they cannot have ſuch among them as by diſorderlineſs do beſt content their humours, did not long ſince in like manner in a generality, make an information to the ſame effect, which coming to mine, and others hands of the Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, we did direct our letters to ſome of the principal of them by name, requiring them to exhibite unto us at the beginning of this next tearm, now next enſuing the names of ſuch offencive Miniſters, as they thought to be touched with ſuch diſhoneſt converſation, together with their proofs thereof, promiſing on our parts to ſee the ſame redreſſed accordingly: It ſeemeth by this which is exhibited now to your Lordſhips, they have prevented the time, hoping thereby to alter the courſe; whereunto it tendeth, I leave to your Lordſhips conſideration: ſurely if the Miniſters be ſuch as this Schedule reporteth, they are worthy to be grievouſly puniſhed. And for my own part, I will not be ſlack or remiſſe (God willing) therein, But if that fall out otherwiſe upon tryal, and that they, or many of them in reſpect of their obedience to her Majeſties laws, be thus depraved by ſuch as impugne the ſame, then I doubt not but your Lordſhip will judge thoſe amuſers to deſerve juſt puniſhment. This I can aſſure your Lordſhips of, that my Lord of *London* affirmed in my hearing, that not long ſince upon that occaſion that none or few at his, or his Arch-Deacons viſitations had at any time by the Churchwardens or ſworn men, been detected or preſented for any ſuch miſdemeanours as are now ſuppoſed againſt them. Of the Preachers, which are ſaid to be put there to ſilence, I know but few. Notwithſtanding I know thoſe few to be very factious in the Church, contempners in ſundry points of the Eccleſiaſticall laws, and chief authors of diſquietneſs in that part of the Country; And ſuch as I for my part cannot (doing my duty with a good conſcience) ſuffer without their further conformity to execute their miniſtry. But your Lordſhips God willing ſhall have a more particular anſwer to every point of your letter, when my Lord of *London* (who is now at his houſe in the Country) and I ſhall meet and have conferred thereupon. In the mean time I truſt, that neither there, nor elſewhere within this province, either by my ſelf or others of my brethren any thing is or ſhall be done, which doth not tend to the peace of the Church, the working of obedience to laws eſtabliſhed, the encouragement of the moſt, the Godlieſt, and moſt learnedſt Miniſters in this Church of *England*, and to the Glory of God; To whoſe protection I commit your good Lordſhips.

Now although we finde S^r. *Chriſtopher Hatton* (*for companies ſake*, as we humbly conceive it) amongſt the Privie Councellors, ſubſcribing for moderation to non-conformiſts, yet we take him to be a zealous Stickler for the preſſing Church Ceremony. And although I look on the words of the Jeſuite as a meer ſcandal, when he ſaith, that this *Hatton* was *Animo Catholicus a Papiſt in his heart*, yet I know him to be no favourer of the Preſbyterian party; But a great countenancer of *Whitgifts* proceedings againſt them, as appears by the following Addreſs of the Arch-Biſhop unto him.

Peter Ribadeneira in his Appendix to *Sanders* pag. 41.

To

Anno Dom. 1583.

To Sr. *Christopher Hatton.*

Right Honorable,

The Arch-Bishops gratulatory letter to Sr. *Christopher Hatton.*

I give you most hearty thanks for that most friendly message which you sent unto me by your man Mr. *Kemp*, I shall think my self bound unto you therefore as long as I live. It hath not a little comforted me, having received not long since unkinde speeches where I least looked for them, only for doing my duty in the most necessary business which I have in hand: I marvell how it should come to passe, that the selfsame persons will seem to wish peace, and uniformity in the Church, and to mislike of the contentious, and disobedient sort, cannot abide that any thing should be done against them, wishing rather the whole Ministry of the land to be discountenanced and discouraged then a few wayard persons (of no account in comparison) suppressed and punished. Men in executing the laws according to their duties were wont to be encouraged, and backed by such, but now it falleth out clean contrary. Disobedient wilfull persons (I will tearm them no worse) are animated, Laws contemned, her Majesties will and pleasure little regarded, and the executors thereof in word and deed abused, howbeit these overthwarts grieve me, yet I thank God, they cannot withdraw me from doing that duty in this cause, which I am perswaded God himself, her Majesty, the laws, and the State of this Church, and Commonwealth, do require of me. In respect whereof, I am content to sustain all these displeasures, and fully resolved not to depend upon man, but upon God, and her Majesty. And therefore your honour in offering me that great curtesie, offered unto me as great a pleasure as I can desire. Her Majesty must be my refuge, and I beseech you that I may use you as a means when occasion shall serve, whereof I assure my self, and therein rest.

John Cantuar.

As for the Lord *Burleigh*, such was his moderation, that both parties beheld him as their friend, carrying matters not with Passion, and prejudice, but prudently as became so great a Statesman. He was neither so rigid as to have conformity prest to the Height, nor so remiss as to leave Ministers to their own liberty. He would argue the case both in discourse, and by letters, with the Arch-Bishop. Amongst many of the latter kinde, let not the Reader grudge to peruse this here inserted.

The Treasurers Letter to the Arch Bishop, for some indulgence to the Ministers.

IT may please your Grace, I am sorry to trouble you so often as I doe, but I am more troubled my self, not only with many private petitions of sundry Ministers recommended for persons of credit, and for peaceable persons in their Ministry, and yet by complaints

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plaints to your Grace, and other your Colleagues in Commission greatly troubled: But also I am daily now charged by Councellers, and publick persons to neglect my duty, in not staying of those your Graces proceedings, so vehement, and so Generall against Ministers and Preachers, as the Papists are thereby greatly incouraged, and all evill disposed persons amongst the Subjects animated, and thereby the Queens Majesties safety endangered; with these kinde of arguments I am daily assayled: against which I answer, That I think your Grace doth nothing, but being duly examined, tendeth to the maintenance of the Religion established, and to avoid schism in the Church. I also have for example shewed by your papers sent to me, how fully the Church is furnished with Preachers, and how small a number there are that do contend for their singularity. But these reasons do not satisfie all persons, neither do I seek to satisfie all persons, but with reason, and truth. But now my good Lord, by chance I have come to the sight of an instrument of 24 Articles of great length and curiosity, formed in a Romish stile, to examine all manner of Ministers in this time without distinction of Persons, which Articles are intituled *apud Lambeth Maij.* 1584. to be executed, *Ex officio mero &c.* and upon this occasion I have seen them. I did recommend unto your Graces favour two Ministers Curates of *Cambridge*-shire, to be favourably heard, and your Grace wrote to me that they were contentious, Seditious, and persons vagrant maintaining this controversy, wherewith I charged them sharply, and they both denied those charges, and required to be tryed, and so to receive punishment: I answered, that your Grace would so charge them, and then I should see afterwards what they should deserve, and advised them to resort to your Grace, comforting them that they should finde favourable proceedings, and so I hope upon my former commendations the rather. What may be said to them I know not, nor whether they have been so faulty as your Grace hath been informed do I know, Neither do I mean to treat for to favour such men, for pardon I may speak upon their amendment. But now they coming to me, I offer how your Grace proceeded with them. They say, they are commanded to be examined by the Register at *London*, and I asked them whereof? they said of a great number of Articles; But they could have no Copies of them: I answered that they might answer to the truth; they said that they were so many in number, and so divers, as they were afraid to answer them, for fear of captious interpretation. Upon this I sent for the Register, who brought me the Articles, which I have read, and finde so curiously penned, so full of Branches, and Circumstances, that I think the inquisitions of *Spain* use not so many questions to comprehend, and to intrap their preyes. I know your Canonists can defend these with all their particles: But surely under your Graces correction, this Juridicall and Canonicall subtilnet of poor Ministers, is not to edifie and reform. And in Charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in Papistry or heresy. Now good my Lord, bear with my scribling: I write with testimony of a good conscience, I desire the peace of the Church, I desire concord, and unity in the exercise of our Religion. I fear no sensuall and wilfull recusant: But I conclude, that according to my simple Judgement, this kinde of proceeding is too much favouring the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders, than to reform any. This was not that charitable instruction that I thought was intended of these poor

poor Ministers should in some few points have any scrupulous conceptions to be removed, this is not a charitable way, to send them to answer to your common Register, upon so many Articles at one instant, without commodity of instruction by your Register, whose office is only to receive their answers, by which the parties are first subject to condemnation before they be taught their errors. It may be I say that Canonists may maintain this proceeding by rules of their laws: But though *omnia licent, omnia non expediunt.* I pray your Grace bear this, (and perchance a fault) that I have willed them not to answer these Articles, except their consciences may suffer them: And yet I have sharply admonished them, that if they be disturbers in their Churches, they must be corrected. And yet upon your Graces answer to me *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, neither will I put *falcem in alterius messem*: my paper teacheth me to make an end, your Grace must pardon my hasty writing, for that I have done this *Raptim* and without Correction.

Anno Dom. 1583. Anno Regni 26.

Your Graces at command,

William Burghley.

One may say, *is not the hand of Mr. Travers in all this?* Who being the Lord *Burghleys* Chaplain, by him much respected, and highly affected to the *Geneva* Discipline, was made the mouth of the Ministers, to mediate to his Lord in their behalf. But it seems the Arch-Bishop had set up his resolution (called constancy, by some, Cruelty, by others, as they stand affected) whose unmoveableness herein will appear by his following Letter.

To the Lord Treasurer.

The return of the Arch-Bishop of *Cant.* to the L. Treasurers Letter.

MY singular good Lord, in the very beginning of this action, and so from time to time, I have made your Lordship acquainted with all my doings, and so answered all objections, and reasons to the contrary, as I perswade my self no just reply can be made thereunto. I have likewise by your Lordships advise, chosen this kinde of proceeding with them, because I would not touch any for not subscribing only, but for breach of order in celebrating of Divine service, administring the Sacraments, and executing other Ecclesiasticall functions, according to their fancies, and not according to the form of law prescribed, which neither your Lordship, nor any other seemed to mislike, but to wish and require: And therefore I am much troubled at your last Letters, which seem so to be written, as though your Lordship had not been in these points already answered. The complaints which your Lordship saith are made of me, and other my Colleagues, have hitherto been generall, and therefore cannot otherwise be answered, but by a bare deniall. But if any man shall charge me or them with particularities, I doubt not but we are, and shall be ready to answer them, and to justifie our doings. My proceedings are neither so vehement, nor so generall against Ministers, and Preachers, as some pretend; doing me therein great injury, I have divers times satisfied your Lordship therein

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therein if any offence be, it is in bearing too much with them, and using of them so friendly, which causeth them thus contrary to their duties to trouble the Church, and to withstand me their Ordinary, and lawfull Judge. The objection of incouraging the Papists &c. hath neither probability nor likelihood. For how can Papists be animated by urging of men to subscribe against the Popes supremacy, and to the justifying of the book of Common-Prayers, and Articles of Religion which they so greatly condemne. But Papists &c. are animated, because they see these kind of persons, which herein after a sort come in with them, so greatly so many borne with, and so animated, and maintained in their disordered doings, against both Gods Laws, and mans; and against their Chief Governours both Civill, and Ecclesiasticall. This I say incourageth the Papists, and maketh much for them; the other is but a fallacy, *à non causa ad causam*. O my Lord, I would to God some of those who use this argument, had no Papists in their Families, and did not otherwise also countenance them; whereby indeed, they receive incouragement, and do become too malepert. Assure your self the Papists are rather grieved at my proceedings, because they tend to the taking away of their chief Argument; that is, that, we cannot agree among our selves, and that we are not of the Church, because we lack unity: And I am credibly informed, that the Papists give incouragement to these men, and commend them in their doings, hereof I have also some experience. But if these reasons, and sundry others, notwithstanding some will not be satisfied thereby: I am sure your Lordship thinketh it not convenient to yield unto their wills, but unto their reasons. Touching the 24, Articles which your Lordship seemeth so to mislike, as written in a Romish stile, smelling of a Romish inquisition &c. I cannot but greatly marvell at your Lordships vehement speeches against them, I hope without cause. The men are Preachers, peaceable, your Lordship saith, and that they are orderly, and observe the Books, as some of them say of themselves: and you think it not meet that being such persons, they should be deprived for not subscribing only, wherein I have yielded unto you, and therefore have caused these Articles to be drawn according to Law, by the best learned in the Laws: who I dare say hate the Romish doctrine, and the Romish inquisition, to the intent I may truly understand whether they are such manner of men or no, as they pretend to be, which I also take to be the ordinary course in other Courts: as in the Star-Chamber, and other places. Sure I am it is most usuall in the Court of the Marches (Arches rather) whereof I have the best experience. And without offence be it spoken, I think these Articles more tolerable, and better agreeing with the rule of justice, and charity, and less captious then those in other Courts, because there men are often examined at the relation of a private man, concerning private crimes, *& de propriâ turpitudinè*: whereas here men are only examined of their publick actions in the publick calling, and Ministry, and much more in the cause of Heresie: because the one toucheth life, and the other not. And therefore I see no cause why our Judiciall, and Canonicall proceedings in this point should be misliked. Your Lordship writeth, that the two for whom you write are peaceable persons, that they deny the things wherewith they are charged, and desire to be tried &c. Now they are to be tried, why do they refuse it? *Qui malè agit, odit Lucem*; Indeed they shew themselves to be such as I have before shewed to your Lordship, the most troublesome persons in all

that Countrey: and one of them M^r *Brown* is preſented for his diſorders by the ſworn men of the pariſh, as I am informed by the Official there. Wherefore I beſeech your Lordſhip not to believe them againſt me, either own words, or teſtimony of any ſuch as animate them in their diſobedience, and count diſorder order, and contention peace, before they be duly and orderly tried according to that Law which is yet in force, and will hardly in my opinion, in theſe Judicial actions be bettered, though ſome abuſe may be in the Execution thereof, as there. I elſewhere alſo; and that peradventure more abundantly. Your Lordſhip ſaith theſe Articles are a devilee rather to ſeek for offenders, then to reform any: The like may be ſaid of the like orders in other Courts alſo; but that were the fault of the Judg, not of the Law. And I truſt your Lordſhip hath no cauſe to think ſo evil of me. I have not dealt with any as yet, but ſuch as have given evident tokens of contempt of Orders and Laws. which my Acts remaining on Record will teſtifie; and though the Regiſter do examin them (as I think other officers do in other Courts likewiſe, and the Law doth allow of it) yet are they repeated before a Judg, where they may reform, add or diminiſh, as they think good; neither hath there been any man thus examined, or otherwiſe dealt with, who hath not been conferred with, or might not have been if he would, theſe two eſpecially; And if they have otherwiſe reported to your Lordſhip, they do but *antiquam obtinere*, which is to utter untruths; a quality wherewith theſe kinde of men are marvelouſly poſſeſſed, as I on my own knowledg, and experience, can juſtifie againſt divers of them. I know your Lordſhip deſireth the peace of the Church, and unity in Religion, but how is it poſſible to be procured (after ſo long liberty, and lack of diſcipline) if a few perſons ſo meanly qualified, as moſt of them are, ſhall be countenanced againſt the whole eſtate of the Clergie, of greateſt account both for learning, years, ſtayedneſs, wiſdom, Religion, and honeſty? And open breakers, and impugners of the Law, yong in years, proud in conceit, contentious in diſpoſition, maintained againſt their Governours, ſeeking to reduce them to order, and obedience; *Hæc ſunt initia hæreticorum, & ortus atque conatus Schiſmaticorum malè cogitantium, ut ſibi placeant, ut præpoſitum ſuperbo tumore contemnant; ſic ab Eccleſia receditur, ſic altare profanum collocatur foris. ſic contra pacem Chriſti & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur*; for my own part, I neither have done, nor do any thing in this matter, which I do not think in my conſcience, and duty, I am bound to do, which her Majeſtie hath with earneſt charge committed unto me, and which I am not well able to juſtifie to be moſt requiſite for this State and Church, whereof next to her Majeſtie, though moſt unworthy, or at leaſt moſt unhappy, the chief, is committed unto me, which I will not by the grace of God neglect, whatſoever come upon me. Therefore I neither care for the honour of the place (which is *onus* to me) nor the largeneſs of the Revenues, nor any other worldly thing. I thank God, in reſpect of doing my duty, neither do I fear the diſpleaſure of man, nor the evil tongues of the uncharitable, who call me Tyrant, Pope, Knave, and lay to my charge things which I never thought, *Scio hoc enim opus eſſe diaboli, ut ſervos Dei mendacio lacteret, & opinionibus falſis glorioſum nomen infamet, ut qui conſcientiæ ſuæ luce clareſcunt, alienis rumoribus ſordidentur.* So was *Cyprian* himſelf uſed, and other ancient and Godly Biſhops, to whom I am not comparable. The day will come, when all mens hearts ſhall be opened; in the mean time I will depend on him, who never forſakes thoſe that put their truſt in him. If your Lordſhip

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Lordſhip ſhall keep thoſe two from anſwering according to the order ſet down, it will be of it ſelf a ſetting at liberty of all the reſt, and of undoing of all that which hitherto hath been done; neither ſhall I be able to do my duty according to her Majeſties expectation; And therefore I beſeech your Lordſhip to leave them unto me; I will not proceed againſt them, till I have made you privy to their anſwers, and further conferred with you about them; becauſe I ſee your Lordſhip ſo earneſt in their behalf; whereof alſo they have made publick boaſts (as I am informed) which argueth what manner of perſons they are: I beſeech your Lordſhip to take not onely the length, but alſo the matter of this Letter in good part, and to continue to me as you have done, whereof I doubt not: for aſſuredly if you forſake me (which I know you will not after ſo long triall and experience, with continuance of ſo great friendſhip) eſpecially in ſo good a cauſe, I ſhall think my coming to this place, to have been for my puniſhment; and my hap very hard, that when I think to deſerve beſt, and in a manner to conſume my ſelf, to ſatisfie that which God, her Majeſtie, the Church, requireth of me, ſhould be ſo evil rewarded, *Sed meliora ſpero.* And I know your Lordſhip doth all, as you are perſwaded, for the beſt; I beſeech God long to bleſs and preſerve you.

John Cantuar.

It ſeemes the Lord Treaſurer took exceptions at ſome paſſages herein, I dare not ſay with thoſe, That the Letter was brought to him when he was indiſpoſed with the fit of the Gout, which made him ſo offended. But whatſoever was the cauſe of his paſſion, ſee ſome ſigns thereof in what followeth.

The L. Treaſurers ſmart Letter to the Arch-Biſhop.

I Have Received your Graces long Letter, anſwering ſundry ſpeeches, as I think, delivered by your Chaplain, Doctor *Cozens*, and I perceive you are ſharply moved to blame me, and clear your ſelf: I know I have many faults, but I hope I have not given ſuch cauſe of offence, as your Letter expreſſeth. I deny nothing that your Grace thinketh meet to proceed in, with theſe whom you call factious; and therefore there is no controverſie between you, and me, expreſſed in your Letter: the controverſie is paſſed in your Graces Letter in ſilence; and ſo I do ſatisfie; your Grace promiſed me to deal, I ſay onely with ſuch as violated order, and to charge them therewith, which I allow well of. But your Grace not charging them with ſuch faults, ſeeketh by examination to urge them to accuſe themſelves; and then I think you will puniſh them: I think your Graces proceeding is, I will not ſay rigorous or captious, but I think it is ſcant charitable; I have no leiſure to write more, and therefore I will end, for writing will but increaſe offence, and I mean not to offend your Grace, I am content that your Grace, and my Lord of *London*, where I hear *Brown* is, uſe him as your wiſdoms ſhall think meet; If I had known his fault, I might be blamed for writing for him, but when by examination onely it is meant to ſift him with twenty four Articles, I have cauſe to pitty the poor man.

Your Graces as friendly as any,
WILL. BURLEY.

a Eccles. 7. 9. Short but sharp. I see though anger only *resteth* a *in the Bosome of Fools*, it may *light* on the Brest of a wise man. But no fear that these friends will finally fall out, who alternately were passionate, and patient. So that now it *came to the turn* of *Whitgift* to be calme, as he expressed himself in the following return. Anno Dom. 1584. Eliz. 26.

To the Lord Treasurer.

My singular good Lord,

The Arch-Bishops calm Letter to the half-angry Treasurer.

GOd knoweth how desirous I have been from time to time to satisfie your Lordship in all things, and to have my doings approved to you. For which cause since my coming to this place, I have done nothing of Importance without your advice, I have risen early, and sat up late, to write unto you such objections, and answers as on either side were used, I have not the like to any man, and shall I now say I have lost my labour, or shall my just dealing with two of the most disordered Ministers in a whole Dioceis (the obstinacy, and contempt of whom, especially of one of them, you your self would not bear in any subjected to your authority) cause you so to think, and speak of my doings: yea, and of my self, no man living should have made me believe it. *Solomon* saith, an old friend is better then a new, and I trust your Lordship will not so lightly cast off your old friends, for any of these new fangled, and factious sectaries, whose fruits are to make divisions whersoever they come, and to separate old, and assured friends. Your Lordship seemeth to charge me with breach of promise, touching my manner of proceeding, whereof I am no way guilty, but I have altered my first course of depriving them for not subscribing only, justifiable by the Law, and common practice both in the time of King *Edward*, and from the beginning of her Majesties Reign, and chosen this only to satisfie your Lordship. Your Lordship also objecteth, that it is said, I took this course for the better maintenance of my book, my enemies say so indeed, but I trust my friends have a better opinion of me; what should I seek for any confirmation of my book, after twelve years, or what should I get thereby more then already? And yet if subscription may confirme it, it is confirmed long agoe by the subscription of all the Clergy almost in *England* before my time, even of *Brain* also who now seemeth to be so willfull. Mine Enemies and tongues of this slanderous and uncharitable sect report, that I am revolted and become a Papist, and I know not what, but it proceedeth from their lewdnesse, not from any desert of mine; and I disdain to answer to any such notorious untruths, which the best of them dare not avouch to my face. Your Lordship seemeth further to burden me with wilfulnes, I am sure that you are not so perswaded of me, I will appeal to your own conscience. There is difference betwixt wilfullnes, and constancie, I have taken upon me the defence of the Religion, and rights of the Church of *England*, to appease the sects of schisms therein, and to reduce all the Ministers thereof to uniformity, and due obedience herein, I intend to be constant, and not to waver with every winde; The which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her Majesty, and the goodnes of the cause doth require of me, and wherein your Lordship and others

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others (all things considered) ought in duty to assist, and countenance me. *It* is strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good warranties as *I* do, should be so incountred, and for not yielding to be counted wilfull, but *I* must be contented, *Vincit qui patitur*, and if my friends forsake me herein, *I* trust God will not, neither the Law, nor her Majesty who hath laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me. But of all other things it most grieveth me, if your Lordship should say, that two Ministers fare the worse because your Lordship hath sent them. Hath your Lordship ever had any cause so to think of me? It is needless for me to protest my heart, and affection towards you above all other men, the world knoweth it, and *I* am assured that your Lordship nothing doubteth thereof: *I* have rather cause to complain to your Lordship of your self, that upon so small an occasion, and in the behalf of two such you will so hardly conceive of me, yea, and as it were countenance persons so meanly qualified in so evill a cause against me, your Lordships so long tried friend, and their Ordinary. That hath not so been in times past, now it should least of all be, *I* may not suffer the notorious contempt of one of them especially, unless *I* will become *Esops* Block, and undoe all that which hitherto have been done. Well, because *I* would be loath to omit any thing whereby your Lordship might be satisfied, *I* have sent unto you herein inclosed certain reasons to justifie the manner of my proceedings, which *I* marvel should be so misliked in this cause, having been so long practised in the same, and never before this time found fault with. Truly my Lord *I* must proceed this way, or not at all, the reasons I have set down in this paper. And I heartily pray your Lordship, not to be carried away, either from the cause, or from my self upon unjust surmises, and clamours, lest you be the occasion of that confusion which hereafter you would be sorry for. For mine own part I desire no further defence in these occasions: neither of your Lordship, nor any other, then Justice, and Law will yield unto me. In my own private affairs, I know I shall stand in need of friends, especially of your Lordship, of whom I have made alwayes an assured account; but in these publick actions, I see no cause why I should seek for friends, seeing they to whom the care of the Commonwealth is committed, ought of duty therein to joyne with me. To conclude, I am your Lordships assured, neither will I ever be perswaded, but you do all even of hearty good will towards me.

John Cantuar.

Now amongst all the favourers of the Presbyterians, surely honesty, and wisdom, never met more in any then in Sr. *Francis Walsingham*, of whom it may be said (abate for the disproportion) as of Sr. *Paul, though poore yet making many rich*. Having but one only *Daughter* (*whose extraordinary handsomnesse, with a moderate portion would considerably prefer her in marriage.*) He neglected wealth in himself, though I may say, he enriched many (not only his dependants but,) even the English Nation, by his prudent steering of State affairs. How he interceded to qualifie the Arch-Bishop, for a *Semi-nonconformist*, we learn from his following Letter.

Sr. Fra. Walsingham a good friend to nonconformists.

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Sr. Francis Walsinghams Letter to the Arch-Bishop in favour of non-conformists.

IT may please your Grace to understand, that this bearer M^r. *Leverwood*, of whom I wrote unto your Grace, hath been here with me, and finding him very conformable, and willing to observe such orders as are appointed to be used in the Church, as your Grace shall partly perceive by certain Articles subscribed with his own hand, and herein inclosed, I willed him to repair unto your Grace; And in case these Articles may be allowed, then I pray your Grace to be his good Lord, and that with your good will and favour he may proceed in his suit; upon knowledge whereof, I do mean to deal further therein with her Majesty thereof for him, as I have already begun to do, upon the good report I heard of the man, before your Graces message sent to M^r. *Nicasius* for the stay thereof. And so I humbly take my leave.

Your Graces at command
Francis Walsingham.

What this Letter effected, the next will informe us.

The Arch-Bishops answer to secretary *Walsingham's* Letter.

Right Honourable,

I thank you heartily for your letter, written unto me in the behalf of *Leverwood*, wherein I perceive the performance of your honorable speeches to my self, in promising to joyne with me, against such as shall be breakers of the orders of the Church established: and movers of contentions therein upon that, and other like speeches of yours with me at your last being at *Lambeth*, I have forborn to suspend or deprive any man already placed in any cure or charge, for not subscribing only, if hereafter he would promise unto me in writing, the observing of the Book of Common-Prayer, and the orders of the Church by law set down: and I do now require subscription to the said Articles, of such only as are to be admitted to the Ministry, and to Ecclesiasticall livings, wherein I finde my self something eased of my former troubles: and as yet none or very few of the last named persons, to refuse to subscribe to the said Articles, though some of them have been accounted heretofore very precise. I also very well remember that it was her own wish, and desire, that such as hereafter should be admitted to any living, should in like manner be tied to the observing the orders: which as it hath already wrought some quietness in the Church, so I doubt not but that it will in time perfect the same. And I cannot break that order in one, but other will look for the like favour, to the renewing, and increasing of the former Atheisme, not yet already extinguished. Wherefore I heartily pray you to joyn with me herein. Touching the Articles inclosed in your letter, whereunto *Leverwood* hath subscribed: they are of no moment, but such as may easily be deluded. For whereas he first saith, that he will willingly subscribe as far as the law requireth at his hand, his meaning is, that the law requireth no such subscription, for so I am informed that some Lawyers (therein deceived) have perswaded him and others,

and

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and in saying that he will alwayes in the Ministry use the Book of Common-Prayer, and none else, his meaning is, that he will use but so much of the Book as pleaseth him, and not that he will use all things in the Book required of him. I have dealt with him in some particularities, which he denieth to use, and therefore his subscription is to small purpose. I would, as neer as I can, promise, that none should hereafter come into the Church to breed new troubles, I can be better occupied otherwise. And God would bless our labours more amply, and give better success to the word so commonly and diligently preached if we could be at peace, and quietness among our selves, which I most hartily wish, and doubt not to bring to pass by Gods grace, the rather through your good help, and assistance, whereof I assure my self, and so with my hearty prayers &c.

John Cantuar.

A transition to other matter.

Thus have we presented to the Reader some select Letters out of many in my hand, passing betwixt the highest persons in Church matters. I count it a blessing that providence hath preserved such a treasure unplundred, esteem it a favour in such friends as imparted them unto me, and conceive it no ungratefull act in our communicating the same to the Reader. And now we (who hitherto according to good manners have held our peace, while such who were farr our betters, by their pens spake one to another) begin to resume our voice, and express our selves as well as we may in the following History.

Good *Grindal* his death.

10. By the changing of *Edmond* into *John Cantuar.* It plainly appears, that as all these letters were written this year, so they were indited after the sixth of *July*, (and probably about *December*) when Bp. *Grindal* deceased. Our English *Eli*, for *office* (highest in spirituall promotion) *age* (whereby both were blinde) and *manner of his death*, thus far forth as heart-broken with sorrow. *Grindals* grief proceeded from the Queens displeasure, undeservedly procured by the practises of his malicious enemies. There want not those who will strain the paralel betwixt *Eli* and *Grindal* in a fourth respect, both being guilty of dangerous indulgence, and lenity to offenders. Indeed *Grindal*, living, and dying sole, and single, could not be cockering to his own children; but as a *Father of the Church*, he is accused for too much conniving at the factious disturbers thereof. Sure I am, he was an impartial corrector of mens vicious conversations: witness his sharp reproving of *Julio* the Italian Physician, for marrying another mans wife. Which bitter, but wholsome pill, the Physician himself not being able to disgest, incensed the Earl of *Leicester*, and he the Queens Majesty against the good Arch-bishop. But all was put on the account of *Grindals* non-conformity, for favouring the factious meetings, called Propheſyings. *Grindal*, sensible of the Queens displeasure, desired to resigne his place, and confine himself to a yearly pension: not, as some may pretend, that it was against his conscience to keep it; but because above his impotent age to mannage so great a charge. The place was proffered to *Whitgift*, but he in the presence of the Queen utterly refused it: yet, what he would not snatch, soon after fell into his hands by *Grindals* death.

11. Who

A plea for *Grindals* poverty.

11. Who so beholds the large revenues conferr'd on *Grindal*, the long time he enjoyed them (Bishop of *London*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, and *Canterbury*, above eighteen years) the little charge incumbring him, dying a single man, will admire at the mean estate he left behind him. Yea, perchance they will erroneously impute this to his prodigality, which more truly is to be ascribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die guilty of much wealth; not to speak of fat Servants made under a lean Master. The little he had, as it was well gotten, was well bestowed, in pious uses on *Cambridge*, and *Oxford*, with the building, and endowing of a School at *St. Bees* in *Cumberland*, where he was born. Yea, he may be beheld as a benefactour to the English nation, for bringing *Tamarix* first over into *England*. As the *inventers of evill things* are justly taxed by the [a] Apostle: so the first importers of good things deserve due commendation; That plant being so soveraign to mollifie the hardnes of the spleen; a malady whereof Students (betrayed thereunto by their sedentarie lives) too generally do complain.

[a] Rom. 1. 13.

SECT.

Anno Dom. 1583.

Section VI.

To the *Master, Wardens,* and all the *Members* of the *Honorable Company* of *Mercers* of *London.*

AS *it would be a* ſin of omiſſion *in me* (*ſo much obliged to your ſociety*) *ſhould no ſhare in my* Hiſtory *be allowed unto you, ſo I ſhould* commit *a* great incongruity, *if aſſigning it any where elſe, then in the Reign of* Queen Elizabeth. *Whoſe great Grandfather* Sr. Godfrey Bollen (1458. *Major of* London) *generally believed one of your* Company, *ſo that the* Crowned Maidenhead *in your* Arms, *may in ſome ſort ſeem* Prophetical, *Preſaging ſuch a* Queen-Virgin *ſhould be extracted from one of your* Society, *as the* Chriſtian-World *could not paralel in all particulars.*

Indeed much of credit is imported in your very Name. *For ſeeing all* Buyers *and* Sellers, *are* Mercers à Mercando, *Cuſtom hath confined and fixed the term* Eminently *on your Corporation, as alwayes the prime* Chapmen *of our* Nation, *in which reſpect you have the* precedency *of all other* Companies.

I will detain you no longer from better Cuſtomers, *wiſhing you* ſound wares, quick vent, good prizes, ſure payment. *One* Commodity *alone excepted, I mean the* Truth *it ſelf,* * this buy and ſell it not, Purchaſe *it on any* terms, *but* part *with it on no* Conditions.

* Pro. 23. 23.

Jan. 13. 1583.

ABout four a clock in the afternoone on the Lords day, a ſad accident happned in *Paris-garden*, on the ſouth-ſide of *Thames*, over againſt *London*. Whileſt multitudes were beholding the baiting of the bear, the old under-propped Scaffolds overladen with people, ſuddenly fell down, killed [a] eight outright, hurt, and bruiſed many moe, to the ſhortning of their lives. The [b] aſſertors of the ſtrict obſervation of the Sabbath, vigorouſly improve this (as well they may) againſt them who prophane the Lords-day, which afterwards (the joyfull effect of a dolefull cauſe) was generally kept with more carefulneſs.

Warning to Sabbath-breakers.

a *Holinſhed pag.* 1353.
b Dr. *Bound.*

Robert Brown first appears. a Camden Brit. in Lincoln-shire.

2. *Robert Brown* began at this time to broach his opinions. he was born in *Rutland-shire*, of an ancient and worshipfull family (one whereof founded a fair Hospital in *Stamford*) nearly allied to the *Lord Treasurer Cicil*. He was bred for a time in *Cambridge* (I conceive in *Corpus Christi* Colledge) but question, whether ever a Graduate therein. He used some time to preach at *Bennet-Church*, where the vehemency of his utterance passed for zeal among the Common people, and made the vulgar to admire, the wise to suspect him. Dr. *Still*, afterwards Master of *Trinity* (out of curiosity, or casually present at his preaching) discovered in him something extraordinary, which he presaged would prove the disturbance of the Church, if not seasonaly prevented. Some years after, *Brown* went over into *Zealand*, to purchase himself more reputation from forraign parts. For, a smack of travail gives an *high taste* to strange opinions, making them better relished to the licourish lovers of novelty. Home he returns with a full crie against the Church of *England*, as having so much of *Rome*, she had nothing of Christ in her discipline.

Anno Dom. 1581. Anno Regni Eliz. 24.

A

Norfolke was the first place whereon *Brown* (new flown home out of the *Low-Countries*) *pearched* himself, and therein in the City of *Norwich*. A place which then spake [illegible] more then *mediterranem linguæ*, having almost as many *dutch* strangers, as *English* natives inhabiting therein. *Brown* beginning with the *Dutch*, soon proceeded to infect his own Country-men, for which he was confined, as the following letter of the Lord Treasurer *Burghly*, to Bp. *Phreke* of *Norwich* will informe us.

After my very hearty commendations to your Lordship, whereas I understand that one *Brown* a Preacher is by your Lordship and others of the Ecclesiasticall Commission committed to the custody of the Sheriff of *Norfolk*, where he remains a prisoner, for some matters of offence uttered by him by way of preaching, wherein I perceive by sight of some letters written by certain godly preachers in your Lordships Diocess he hath been dealt with, and by them dissuaded from that course he hath taken. Forasmuch, as he is my kinsman; if he be son to him whom I take him to be, and that his errour seemeth to proceed of zeal rather then of malice, I do therefore wish he were charitably conferred with and reformed, which course I pray your Lordship may be taken with him, either by your Lordship or such as your Lordship shall assigne for that purpose. And in case there shall not follow thereof such success, as may be to your liking, that then you would be content to permit him to repair hither to *London*, to be further dealt with as I shall take order for upon his coming, for which purpose I have written a letter to the Sheriff, if your Lordship shall like thereof. And so I bid your Lordship right heartily farewell. From the Court at *Westminster* this 21. of *April*. 1581.

A

Your Lordships very loving friend

W. B.

After

Anno Dom. 1583.

Brown being thus brought up to *London*, by the advice of his friends was wrought to some tolerable compliance, and being discharged by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was by the Lord Treasurer sent home to his father *Anthony Brown* at *Tolethorp* in *Rutland* Esquire. One I assure you of ancient, and right worshipfull extraction, having my self seen a charter granted by *King Henry the eighth*, (the 16th. of *July*, in the 18th. of his reign) and confirmed by act of Parliament, to *Francis Brown* father to the aforesaid *Anthony*, *giving him leave to put on his cap, in the presence of the King or his heirs, or any Lord Spirituall or Temporall in the land, and not to put it off but for his own ease, and pleasure.* But let us see the Lord Treasurers letter in the behalf of *Brown* to his father.

After my very hearty commendations, understanding that your son *Robert Brown*, had been sent for up by my Lord Bishop of *Canterbury*, to answer to such matters as he was to be charged with-all, contained in a Book made by him, and published in print (as it was thought) by his means: I thought good, considering he was your Son, and of my blood, to send unto my Lord of *Canterbury* in his behalf, that he might finde what reasonable favour he could shew him; before whom I perceive he hath answered in some good sort; and although I think he will not deny the making of the Book, yet by no means will he confess to be acquainted with the publishing or printing of it. He hath besides yielded unto his Lordship such further contentment, as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to discharge him, and therefore for that he purposeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with these my letters, and to pray you for this cause, or any his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered, and withdrawn from the Reliques of some fond opinions of his, which will be the better done, if he be dealt withall in some kinde, and temperate manner. And so I bid you very heartily farewell. From my house neer the *Savoy* this eighth of *October* 1585.

Your loving friend and Cousin,
William Burghley.

But it seems *Browns errours* were so *inlaid* in him, no conference with *Divines* could convince him to the contrary, whose incorrigibleness made his own father weary of his company. *Men* may *wish*, *God* only can *work*, children to be good. The old gentleman would own him for his *Son* no longer, then his *Son* owned the *Church of England* for his *Mother*, desiring to rid his hands of him, as by the insuing letter will appear.

After my very hearty Commendations, I perceive by your letters, that you have little or no hopes of your sons conformity, as you had when you received him into your house, and therefore you seem desirous that you might have liberty to remove him further off from you, as either to *Stamford*, or some other place, which I know no cause but you may very well and lawfully do, where I wish he might better be perswaded to conforme himself for his own good: and yours, and his friends comfort. And so I very heartily bid you farewell. From the Court this seventeenth of *February*, 1585.

Your very loving friend and cousin
William Burghley.

Thus to make our Story of the *troublesome man* the more entire, we have trespassed on the two following years, yet without discomposing our *Chronologie* on the *Margin*. Anno Dom. 1583.

Brown his opinions.

3. With his assistant *Richard Harrison*, a petty Pedagogue, they inveighed against Bishops, Ecclesiasticall Courts, Ceremonies, Ordination of Ministers, and what not? fancying here on earth a platform of a perfect Church, without any faults (understand it thus, save those that are made by themselves) therein. The Reader, if desirous to know their opinions, is referred to the large, and learned Treatises written against them; particularly to the pains of Dr. *Fulke*, proving, that the *Brownists* (so named from this *Brown*, their ringleader) were in effect the same with the ancient *Donatists*, only newly reviv'd. Thus there is a circulation, as in fashion of clothes; so of opinions, the same after some years return: *Brownisme* being no more than *Donatisme* vamped with some new additions. The Queen, and Her Councell seriously set themselves, first by gentleness to reduce, and (that not succeeding) by severity to suppress the increase of this faction. *Brown* himself used to boast, that *he had been committed to thirty two prisons, and in some of them he could not see his hand at noon day*. Yet for all this he came off at last both with saving his life, and keeping his living (and that none of the meanest, *Achurch* in *Northampton-shire*) unto the day of his death.

Extraordinary favour indulged unto him.

4. One may justly wonder, when many meaner *Accessaries* in this schism were arraigned, condemned, executed, how this *Brown*, the *Principal*, made so fair an escape, yea, enjoyed such preferment. I will never believe, that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main of what he maintained. More probable it is, that the promise of his general compliance with the Church of *England* (so far forth as not to make future disturbance therein) met with the Arch-Bishops courteous acceptance thereof, both which effectually improved by the countenance of *Thomas Cecil*, Earl of *Exeter* (*Brown's* near kinsman, and patron) procured this extraordinary favour to be indulged unto him. His Parsonage he freely possess'd allowing a sufficient salary for one to discharge the cure; and (though against them in his judgement) was contented (and perchance pleased) to take the tithes of his own parish.

The authors observation on him.

5. For my own part (whose nativity Providence placed within a mile of this *Brown* his pastorall charge) I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature, offended, if what he affirm'd, but in common discourse, were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the Sabbatarian strictness, to which some precisers *Brownists* did afterwards pretend, that both in judgement, and practise, he seemed rather libertine therein. In a word, he had in my time a wife, with whom, for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste: and a Church, wherein he never preached, though he received the profits thereof.

The occasion of his late death.

6. As for his death in the prison in *Northampton*, many years after (in the reign of King *Charles Anno* 1630.) it nothing related to those opinions he did, or his followers do maintain. For as I am credibly informed, being by the Constable of the Parish (who chanced also to be his God-son) somewhat roughly and rudely required the payment of a *rate*, he happ'ned in passion to strike him. The Constable (not taking it patiently as a castigation from a God-father, but in anger as an affront to his office) complained to Sr. *Rowland* Sr. *John*, a neighbouring Justice of the peace, and *Brown* is brought before him. The Knight of himself, was prone rather to pity, and pardon, than punish his passion; but *Browns* behaviour was so stubborn, that he appeared obstinately ambitious of a prison, as desirous (after long

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long abſence) to renew his familiarity with his ancient acquaintance. His *Mittimus* is made, and a cart with a feather-bed provided to carry him, he himſelf being ſo infirme (above eighty) to goe, too unweldie to ride, and no friend ſo favourable, as to purchaſe for him a more comly conveyance. In *Northampton* jayle he is ſent, where, ſoon after he ſickned, died, and was buried in a neighbouring Church-yard: and it is no hurt to wiſh, that his bad opinions had been interred with him.

7. The Tenents of *Browniſts* daily increaſing, their books were prohibited by the Queens authority. Notwithſtanding which prohibition, ſome preſumed to diſperſe the ſame, and paid dearly for their contempt therein. For, *Elias* [a] *Thacker* was hanged on the fourth, and *John Coping* on the ſixth of *June*, at the ſame place, S[r]. *Edmonds Burie*, and for the ſame offence, the ſcattering ſuch ſchiſmatical pamphlets.

Two Browniſts executed.
a *Stow* Chronicle pag. 697.

8. *John Whitgift* ſucceeding in the Arch-Biſhoprick, found it much ſurcharged in the valuation, and empaired in the revenues, through the negligence of his predeceſſour, who would pay willingly what they aſked of him, and take contentedly what any tendered to him. Firſt therefore *Whitgift* [b] procured an order out of the Exchequer, for the abatement of an hundred pound for him, and his ſucceſſours in the payment of his firſt-fruits. Afterwards he encountred no meaner man, than that great Courtier, Souldier, and Privie Counſellour S[r]. *James Crofts*; or rather he legally conteſted with the Queen in him, and recovered from both, long [c] *Beachwood* in *Kent* (containing above a thouſand acres of land) detained from his predeceſſours under colour of a leaſe from Her Majeſty.

Whitgift ſucceedeth him.
b S[r]. *George Paul* in his life pag. 28.
c *Idem* p. 29.

9. This [d] year *Nicholas Sanders* (more truly *Slanders*) had in *Ireland* a wofull end of his wretched life. He was borne in *Surrey*, bred firſt in *Wincheſter*, then in *New Colledge* in *Oxford*, where he was Kings-Profeſſor of Canon-Law, but afterwards, baniſhing himſelf, fled to *Rome*, there made Prieſt, and D[r]. of Divinity. He accompanied Cardinal *Hoſius*, to the Councel of *Trent*, and there is ſaid, by diſputing, and declaiming to have gained himſelf great reputation. At laſt he was ſent over, Popes *Nuncio* into *Ireland*, conceived then a deſperate employment, and therefore many Catholicks regreted thereat. Yea, ſome were overheard to ſay (but it is [e] *Pitzeus Sander's* own ſiſters ſon, who reports it) *Why does his Holineſs ſend our* Sanders *into* Ireland? *we value him more then all* Ireland *is worth.* There amongſt the bogs, and mountains was he ſtarved to death, juſtly famiſhed for want of food, who formerly had furfited on improbable lies, by him firſt forged on the nativity of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Death of Sanders.
d Camdens *Eliz.* in hoc Anno.
e De ſcriptor. Anglican. ætat 16. pag. 773.

10. We muſt not forget, how this year, one *John Lewes* was burnt at *Norwich* for denying the Godhead of Chriſt, and holding other deteſtable hereſies. He called himſelf [f] *Abdait* (let him tell you what he meant thereby) alluding therein to the promiſe of a *new* [g] *name, which no man knoweth but him that receiveth it*, having in it a little mock-Hebrew, to make himſelf the more remarkable.

Lewes burnt at *Norwich*.
f *Stows Chron.* pag. 697.
g Rev. 2. 17.

1584.

11. Now, ſo great was the malice of the Jeſuits againſt Her Majeſty, that at this time they ſet forth many ſlanderous libels, ſtirring up Her Subjects, and Servants to do the ſame to Her, as *Judith* did to [h] *Holofernes*. One of their principal pamphlets was intitled, *A Treatiſe of Schiſm*. The ſuſpicion of making it, fell on *Gregory Martin*, one probable enough for ſuch a prank (as being Divinity Profeſſor in *Rhemes*) did not his Epitaph there [i] enſure me, he was dead and buried, two years before. Though it is poſſible, his poſthume work might be *born* abroad, after the death of the author thereof. But, whoever made it, *William Carter*, the Stationer, paid dearly for publiſhing it, being executed at *Tiburn*. And in the next moneth five Seminaries, *John Fen*, *George Haddock*, *John Munden*, *John Nutter*, and *Thomas Hemmerford*, were hanged, bowelled, and quartered for treaſon;

Popiſh libels.
h Camdens *Eliz.* in hoc Anno.
i *Pitzeus* De ſcript. Anglic. pag. 782.

treason, at *Tiborn*; and many others about the same time, executed in other places. Anno Dom. 1584. Anno Regni Eliz. 27.

The Queen Her eminent mercy.

12. Yet, even in the midst of this necessarie severity, Her Majesty was most mercifull unto many Popish malefactors, whose lives stood forfeited to the Laws, in the rigour thereof. For, no fewer then seventy Priests (some of them actually condemned to die, all legally deserving death) were, by one act of Grace, pardoned, and sent over beyond sea. Amongst these were

a *Camdens Eliz.* 1584.

1. *Gaspar Heywood*, son to that eminent Epigrammatist, the first [a] Jesuite that ever set foot in *England*.
2. *James Bosgrave*.
3. *John Hart*, a learned man, zealous to dispute, not dangerous to practice for his religion.
4. *Edward Rishton*, ungrateful wretch, who afterwards railed in print on the Queen, who gave him his life.

Her Majesties mercy herein was the more remarkable, because done at a time, when treasons against her person (by *Arden Summerfield, Throgmorton* &c.) did follow, or rather, tread one on another. If hereafter the edge of justice fall sharper on Jesuits, let them thank their own trechery, which whetted it against themselves.

Two fruitless Conferences.

13. This year two conferences or disputations were kept, (the last at *Lambeth*) about the Disciplin and Ceremonies of the Church.

1. *Whitgift*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. *Sandys* of *York*, and *Cooper* of *Winchester* for the same.
2. Unconforming Ministers (whose names I cannot certainly attain) against it.
3. The Lords of Her Majesties Privie Councell, and some other persons of Honour Auditors thereof.

This Conference effected nothing on the disputants (as to the altering of their opinions) little on the Auditors, but as much on all as any judicious person ever expected. What *Eliah* said passionately, [b] *I am no better then my Fathers*, may be soberly said of this conference. *It was no happier then any of its Ancestors*, which went before it. Let me add also, and *no unhappier than its successors that shall come after it*. It being observed, that meetings of this nature before or after this time, never produced any great matter on persons present thereat: who generally carry away the same judgement they brought with them. And yet the Lords were pleased to say their judgements were satisfied in the point on the Bishops behalf, not conceving their adversaries arguments so slight and triviall, as now they appeared. This was in some of them but a Court-Complement, who afterwards secretly acted against the Arch-Bishop, in favour of the other party.

b 1 King. 19.4

Subscription severely prefsed.

14. *Whitgift* finding this first way unsuccessfull, fell from other reasoning to a *flat argument from Authority*, enjoyning all admitted to the Ecclesiasticall Orders, and Benefices, the subscription of the following Articles.

1. *That the Queen had supream authority over all persons born within Her Dominions, of what condition so ever they were; and that no other Prince, Prelate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Civil, or Ecclesiasticall, within Her Realms, or Dominions.*

2. That

Anno Dom. 1584.

2. *That the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be used; and, that they will use that, and none other.*

3. *That the Articles of Religion agreed in the Synod holden at* London, *in the year of our Lord* 1562. *and published by the Queens authority, they did allow of, and beleeve them to be consonant to the Word of God.*

The severe inforcing of subscription hereunto, what great disturbance it occasioned in the Church, shall hereafter by Gods assistance be made to appear, leaving others to judge whether the offence was given, or taken thereby.

15. Now came forth the Rhemish Translation of the *New Testament*. A *Translation* which needeth to be *translated*, neither good Greek, Latine, or English, as every where bespeckled with hard words (pretended not renderable in English without abatement of some expressiveness) which transcend common capacities. Besides, it is taxed by our Divines as guilty of abominable errours therein. It was printed in large paper, with a fair letter and margent, all which I have charity enough to impute to their desire to do it, for the more dignity of Gods word; whilest others interpret it, that thereby purposely they inhaunced the price, to put it past the power of poore mens purses to purchase it. Another accident paised the dearness thereof, because so many books being seized on by the Queens Searchers, the whole price of the Edition fell the more heavie on the remainder. But, suppose a poor Lay-Catholick so rich through his industry, as secretly to purchase one of these Rhemish Testaments, he durst not avouch the reading thereof, without the permission of his Superiors licensing him thereunto.

The Rhemish Translation comes forth.

16. Secretary *Walsingham*, by his letters solicited Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, to undertake the refuting of this Rhemish Translation: and the better to enable him for the work, sent him an hundred [a] pounds out of his own purse. A bountifull gift for one, who was though a great *Statesman*, a man of *small estate*, contracting honourable [b] poverty on himself, by his expence on the publick, as dying not so engaged to his private creditors, as the whole Church, and State was indebted to his endeavours. *Walsingham* his letters to *Cartwright* were seconded by another from the Doctours, and Heads of Houses (and Dr. *Fulke* amongst the rest) at *Cambridge*, besides the importunity of the ministers of *London*, and *Suffolk*, solliciting him to the same purpose. Hereupon *Cartwright* buckled himself to the employment, and was very forward in the pursuance thereof.

Cartwright invited to answer it.
a See the preface to *Cartwright's* book.
b *Camdens Elizabeth Anno* 1590.

17. No sooner had *Whitgift* gotten notice, what *Cartwright* was a writing, but presently he prohibited his farther proceeding therein. It seems, *Walsingham* was Secretary of *State*, not of *Religion*, wherein the Arch-Bishop overpowred him. Many commended his care, not to intrust the defence of the Doctrine of *England*, to a pen so disaffected to the Discipline thereof. Others blamed his jealousie, to deprive the Church of so learned pains of him, whose judgement would so solidly, and affections so zealously confute the publick adversary. Distastfull passages (shooting at *Rome*, but glancing at *Canterburie*) if any such were found in his book, might be expunged, whilest it was pity so good fruit should be blasted in the bud, for some bad leaves about it. Disheartened hereat, *Cartwright* desisted; but some years after, encouraged by a Honourable Lord, resumed the work; but prevented by death, perfected no further then the fifteenth chapter of the *Revelation*. Many years lay this worthy work neglected, and the copy thereof mouse-eaten in part, whence the Printer excused some defects therein in his edition; which though late, yet at last came forth *Anno* 161[illegible]. A book, which notwithstanding the foresaid defects, is so compleat,

Whitgift stoppeth his book.

compleat, that the *Rhemists* durst never return the least answer thereunto.

Anno Dom. 1584. Anno Regni Eliz. 27.

18. Mean time whilest *Cartwright* his refutation of the *Rhemish* was thus retarded, Dr. *William Fulke*, Master of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, entered the list against them, judiciously, and learnedly, performing his undertaking therein. His daughter, and (as I take it) the only surviver of his children, lately set forth, the fourth and fairest edition of this his Confutation, and dedicated it to King *Charls*.

Dr. *Fulke* first effected it.

19. The Rhemists profess, in their preface to the *New Testament*, that the *Old Testament also lieth by them for lack of good means to publish the whole in such sort, as a work of so great charge and importance requireth*; which seemeth strange to a judicious consideration. For, had a voluminous *legend* of Saints-lives (with pictures as costly as superstitious) been to be set forth, a mass, a mint, a mine of mony could easily be advanced to defray the expences thereof. Thus Papists can be poor, or rich, as they please themselves. Some behold this their promise, to set forth the *Old Testament*, as not really intended, but given out to raise mens expectations, which in process of time would fall of it self, and the profer by degrees be forgotten. Others interpret their resolutions real, but purposely revoked, seeing the ill success of their *New Testament*, so canvassed, and confuted by the Protestant Divines. Perceiving that their small pinace, which they first set forth, met at sea with such boisterous weather, wisely they would not adventure a greater vessel after it: but rather left it to rot on the dock, than they would lanch it forth in such danger. A third sort behold this their promise, as a modest, and mannerly, (*alias*) a crafty, and cunning begging of a contribution of the Catholick party, for setting forth of the same, which never as yet came into publick view. Yea, the *Old Testament* some said would be old indeed, before the translation thereof in English were by them set forth: insomuch that some conceived, *a lease of land*, till this their promise be performed almost as good as the *fee-simple* thereof.

A promise never performed.

Confidence of many at last deceived.

20. But now though men were so generally confident, that these long expected *Rhemish notes* on the *Old Testament*, would not come forth till the *Greek Calends*, they have since found themselves deceived, seeing some twenty years after, that long-lookt for *work* crept forth into the *World*, little notice being taken thereof by the *Protestants*. Partly, because no great eminency therein to intitle it to their perusall; Partly, because that *moity* of the *Bible* is of least concernment in the controversies betwixt us, and the *Church* of *Rome*.

The death of *George Etheridge*.

21. I finde not this year the death of any eminent English Protestant-Divine. Amongst the Papists, *George Etheridge* departed this life, much lamented by those of his own perswasion. He was Bachelor of Physick in *Corpus-Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, and Kings-professor of Greek in that University, which place he quitted at the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, and betook himself there to a private life. His house was an Hospital to relieve those of his own Religion, on whom he expended his estate. He was one of the primitive Catholicks (saith my [a] author) persecuted for his conscience. As he started soon, he ran long in the race of patience, used to all the jayles in *Oxford*, and *London*, for thirty years together. In so much that he professed, that the variety of prisons was some pleasure, and the custome of durance had made fetters to be freedom unto him.

[a] *Pitseus de Anglic. Script.* pag. 785.

Mr. *Rogers* writeth on our Articles.

22. This year came forth the exposition of Mr. *Thomas Rogers*, on the Articles of the Church of *England*; which at first met not with that welcome entertainment, which seemed due to his endeavours. For, besides the two extremes, Papists, and Schismaticks, highly enraged, many Protestants of a middle temper were much offended thereat. Some conceiv'd it presumption for any private Minister, to make himself the mouth of the

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Church, to render her ſenſe in matters of ſo high concernment. Others were offended, that his interpretation confin'd the charitable latitude, formerly allowed in thoſe Articles. The compoſers whereof, providently foreſeeing, that doctrinal differences would inevitably ariſe, in ſo large a Church as *England* was, even betwixt Proteſtants agreeing in fundamentals of Religion, purpoſely couched the Articles in general terms (not that falſehood ſhould take ſhelter under the covert thereof, but) to include all ſuch diſſenters within the comprehenſiveneſs of the expreſſions. Whereas now Mr. *Rogers* his reſtrictive Comment, ſhut out ſuch from their concurrence with the Church of *England*, which the diſcreet laxity of the Text admitted thereunto. However the worth of the work, in ſome years wrought it ſelf into good eſteem, as dedicated to, and countenanced by the Arch-Biſhop, though the author thereof never got any higher preferment.

23. Three great *Societies* at this time in *London* were buſily imployed, the two former of them avouched by Law, and the third avouching it ſelf, namely.

Three great Corporations now on foot together.

The Parliament.	*The Convocation.*	*The aſſembly of Miniſters*
Begun and holden at *Weſtminſter*, the twenty third day of *November* laſt, and there continued till the twenty ninth of *March* following, wherein the Statute againſt Jeſuits, and Prieſts their departing out, and not coming into the Realm, was made, with penalty for the relieving them.	Kept in S[t]. *Pauls* in *London*, beginning with a moſt learned Latin [a] ſermon preached by *John Copcot*, D[r]. of Divinity (afterwards Maſter of *Bennet* Colledge in *Cambridge*) taking for his text 1 *Tim.* 6. 13. *Præcipio tibi coram Deo.* &c. Hence the Convocation was removed to the Collegiate Church of S[t]. *Peters* in *Weſtminſter*, where D[r]. *Goodman*, Dean thereof, made a ſolemn proteſtation with his fellow Prebends, that the ſaid meeting ought not to be prejudiciall to the priviledges of his Church, his Proteſtation was accepted, and aſſurance given that the ſaid Convocation met not there in any manner to infringe their Immunities, but only for the maturation of buſineſs with the more expedition through the conveniency of the place. *William Redman*, D[r]. of Divinity, Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury* was choſen and preſented Prolocutor.	The certain place of their convening not known, being clandeſtine, Arbitrary and changeable, as adviſed by their conveniences; they are better diſcovered by their moving then by their meeting, and their practices more conſpicuous then their places. Some Agent for them were all day at the dore of the Parliament houſe, and ſome part of the night in the Chambers of Parliament men, effectually ſoliciting their buſineſs with them.

[a] *Venuſta & eloquens Concio*, ſaith the Regiſter of *Canterbury* out of which I tranſcribed it.

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The Arch-Bishop afraid of alteration in Church Discipline writes to the Queen.

24. Wonder not if Arch-Bishop *Whitgift* repaired seldome to, and resided but a short time in the Convocation, having other work to do in the Parliament, where what impression was made by the Agents of the Ministers, will appear by his ensuing Letter to her Majesty.

To the Queens most excellent Majesty.

Out of Bp. *Whitgifts* manuscripe of his own Letters afterwards in Sr. *Peter Manwoods*, & since in my own possession.

MAy it please your Majesty to be advertised, that notwithstanding the charge of late given by your Highness to the lower house of Parliament for dealing in causes of the Church, Albeit also according to your Majesties good liking, we have set down orders for the admitting of meet men into the Ministry hereafter; yet have they passed a Bill in that house yesterday, touching the matter, which, besides other great inconveniences, (as namely the trial of the Ministers sufficiency by twelve lay-men, and such like) hath this also, that if it pass by Parliament, it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be altered, what necessity soever shall urge thereunto; which I am perswaded in short time will appear, considering the multitude of livings, not fit for men so qualified, by reason of the smallness thereof: whereas if it pass but as a Canon from us, by your Majesties Authority, it may be observed or altered at your pleasure. They have also passed a Bill giving liberty to marry at all times of the year, without restraint, contrary to the old Canons, continually observed amongst us; and containing matter which tendeth to the slander of this Church: as having hitherto maintained an errour. There is likewise now in hand in the same house, a Bill concerning Ecclesiasticall Courts, and Visitations by Bishops, which may reach to the overthrow of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, and study of the Civill Laws: The pretence of the Bill is against excessive fees, and exactions in Ecclesiasticall Courts, which fees are none other then have been of long time accustomed to be taken, the Law already established, providing a sharp and severe punishment, for such as shall exceed the same; Besides an order also which we at this present have taken amongst our selves for the better performance thereof. I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, to continue your gracious goodness towards us, who with all humility submit our selves to your Highness, and cease not daily to pray for your happy estate, and long and prosperous Reign over us.

Mar. 14.

Your Majesties Chaplain and
daily Orator most bounden
John Cantuar.

Thus, the old year (on the last day whereof this Letter was dated) ended sadly, and suspiciously, with the Prelates; but the next year began Cheerfully, and presented good tidings unto them.

Her Majesty will alter nothing materiall to church government.

25. For, the *Queen*, to verifie her *Motto*, SEMPER EADEM, and to disprove that Inconstancy generally charged on her sex, acquitted Her self more then *Woman* in Her masculine resolutions: and nothing of moment was altered in Church discipline. Many things indeed were offered to both houses, debated, agitated, and (as it seems) passed the *Commons*; but

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but nothing in fine was effected. Thus the *Major* may *propound* what it pleaseth, and the *Minor assume* what it listeth, but no conclusive argument could then be framed, without the *Ergo* of the *royall Assent*, which the *Queen* refused to affix to any materiall *Alteration*.

26. And few dayes after the session of the Parliament for the present broke off, wherewith ended the assembly of the Ministers. And now all of them had leave to depart to their own homes: Otherwise such members thereof, as formerly went away without leave, were obnoxious to censure. Witness one of them in his Ingenious confession: [a] *Touching my departure from that holy assembly without leave* &c. *I crave pardon both of you and them* &c: *And thus commending this holy Cause to the Lord himself, and your Godly Councell to the President thereof, I take my leave.*

Parliament dissolved.

a Mr. *Gelibrand* to Mr. *Field*, cited by Bp. *Bancroft* in his dangerous positions. pag. 75.

27. The next day the Convocation ended, having effected nothing of moment, save that in the 9th. session thereof, *John Hilton* Priest, made a solemn Abjuration of his blasphemous heresies, according to the tenour ensuing.

John Hilton in Convocation abjureth his hereticall opinions.

Mar. 30.

[b] *In Dei nomine Amen. Before you most reverend father in God, Lord* John *Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *Primate and Metropolitane of all* England, *and the reverend fathers in God, the Bishops of this your Province of* Canterbury, *here Congregated and Assembled together in this holy Synod and Convocation, I* John Hilton, *Priest, of my pure heart, and free will, voluntarily and sincerely, knowledge, confess, and openly recognize, that in times past, I thought, believed, said, held, and presumptuously affirmed, and preached the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and damnable opinions following,* &c.

b This was by me faithfully transcribed out of the records of *Canterbury*.

Here he distinctly read a Schedule containing his heresies, (which what they were may be collected by that which ensueth) and then proceeded as followeth.

Wherefore I the said John Hilton, *detesting and abhorring all and every such my said Heresies, Blasphemies, and damned opinions; willing, and with all my power affecting, hereafter firmely to believe in the true and perfect faith of Christ, and his holy Church, purposing to follow the doctrine of Christ, and his holy Apostles, with a pure and free heart, voluntary minde, will and intent, utterly forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise, the said detestable Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Abominable opinions.*

Granting, and confessing, that the blessed Trinity consisteth in three distinct persons, and one Godhead; as God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, coequall in power and might.

Secondly, that Jesus Christ is both God and man, and my Saviour and Redeemer, and of all other baptized and believing in him. Who of his Father of his own substance in his humanity was conceived by the Holy Ghost, incarnate, and for our Redemption being very God became man.

And that by the death of Jesus Christ, we be not only made partakers of his Testament, and so deduced to the knowledge of his godly will, and power but also, that we have full Redemption, and Remission of our sins in his bloud.

And, where I did most ungodly, detestably, and blasphemously affirme, that the Old and New Testaments were Fables; now being most sorry for that abominable, and damnable assertion, I do most humbly and [c] ——— *believe the same Testaments to contain all truths necessary to salvation, and that I and all others are bound to believe the same, as the undoubted word of God, and that without that I cannot be saved.*

c Here the record is so ill written that this word is not legible.

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And therefore the said Errours, Blasphemies, and all other Heresies, false doctrines, and damned opinions in generall, contrary and repugnant to the faith of Christ I utterly abjure, forsake, and purely renounce, before you most Reverend father in God, and the rest of this holy Synod here assembled. And moreover, I swear by this holy Evangelist, by me here bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, believe or affirme the said Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, or damned opinions, or any other against, contrary or repugnant to the holy faith of Christs Church. Nor yet shall I by my self or any other person, privately or openly defend, maintain, succour, favour, or support any person, that to my knowledge holdeth, believeth, affirmeth or teacheth, any such Heresies, Errours, or damned opinions: So help me God, and these holy Evangelists. In witness whereof to this my present Abjuration, and renunciation, I have with my own hand voluntarily subscribed my proper name.

JOHN HILTON.

Pennance imposed upon him.

28. Upon this his *Abjuration*, Pennance was imposed on him, first that he should attend at *Pauls* Crosse upon the Preacher, Sunday next all the time of the Sermon, and there penitently stand before the said Preacher, with a faggot on his shoulders. Secondly, that he should not preach, minister Sacraments, nor exercise any Ecclesiasticall function in the Church, except specially licensed by the Arch-Bishop thereunto. Thirdly, that he should recant the said heresies, and damnable opinions, in the Church of S^t. *Martins* in the fields, at a sermon there to be made by the *Arch-Deacon*, and there to shew himself very penitent. I finde in the Records a recognizance of five hundred pounds drawn up to the Queen, whereby the said *Hilton* bound himself for the performance hereof; but because the rude draught of the bond is crossed, I conceive it not insisted on, and (finding nothing to the contrary) presume the aforesaid pennance by him exactly performed.

Exchange of important Letters betwixt the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Arch-Bishop.

29. The Ministers or Brethren now missing their mark, abated much of their former activity, in so much as that M^r. *Cartwright*, (whom I conjecture the President mentioned in the last assembly) began to make by the mediation of the *Earl* of *Leicester*, (who now designed him *master* of his new-built *hospital* in *Warwick*) compliance with *Whitgift*, though the wary Arch-Bishop, not over-fond of his friendship, kept him at distance, as these two Letters here inserted will sufficiently informe us.

My good Lord,

Taken out of the manuscript of Bp. *Whitgifts* Letters, belonging to Sir *Peter Manwood*, and since in my possession.

I Most heartily thank you, for your favourable and courteous usage of M^r. Cartwright, *who hath so exceeding kindly taken it also, as I assure your Grace he cannot speak enough of it; I trust it shall do a great deal of good, and he protesteth and professeth to me to take no other course, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the Church, and that your Grace hath so dealt with him, as no man shall so command him, and dispose of him as you shall: and doth mean to let his opinion publickly be known even in the Pulpit, if your Grace so permit him, what he himself will, and would all others should do for obedience to the Lawes established; and if any little scruple be, it is not great and easie to be reformed by your Grace, whom I do most heartily intreat to continue your favour and countenance*

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nance towards him, with ſuch acceſſe, ſometimes, as your leaſure may permit. For I perceive he doth much deſire, and crave it. I am to thank your Grace alſo very heartily for Mr. Fenne: *albeit I underſtand he is ſomething more opinionate then I wiſh him: But I truſt he will alſo yield to all reaſons: And I mean to deal with the Biſhop of* Coventry *and* Lichfield *to make ſome triall of him: for ſurely he is an honeſt man. Thus my good Lord, praying to God to bleſs his Church, and to make his ſervants conſtant, and faithfull, I bid your Grace farewell. At the Court this* 14th, July. July. 14.

Your Graces very aſſured friend

R. Leiceſter.

My ſingular good Lord.

MAſter Cartwright *ſhall be welcome to me at all times, and uſing himſelf quietly as becometh him, and as I hope he will, he ſhall finde me willing to do him any good. But to grant unto him as yet, my Licence to preach, without longer triall, I cannot, eſpecially ſeeing he proteſteth himſelf to be of the ſame minde he was at the writing of his Book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner. My ſelf alſo I thank God not altered in any point by me ſet down to the contrary; and knowing many things to be very dangerous; wherefore notwithſtanding I am content, and ready to be at peace with him, ſo long as he liveth peaceably, yet doth my conſcience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further publick approbation, untill I be better perſwaded of his Conformity. And ſo being bold to uſe my accuſtomed plainneſs with your Lordſhip, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God this* 17th *of* July, 1585.

John Cantuar.

Sept. 15. Anno Regin. 28. Dec. 1.

30. Seminaries and Prieſts to the number of thirty two, late priſoners in the Tower, Marſhalſy, Kings-Bench, and other places, were pardoned, enlarged, and tranſported over into *Normandie*, though occaſionally they were forced to land at *Bulloigne*. Seminaries enlarged and tranſported.

31. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who hitherto had done but little good in *England*, went now over to do leſs in the *Low-Countries*, commanding a great *Army* and *Name*, with the illuſtrious Title of *Generall of the Auxiliaries of the Queen of England*; he was not ſo much pleaſed with his *place* there, but that ſome of his Back-friends were as much delighted with his *roome* here. Mean time the *Miniſters* loſt the beſt *ſtake* in their *hedge*, in his Abſence their *Patron Paramount*: For though by Letters he might ſolicit their Cauſe, yet the greateſt ſtrength is not ſo extenſive, but to have the vertue thereof abated at ſuch a diſtance; And afterwards it fared worſe with the *Miniſters*, when *Whitgift Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, was ſworne of the *Privy Councell*, (an honour which his Predeceſſour *Grindall* never obtained, yea never deſired) by the Procurement, (as it is believed) of the Lord *Burghley*. Feb. 5. 1583. 6

32. Now

The Liturgy supported by its oppoſers.

32. Now for the preſent, I will trouble the Reader no longer with theſe brawls about diſcipline, only one ſtory muſt not be omitted: Though it be fathered rather on publick report, then fixed on any particular Author in thoſe dayes avowing the ſame. Some complained againſt the *Liturgy* to the *Lord Burleigh*, of whom he demanded, *whether they deſired the taking away thereof.* They anſwered, *No. But only the amendment of what was offenſive therein. He required them to make a better, ſuch as they would have ſetled in the ſtead thereof.* Whereupon.

The firſt Claſſis framed a new one, Somewhat according to the form of *Geneva*h.

[a] See the view of the Directory printed at *Oxford.* 1646.

The ſecond Claſſis diſliking it, altered it in *ſix* [a] *hundred* particulars.

The third, quarrelled at theſe alterations, and reſolved on a new Modell.

The fourth Claſſis diſſented from the former.

Thus becauſe they could not agree amongſt themſelves, That *wiſe States-man* put them off for the preſent, untill they ſhould preſent him a pattern with a perfect conſent.

Accuſations not to be believed in full latitude.

33. Three Proteſtant Biſhops this year exchanged this life for another. The firſt was *Richard Curteys* (ſomtimes fellow of S^t. *Johns* in *Cambridge*) Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. The ſecond, *Nicholas Robinſon* Biſhop of *Bang r*, and *John Scory Biſhop of Hereford.* Of the two former we have not enough to furniſh out their Character. Of the later *too much*, (if all be true) which I finde charged upon him. Sure I am he began very well, being an *Exile* and *Confeſſour* in the dayes of Queen *Mary*, but is accuſed afterwards to be ſo guilty of *Oppreſſions*, *Extortions*, and *Symonies*, that a *Bill* was put up againſt him in the *Starr-Chamber*, conteyning matter enough not only to diſgrace, but degrade him if proſecuted. But he bought out his innocence with his money. Here know, that our [b] Author (though a perſon of *witt* and *worſhip*) deriveth his intelligence from a French writer diſaffected in religion, and therefore not to be believed in full latitude. When calling him *Scoria* or *Droſſe*, in alluſion to his name: but as *all is not Gold that Gliſters*, all is not *Droſſi*, reputed ſo by our Popiſh Adverſaries.

[b] Sr. *John Harrington* in his Character of Bp. p. 131.

The death of *John Fecknam.*

34. The ſame year alſo *John Fecknam* late *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter* ended his life, whereon we muſt enlarge our ſelves, if not for *His*, for *Hiſtory* ſake. Seeing he was a *land-mark* therein. His perſonall experience being a *Chronicle*: who like the *Axiltree* ſtood firme, and fixed in his own judgement: whilſt the times like the *wheels* turn'd backwards and forwards round about him. He was born in *Worceſterſhire*, in the *Forreſt of Fecknam* (whence he fetcht his name.) Bred, a *Benediktine Monke* in the *Abbey* of *Eveſham*, where he ſubſcribed with the reſt of his Order, to the reſignation of that houſe, into the hands of King *Henry* the eighth. Afterwards he ſtudied in *Oxford*, then applied himſelf firſt to *Bell Biſhop of Worceſter*, and after his death to *Bonner of London*, where he croſſed the Proverb, *like Maſter, like Man*, the Patron being Cruel, the Chaplain Kinde to ſuch who in Judgement diſſented from him, he never diſſembled his religion, being a zealous Papiſt, and under King *Edward* the ſixth ſuffered much for his Conſcience.

His Courteſy to Proteſtants.

35. In the Reign of Queen *Mary*, he was wholy imployed in doing good offices for the afflicted *Proteſtants*, from the higheſt to the loweſt. The *Earle of Bedford*, and (who afterwards were) of *Warwick* and *Leiceſter*,

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ceſter, taſted of his kindneſſe: ſo did Sr *John Cheek*, yea and the Lady *Elizabeth* her ſelf; So interpoſing his intereſt with Queen *Mary* for her enlargement, that he incurred her Graces diſpleaſure. Hence it is that Papiſts complain, that in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* he *reaped* not a *Cropp* of Courteſie proportionable to his large *ſeed* thereof in the dayes of Queen *Mary*.

36. *Queen Mary* afterwards preferred him from being *Dean* of *Pauls*, to be *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*, which Church ſhe erected and endowed for *Benedictine Monks*, of which order fourteen only could be found in *England*, then extant ſince their diſſolution, which were *unmarried*, *unpreferred* to *Cures*, and *unaltered* in their opinions. Theſe alſo were brought in with ſome difficulty at firſt and oppoſition, for the Prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*, legally ſetled in their places would not reſigne them, till *Cardinall Poole* partly by *compulſion*, partly by *compenſation* obteined their removall.

Made Abbot of *Weſtminſter*. a *Sanders de ſchiſmate Ang.* in the Reign of Q. *Mary*.

37. *Queen Elizabeth* coming to the Crown, ſent for *Abbot Fecknam* to come to her, whom the meſſenger found ſetting of *Elmes* in the Orchard of *Weſtminſter Abbey*. But he would not follow the meſſenger till firſt he had finiſhed his *Plantation*, which his friends impute to his ſoul imployed [b] in myſticall meditations, that as the *Trees* he there ſet ſhould *ſpring* and *ſprout* many years after his deceaſe; So his *new Plantation* of *Benedictine Monks* in *Weſtminſter* ſhould take *root* and *flouriſh*, in defiance of all oppoſition: which is but a *bold conjecture* of others at his thoughts. Sure I am thoſe *Monks* long ſince are extirpated, but how his *Trees* thrive at this day is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the Queen, what diſcourſe paſſed betwixt them, they themſelves knew alone, ſome have confidently gueſſed ſhe proffered him the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Canterbury* on condition he would conform to her laws, which he utterly refuſed.

Q. Elizabeth ſendeth for him and proffers him preferment.

b *Reinerius in Apoſt. Bened.* pag. 235.

38. In the Treaty between the *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts primo Elizabethæ*, he was preſent, but in what capacity I cannot ſatisfie my ſelf. Surely more then a *Diſputant*. (amongſt whom he was not named) Yet not ſo much as a *Moderator*. And yet his judgement, perchance becauſe *Abbot* and ſo, principall man in that place, was [a] aſked with reſpect, and heard with reverence. His Moderation being much commended. Now althongh he was often confined ſometimes to the Tower, ſometimes to friends houſes (and died it ſeems at laſt in reſtraint in *Wisbeeich Caſtle*) Yet generally he found fair uſage from the Proteſtants. He built a *Conduit* in *Holborn*, and a *Croſſe* in *Wisbeeich*, and relieved the poor whereſoever he came. So that *Flies* flock not thicker about *ſpilt honey*, then beggars conſtantly crouded about him.

Kindly uſed in reſtraint. c *Fox Acts & Mon.*

39. *Abbot Fecknam* thus being dead, the Engliſh *Benedictines* beyond the ſeas began to beſtirr themſelves, (as they were concerned) about the continuation of their *Order*: we know ſome maintain, that if any one ſpecies or *kinde* of Creatures be utterly extinct, the whole Univers by *Sympathy* therewith, and conſciouſneſſe of its own imperfection, will be diſſolved. And the Catholicks ſuſpected what a ſad conſequence there would be, if this Ancient Order of *Engliſh Black Monks* ſhould ſuffer a totall and finall defection. The beſt was *Unus homo Nobis*, there was one, and *but one*, *Monke* left, namely *Father Sigebert Buckley*: and therefore before his death, proviſion was made for others to ſucceed him, and they (for fear of failing) diſpoſed in ſeverall Countries in manner following.

A recruit of Engliſh Benedictines made after *Fecknams* death.

In

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Reynerius de Apoſt. Bene. pag. 242.

In Rome.	In Valladolit in Spain.
1. *Father Gregory Sayer.*	1. *Father Auſtine* S^t. *John.*
2. *Father Thomas Preſton.*	2. *Father John Mervin.*
3. *Father Anſelme of Mancheſter.*	3. *Father Marke Lambert.*
4. *Father Anthony Martin commonly called Athanaſius.*	4. *Father Maurice Scot.*
	5. *Father George Gervis.*

From theſe nine new Benedictines the whole Order (which hung formerly on a ſingle ſtring) was then repleniſhed to a competent, and ſince to a plentifull number.

Engliſh Papiſts why they fell off from the Queen of *Scots.*

40. Hitherto our *Engliſh Papiſts affectionately* leaned (not to ſay *fondly* doted) on the *Queen* of *Scots*, promiſing themſelves great matters from her, towards the advancing of their Religon. But now they began to fall off in their affections, partly becauſe beholding her a confined perſon, (unable to free her ſelf, and more unlikely to help others) partly becauſe all *Catholicks* come off with loſſe of life, which practized her enlargement. As for her Son, the *King* of *Scots*, from whom they expected a ſettlement of Popery in that land, their hopes were lately turned into *deſpairs*, who had his education on contrary principles.

Unto the King of *Spain.*

41. Whereupon hereafter they diverted their eyes from the *North* to the *Weſt*, expecting (contrary to the courſe of nature) that their *Sun* ſhould *riſe* therein, in magnifying the might of the King of *Spain*, and his zeal to propagate the *Roman Catholick* faith. And this was the practiſe of all Jeſuites to poſſeſs their Engliſh proſelytes with high opinions of the Spaniſh power, as the Nation deſigned by Divine providence, to work the reſtitution of their Religion in *England.*

Pretending a Title to the Crown of *England.*

42. In order hereunto, and to hearten their Countrimen, ſome (for it appears the reſult of ſeverall perſons employed in the deſigning and effecting thereof) drew up a *Title* of the *King* of *Spains*, to the Engliſh *Crown*, are much admired by their own party, as ſlighted by the *Queen* and her *Loyall Subjects*, for being full of *falſehoods* and *forgeries.* Indeed it is eaſie for any indifferent *Herauld*, ſo to derive a *pedigree*, as in ſome ſeeming probability to intitle any *Prince* in *Chriſtendome* to any *Principality* in *Chriſtendome*, but ſuch will ſhrink on ſerious examination. Yea, I beleeve Queen *Elizabeth* might pretend a better Title to the Kingdoms of *Leon* and *Caſtile* in *Spain* (as deſcended by the houſe of *Yorke*, from *Edmond* Earl of *Cambridge* and his *Lady* Coheir to King *Peter*) then any *Claime* that the King of *Spain* could make out to the Kingdome of *England.* However much miſchief was done hereby, many Papiſts *paying* their good *wiſhes*, where they were not *due*, and defrauding the Queen, (their true *creditor*) of the allegiance belonging unto her.

43. Now

Anno Regni Eliz. 30. Anno Dom. 1587.

43. Now did the Queen summon a Parliament: wherein her Majesty appeared not in person. But passed over the presidentship of that her great Councel, unto *John whitgift* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *william Cecill* Lord treasurer, and to the Earle of *Darby*. A thing done without precedent, when the King at home and in health. But the pleasure of so powerful a Princess might create a leading case in things of this nature. An Act without precedent.

44. Wonder not if the *Nonconformists* were very quiet in this Parliament. Beholding the Arch-Bishop their great adversary in so great power and place. However their activity in the *next*, will make their party amends for their stilness in this Session. Good reason why the Nonconformists were quiet.

45. This year ended the *doleful life* of a *distressed Lady*, *Mary Queen* of *Scots*, whose *Triall* and *Death* belongeth to the *State Historian*: She was aged *fourty six years*, passing the *last twenty* in *Imprisonment*, *One* of a *sharp wit*; *undaunted Spirit*; *comely person*, *beautiful Face*, *Majestick*, *presence*, one Reason why *Queen Elizabeth declined* (what the other so much *desired*) a *personal conference* with Her, as unwilling to be either *out-shone* or *even-shone* in her own *Hemisphear*. For her *morals*, the belief of moderate men embraceth as middle Courts betwixt *Buchanan* aspersing, and *Causinus* his *Hyperbolical Commending* her, because zealous in his own Religion. The death of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*.

46. She was an excellent *Poet*, both *Latine* and *English*, of the former I have read a *distick* made, and written by her own hand on a *Pane* of *Glass* at *Buxton well*. Her Poetry.

Buxtona quæ calidæ celebraris nomine Lymphæ,
Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, Vale.

Buxton, who dost with waters warme excell,
By me, perchance, never more seen, Farewell.

* So it is in the Glass I had in my hand, though it be *celebrabere*, in *Camd. Brit.* in *Derby*-shire.

And at *Fotheringhay-Castle* I have read written by Her in a *window*, with a pointed *Diamond*.

From the Top of all my Trust,
Mishap hath lai'd me in the dust.

But her *Adversaries* conceive; had *she* not been laid there, the *happiness* of *England* had been prostrated in the same place. She was buried in the *Quire* of *Peterborough*, and *Doctor Wickham Bishop* of *Lincolne* preached her *funeral sermon*; causelessly carped at by the *Martin Mar-Prelate*, as too favourable concerning her *final condition*, though he uttered nothing inconsistent with *Charity* and *Christian discretion*.

47. Some *twenty years* after, *King James* caused her *Corps* to be solemnly removed from *Peterborough* to *Westminster*, where in the *south-side* of the *Chappel* of *King Henry* the *seventh*, he erected a *stately monument* to her *memory*, and thereon this *Epitaph*, wherein such cannot but commend the *Piety* of her *Son*, who will not believe all the *praises* of his *Mother*. Her Body removed to *Westminster*.

D. O. M.

MAriæ Stuartæ, Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ Dotariæ, Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis Filiæ, & Hæredis unicæ Henrici VII. Ang. Regis ex Margareta majori Natu Filia (Jacobi IIII Regi Scotorum matrimonio copulata) proneptis, Edwardi IIII. Angliæ Regis ex Elizabetha Filiarum natu maxima abneptis, Francisci II. Gallorum Regis conjugis, Coronæ Angliæ, dum vixit, certæ & indubitatæ hæredis, & Jacobi magnæ Brittanniæ monarchæ potentissimi matris:

Anno Dom. 1587. Anno Regni Eliz. 30.

Stirpe verò Regiâ & antiquissima prognata erat, maximis Totius Europæ Principibus Agnatione & Cognatione conjuncta, & exquisitissimis Animi & corporis actibus & ornamentis cumulatissima. Verum, ut sunt variæ rerum humanarum vices, postquam annos plus minus viginti in custodia detenta, fortiter & strenuè, (sed frustrà) cum malevolorum abtrectationibus, timidorum suspitionibus, & inimicorum capitalium insidijs conflictata esset; tandem inaudito & infesto Regibus exemplo securi percutitur.

Et contemptò mundo, devictâ morte, lassato Carnifice, Christo Servatori animæ salutem, Jacobo Filio spem Regni & posteritatis, & universis cædis infaustæ spectatoribus exemplum patientiæ commendans, piè & intrepidè Cervicem Regiam securi maledictæ subjecit, & vitæ caducæ sortem cum cœlestis Regni perennitate commutavit.

Besides this, there is a long inscription in verses, one *distich* whereof I remember, because it is the same in effect with what was made of *Maud* the *Empress*.

On *Maud*.

Magna Ortu, major Viro, sed maxima Partu,
Hic jacet Henrici Filia, Sponsa, Parens.

On *Queen Mary*.

Magna Viro, major Natu, sed maxima Partu,
Conditur hic Regis Filia, Sponsa, Parens.

So that it is no disgrace for a *Queen* to weare part of an *Epitaph* at the *second hand*, with some little alteration.

A designe propounded.

48. About this time it was, that some *Privie Councellors* endeavoured to perswade *Queen Elizabeth*, to raise and foment a difference betwixt the *Pope* and *King of Spain*, and to assist the former (not as *Pope*, but *temporal Prince*) by her shipping to regain *Naples*, detained from him by the *Spanish King*. They alledged the designe advantagious, to work a diversion of *Spanish forces*, and prevent an invasion of her own Land.

And blasted by the Queen.

49. But her *Majesty* would not listen to the motion to entertain Compliance in any capacity, on any Conditions with the *Pope*: as *dishonourable* in *her self*, *distastful* to the *Protestant Princes*; nor would she touch *Pitch* in *jest*, for fear of being defiled in *earnest*, but crushed the designe in the birth thereof.

Conformity to the height.

50. A first onset was now made by the *Nonconformists* against the *Hierarchie*, though the more they *opposed* it, the more the *Queen* did *Countenance* their *persons* and *preserve* their *power*: In so much that she would not *in Lent feed on any fish*, (as forbidden by the *Canons* of the *Church*) until she had first attained a solemn * Licence from the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, and every year of her life renew'd the same.

* *Camdens Eliz.* Manuscript shortly likely to be Printed.

51. The power of the high Commission began now to extend far, and penalties to fall heavie on offenders. Whereupon the *favourers* of the *Nonconformists*, much opposed it in their printed books, some *questioning* the *Court* as not warranted by *Law*, others taxing their proceedings, as *exceeding* their *Commission*: but hear their Arguments on both sides.

Against

Anno Regni Reginæ Elizabethæ 30.

Anno Dom. 1587.

Against the High Commission.

It is pretended founded on the *Statute, primo Elizabethæ*, wherein the *Parliament* impowered the *Queen* by her **Letters patents** to appoint Commissioners to punish *Offenders* in *Ecclesiastical Causes*. But no mention therein of Temporall penalties, and therefore the *Commissioners* are to confine themselves to *Church Censures*, by *Excommunicating* &c. illegally inflicting any other punishments.

Such *Commissioners* proceeding against *Offender*, by **Attachment, Fine**, or **Imprisonment**, are contrary to the expresse words of *Carta Magna, providing that no free man shall be taken or imprisoned, or be dissesed of his free hold and liberty, and but by the lawful judgement of his Peers, or of the Law of the Land.*

Their whole *Commission* is void in *Law*; because it beareth *date* in *July*, but was not *signed* till *November* next after, contrary to the *Statute*, which enjoyneth, that **Letters patents** *should be dated the day of their delivery into Chancery*, or else they shall be void.

For the High Commission.

The words in the *Statute* run thus; they shall have full *power* and *authority* by vertue of this Act, and of the **Letters patents** under your *Highness*, your *Heirs*, and *successors*, to *Exercise, Use*, execute all the premises according to the Tenor and effect of the said **Letters patents**, any matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Now their **Letters patents** inable them to **Attach, Fine**, or **Imprison**, &c. in doing whereof they are sufficiently impowered by the Commission.

When *Carta Magna* was made, *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, though it was, *de jure*, it was not *de facto*, in the *King*. Whereby it plainly appears, that those words related not to the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, but only to *Crimes* belonging to the *Common Law*. But since the *Parliament* hath declared *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* in the *Queen*, the *Ecclesiastical persons* might impose such penalties even to the *Condemning* of *Heretick*s, though never tri'd by a Jury.

It appeareth by the *Preamble* of that *Statute*, that the words cannot be stretched to **Letters patents** of that nature, but belong only to such; to *private persons*, wherein *Grantees* are unjustly expelled out of their right, *by colour of* **Letters patents** *bearing an elder date.*

But the most general exception against the *High Commission* was this; that proceeding, *ex officio mero*, by *way of enquiry* against such whom they pleased to suspect, *they tendered unto them an Oath*, which was conceived *unjust*, that in *Cases Criminal*, a party should be forced to discover what might be *penal* to himself. The *Lawfulness* of which *Oath* was *learnedly canvassed* with Arguments on both sides.

Against the Oath *ex Officio*.

The *Common Laws* have ever rejected and impugned it, never put in *ure* by any *civil Magistrate* in the *Land*, but as it is corruptly crept in amongst other abuses by the sinister practises and pretences, of the *Romish Prelates* and *Clergimen*. And where loss of *Life, Liberty*, or *good Name*, may ensue

For the Oath *ex officio*.

It is true. To give this *Oath* to the *Defendent* in *Causes* of *Life* and *Death*, is *contrary* to the *Justice* of the *Land*. But where *Life* or *Limbe* is not concerned, it is usually *tendered* in *Chancery*, *Court* of *Requests*, *Councel* of *Marches*, and *Councel* in the *North*, yea in other *Courts* of *Record* at *Westminster*; where the *Judges* (time out of minde) by *Corporal Oath*

Against the Oath *ex Officio.*

the *Common Law* hath forbidden such *Oath.*

It is contray to the *Fundamental Law* of Liberty. **Nemo tenetur seipsum prodere.**

It appeareth by the *Lord Dyer's Book*, that one *Hynde* called before the *Commissioners Ecclesiastical* for *Usury*, refused to *swear*, whereupon he was committed. But upon an *Information* in the *Common pleas*, he had a *Corpus cum causa*, to remove him, so (as it seemeth) the *Judges* were then of *Opinion*, that the *Commissioners* could not give him such an *Oath.*

Though such proceedings *ex officio* were practised by the *Popish Prelates*, against the *Saints* and *Servants* of *God*; Yet it was never used by *Protestants* in their *Ecclesiastical Censures.*

* *Fox* Act. & Mon. fol. 1512.
* *Fox* Acts. & Mon. fol. 1516.
* *Fox* Acts & Mon. fol. 1536.

The *Justice* of the *Land* detesteth that the *Judge* should himself be an *Accuser.* (For by *Law* no man may be *Accuser*, and *witness*; *Inditer* and *Jurer*; therefore much less *Judg* & *Accuser*) which notwithstanding he is, that tendereth the *Oath ex Officio.*

For the Oath *ex Officio.*

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did examine any person whom (in *discretion*) they suspected to have dealt lewdly, about any *writ*, *Returne*, *entrie* of *Rule*, *pleading*, or any such like *Matter*, (not being *Capital.*)

It is granted. But with all **proditus per denuntiationem, Famam**, &c. **tenetur seipsum offendere.** Some faults are simply secret, no way bruited or published abroad, in which cases the person guilty is not bound to make *Confession* thereof, though urged on his *Oath* to any *Officer Civil* or *Ecclesiastical.* But if once discovery be made by *Presentment Denunciation*, *Fame* &c. according to *Law*, then is not the fault meerly secret, but revealed (in some sort) to the *Magistrate*, or abroad, who for avoiding *Scandal* to *Christian Religion*, and *Reformation* of the *Party*, may thus inquire of the *Offence*, to see it *redressed* and *punished.*

There is no such report in the *Lord Dyer*, all that is extant is only this *Marginal Note*, upon *Skroggs* his case in *Michaelmas Terme*, 18. of *Elizabeth*; *Simile* M. 18. *fol. per Hynde qui noluit jurare coram justiciariis Ecclesiasticis, super Articulos pro usura.* Which seems added by some unskilful person, it being improbable so learned a *Judge*, would have termed the *Commissioners Justiciarios Ecclesiasticos.* Besides, this cause of *Hynde* can no where else be found.

Certain *Commissioners* (whereof some *Bishops*, some *private Counsellers*, some *Civilians*, and some *Judges*; and *Common Lawyers*) in the Reign of *K. Edward* the *sixth*, charged Bp. *Bonner* with a *corporal Oath*, * *ex Officio*, to answer to questions ministred unto him; and for *refusal* he was pronounced * contumacious; The like *Oath* in *matter criminal* and *Penal* was tendered to * *Stephen Gardener*, as appeareth by the sentence of his deprivation of the *Bishoprick* of *Winchester.*

The *Laws Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, hold not the *Judge* **proceeding of office** to be an *Accuser*; but that whereupon the Enquiry is grounded to represent the Accusation.

Even

Anno Regin. Eliz. Anno Dom. 1587.

Against the Oath *ex Officio*.

Even the *Heathen Romans* were so *Christian*, that by *ancient custome* no *Vestal Virgin* or * *Flamen* of *Jupiter* was restrained to swear, whereof * *Plutarch* rendreth three Reasons. First, because an *Oath* is *a kinde of torture to a free man*. Secondly, it is absurd in *smaller matters*, not to credit their *words*, who in *higher matters* touching *God* are believed. Thirdly, an *Oath* in case they were forsworne, draweth a curse on them, a *detestable Ominatian* towards the *Priests* of *God*. And why may not as much be allowed to the true *Ministers* of the *Gospel*.

The *Scripture* which ought to be the Rule of our Actions, affords neither *precepts* nor *precedent*, of such proceedings, where *witnesses* were produced, and the *Accusers* brought face to face.

William Tindal a worthy *Martyr* in his * Comment on *the fifth of Matthew* saith plainly, *that a Judge ought not to compel a man to swear against himself*.

No *Protestant Church* beyond the *Seas* hath made use of such *tyrannical* proceedings.

For the Oath *ex Officio*.

By the granting of this peculiar priviledge to these Persons, it plainly appeareth, that all others might by *Magistrates* be put to their Oaths. Besides, such were superstitiously free'd from swearing absolutely, (and not only in *matters criminal*, here controverted) an unreasonable *Immunity*, which none will challenge to themselves.

* *Gellius*. lib. 10 cap. 15.
* *Plutarch* problems. 43.

It is not necessary that a positive or affirmative warrant, be cited out of *Scripture*, for all our practises: sufficeth it that may be done, which is not contrary to *Gods word*, and conformable to the *politick laws* of the Land. Yet have we some footsteps of inquiry in the *Judaical Law*. When one was found secretly murthered in the *Field*, and the *Murtherer* neither known nor suspected; the *Elders* of the next *City* (of whose *guiltiness* there was no *detestation* nor *cause of presumption*, save only the *Vicinage* and *nearness* of the place) were *solemnly* and *secretly* to swear before the * *Priest*, *conceptis Verbis*, that their hands had not shed this Blood &c. if this was equall in *matters Capital*, how can it be challenged for *Tyrannical*, in *matters Criminal*?

* Deut. 21. 7.

Allowing all due respect to *Tindals* memory, his Judgement much failed him in matters of *Oaths*; For in the following words, he taketh away all *necessary Oaths* (and leaveth none but *voluntary*) which no wise man will defend.

* Pag. 208.

Even *Geneva* it self doth sometimes proceed by *Oaths*, *ex Officio*, against such suspected *Offenders*, as in the two following cases will appear.

There was one *Camperel* of *Geneva* ordained *Minister* for a *Parish* in that *Territory*, called *Drallian*, who had a secret designe *under hand* to place himself in the *State* of *Berne*, which in him was esteemed a hainous fault. The *Consistory* coming at some notice hereof, ministred unto him an *Oath* of *Office* to answer to several Questions. But because *Camperel* answe-swered not directly to those Interrogatories (two whereof concerned the very

very Cogitations of his heart) and because there were *Vehementia Judicia*, great presumption in the *Common fame*, the Consistory pronounced that they had just cause to depose him from his Ministry.

Inter Epistol. Calvini in fol. pag. 421. 422. A memorable story in Geneva.

52. There was a worthy man living in *Geneva* called *Balthasar*, in whose house there was a Dancing held, which is a grief unto mine heart in that Church, and condemned by their last form of Discipline. Amongst these dancers one was a *Syndick* (one of the foure chief Magistrates of the City) the other an *Elder* (*Henrie* by name) of the Church for that year. The matter coming to *Calvin's* ears, they were all convented before the Consistory without any Accuser or Party, and therefore of Mere Office put to their Corporal Oath to confess the Truth. The *Elder* pleaded for himself the words of S. *Paul*, *receive not an Accusation against an Elder under two or three witnesses*; which would nothing bestead him, so that he was deposed from his *Eldership*, and the *Syndick* from his *Magistracy*, until he should shew some publick Testimony of his Repentance.

a Calvin in his Letter to *Pharellus* Pag. 64.

53. But enough of this unwelcome subject, only I must add that some there were, not offended with the *Oath* in it self, which took exceptions at the Injurious manner of offering it. They complained (how justly *God* knows) of some *created-fames* on no grounds, and *pretended Suspicions* of *Crimes* against those persons to whom they bare all affection, and then tendered this *Oath* (the *Picklock of Conscience*) unto them, merely to finde matter to insnare them.

First grievance complained of in tendering the *Oath*.

54. Secondly, they complained, that to discover their *Complices* (in their *disciplinary Assemblies*,) Children were on their *Oaths* interrogated against their own *Fathers*, contrary to the Rule in *Civil Laws*, *Filius non torquetur in caput Patris*, *a Child ought not to be tortured in point of peril to his Fathers life*. And although these *Accusations* were not *Capital*, yet because their *Parents* Credit was so deeply concerned therein, such proceedings had a strong tang of Tyranny.

Second grievance.

55. Thirdly, the *party* to whom the Oath was given, might not before hand be acquainted (a *favour* usually afforded in the *Star Chamber*) with the particulars whereon they were to be examined. And if by the Rule of * *Solomon*, *He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is shame and folly unto him*: much more is it indiscreet, to swear to answer a matter, before a man hear it.

Third grievance.

* Prov. 18. 13.

56. Fourthly, they complained this *Oath ex Officio* (like what is said of *black Witches*) had only power to *do mischief*, not to *heal* and *help* any. For none were cleared by the taking thereof, if denying what was charged upon them: but the *Judges Ecclesiastical* oft times proceeded to a further inquiry by examinination of *Witnesses*, on the *points* denied by the *Parties*.

Fourth grievance.

57. The *Nonconformists* who refused to take *this Oath*, may be ranked into foure *forms*. First, such as would answer neither, *Yea*, nor *nay*, what they would resolve to do concerning the *Oath*; but returned, *if our faults be hidden, tarry til the Lord Come, and make the counsels of our hearts* * *manifest*. But if they be *manifest*, let our *Accuser*, and the *witnesses* come forth before us.

Foure ranks of Refusers of this *Oath*.

* 2 Cor. 4. 5.

58. A *Second sort* refused not the *Oath* in a *Cause Criminal*, but did it with this *limitation* and *Protestation*, that they intended not to be bound thereby, to accuse either *themselves* or their *Brethren*.

Second.

59. A *Third sort* conceived themselves bound to reveal their *own* and *Brothers Crimes* and *offences* to **remove evil from the land** as they said, but as for such Actions of their *Brothers* falsely reputed offences, which were none in the Judgement of the Party examined, these they held themselves not bound to reveal.

Third.

60. The last sort, though they took the *Oath* as to other things, yet protested, they counted not themselves bound to answer to any such things, whereon

The last rank.

Anno Dom. 1581.

whereon witnesses may be had; but if the crime was so hidden and secret that *witnesses* may not be had, they thought they might lawfully be charged. For Instance, they held a *Preacher* might not be examined on *Oath*, concerning any thing he had preached in publick, alledging the words of our * *Saviour, Why askest thou me? ask them that heard me, they know what I said.* It is hard to make the opinion of the *first* and *last forme* to dwell peaceably together.

* Joh. 17. 21.

61. We take our leave of this Subject, when we have told the Reader, that some *twenty years* since, one being urged by *Arch-Bishop Laud* to take the *Oath ex Officio*, refused it on this reason, An *Oath* saith he by the * words of the *Apostle* **is an end of all strife**, whereas this saith he *is the beginning of strife*, yeelds matter for the *Lawyers* to molest me: But since the *High Commission* and this *Oath* are taken away by *Act of Parliament*, it is to be hoped, that (if such swearing were so great a grievance) *Nihil analogum nothing like unto it*, (which may amount to as much) shall hereafter be substituted in the room thereof.

* Heb. 6. 16.

Nonconformists persecuted in the Star-Chamber.

62. Let it not here be forgotten, that because many did question the legality and Authority of the High Commission; Arch-Bishop *Whitgift* so contrived the matter, that the most sturdy and refractory Non-conformists (especially if they had any visible Estates) were brought into the Star-Chamber, the power whereof was above dispute. Where some of them, besides imprisonment, had very heavie fines imposed upon them. And because most of the Queens Councel were present at the Censures, This took off the *Odium* from the Arch-Bishop (which in the high Commission lighted *chiefly*, if not *only* upon him, and fell almost equally on all present therein.

The death of Mr. Fox.

63. *John Fox* this year ended his life, to whom in some respect, our *History* of him may resemble it self. For he in his lifetime was so large a reliever of poor people, (to, and above his estate) that no wonder, if at his death (with some Charitable Churles) he bequeathed no Legacies unto them. Thus have we been so bountifull in *describing* the *life*, and *transcribing* the *Letters* of this worthy Confessor, that the Reader will excuse us, if at his death we give no farther Character of his piety and painfulness. Only let me adde, that whereas there passeth a Tradition (grounded on good Authority) that M^r *Fox* fore-told the ruine and destruction of the *Invincible* (so called) *Armado* in the eighty eight. The story is true in its selfe, though he survived not to see the performance of his own prediction.

64. Nor will it be amiss to insert his Epitaph, as we finde it on his Monument in *S. Giles* nigh *Cripple-Gate* in *London*.

Christo S. S.

Johanni Foxo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Martyrologo fidelissimo, Antiquitatis Historicæ Indagatori sagacissimo, Evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo, Thaumaturgo admirabili, qui Martyres Marianos, tanquam Phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præstitit.

And of D. *Humfrey*.

65. His dear friend *D. Laurence Humfrey*, may be said to *die with him*, (though his languishing life lasted a year longer) so great his grief, to be parted from his *fellow-Collegue* bred together in *Oxford*, and banished together into *Germany*. But see more of his character in the year 1596, where by mistake, (which here I freely confess) his death is inserted.

The first Protestant Hospitall.

66. About this time M^r *William Lambert* finished his Hospital at *Greenwich*, founded and endowed by him for poor people. He was the *first Protestant*, who erected a *charitable* House of that nature, as our * Antiquary observeth,

* *Camd. Brit. in Kent.*

observeth, though I cannot wholly concur with his observation, seeing King *Edward the sixt* founded *Christ-Church* and S^t. *Thomas Hospital*.

Anno Dom. 1587. Eliz. 30.

Beautifull Buildings begin in *England*.

67. Indeed now (pardon a short digression) began beautifull Buildings in *England*, as to the generality thereof, whose *Homes* were but *homely* before, as *small* and *ill-contrived*, much Timber being needlesly lavished upon them. But now many most *regular Pieces of Architecture* were erected, so that (as one saith) they began to dwell *latiùs* and *lautiùs*, but I suspect not *Lætiùs*, *Hospitallity* daily much decaying.

68. Amongst other Structures *Wimbleton* House in *Surrey* was this yeer begun (and finished the next, as appeareth by an inscription therein) by S^r. *Thomas Cecil* afterward Lord *Burghley*. On the self same token that many years after *Gondomar* (treated therein by the *Lord* with a plentiful feast) was highly affected with his entertainment, and much commended the *uniformity* of the *fabrick*, till the DATE thereof, shewed unto him, dashed all, as built when the *Spanish Armado* was defeated.

Non-conformists stirr.

69. Indeed at this time there was more *uniformity* in the *Buildings*, than *conformity* in the Church-*behaviour* of men, the *Ritclers* against the *Hierarchy* appearing now more vigorous, though for a time they had concealed themselves.

SECT.

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Section VII.

To Mr. *Hamond Ward*, and Mr. *Richard Fuller* of *London* Merchants.

IT is usuall for the Plaintiffe, *to put* two *or* three *names upon the same* Writ *taken out of the* Upper-Bench *(alwayes provided the persons dwell in the same* County*) and this is done to* save Charges. *My* thanks *doth here imbrace the same way of* thrift. *That so, the* small stock *of my* History, *may hold out the better amongst my many* Friends *and* Favourers. *And this my* Ioynt-Dedication *is the more proper, because you* live *in the same* City, are *of the same* profession, *and (if not* formerly*) this may minister the welcome occasion of your* future *acquaintance.*

1. BUt now a *Session* of *Parliament* was held at *Westminster*, wherein the *House* of *Commons* presented to the *Lords Spirituall* and *Temporall* a *Petition.* Complaining how many *Parishes*, especially in the North of *England* and *Wales*, were destitute of *Preachers*, and no care taken to supply them. Sixteen were the particulars, whereof, the six first were against insufficient *Ministers*, very earnestly pressing their taking the same into their serious consideration, for speedy redress of the grievances therein contained.

A Sixteen fold Petition presented by the Commons to the Lords in Parliament.

7. *That no oath or subscription might be tendered to any at their enterance into Ministry, but such as is expressely prescribed by the statutes of this Realm, except the oath against corrupt entring.*
8. *That they may not be troubled for omission of some rites or portions prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer.*
9. *That they may not be called and urged to answer before the officials, and Commissaries, but before the* Bishops *themselves.*
10. *That such as had been suspended or deprived for no other offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restored; and that the Bishops would forbear their* Excommunication, ex officio mero, *of godly and learned Preachers, not detected for open offence of life or apparent errour in doctrine.*

11. *That they might not be called before the High-Commission, or out of the Diocess where they lived, except for some notable offence.*

12. *That it might be permitted to them in every* Arch-Deaconry, *to have some common exercises and conferences amongst themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the Ordinaries.*

13. *That the High censure of Excommunication, may not be denounced or executed for small matters.*

14. *Nor by Chancellours, Commissaries, or officials, but by the Bishops themselves with assistance of grave persons.*

15. } *That Non-residency may be quite removed out of the Church, or at least that*
16. } *according to the Queens Injunctions (Artic. 44.) No Non-resident having already a licence or faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able Curate, that may weekly preach and catechize, as is required in her Majesties injunctions.*

Of all these particulars the house fell most fiercely on the Debate of *Pluralities*, and (the effect thereof) *Non-Residents*.

The Arch-Bishops plea for Non-residents.

2. *Arch-Bishop Whitgift* pleaded, that licences for *Non-Residency*, *were at the present but seldome granted. And yet in way of recovering health by changing of Aire, of study for a time in the Universitty, of mortall enmity borne by some in the parish, of prosecution of Law, or of being imployed in publick Affairs, they cannot be wholy abrogated. That there were in* England *foure thousand five hundred Benefices with Cure*, not above ten, and most of them under eight pounds in the first fruits-book, which cannot be furnished with able Pastors, as the Petitioners desire, because of the smallness of their livings. Moreover he affirmed, that what ever was pretended to the contrary, *England* at that time flourished with able Ministers more then ever before, yea had more then all Christendome besides.

The Lord *Gray* his rejoynder.

3. The *Lord Grey* rejoyned to this Assertion *of more learned Ministers in the Church of* England *then ever heretofore, nay then in all the reformed Churches in Christendome*, this, *That it was not to be attributed to the Bishops or their actions, but to God, who now opened the hearts of many to see into the truth, and that the Schools were better observed.*

The Lord Treasurer his moderation.

4. The Lord Treasurer *Burghley* seeming to moderate betwixt them, after a long and learned oration concluded, *that he was not so scrupulous, as absolutely to like of the bill against Pluralities without any exception: for he did favour both learning, and wished a competent reward to it. And therefore could like, and allow a learned man to have two Benefices, so they were both in one parish, that is to say, in one Diocess, and not one in the Diocess of* Winchester, *and another in the* North, *where the severall Diocesans would have no regard of them, whereas being both in one Diocess, the Bishop would look unto them.*

Others interpret.

5. *Here it was signified that her Majesty was acquainted with the matter, and that she was very forward to redress the faults, and therefore required the Bishops, not to hinder her good and gracious purpose, for that her Majesty would conferr with them.*

The Lord *Grays* (quere whether of *Wilton*, or what most probable, of *Ruthen* afterwards Earl of *Kent*) replyed.

6. The Lord *Gray* again said, *he greatly wondred at her Majesty that she would make choice to confer with those, who were all enemies to Reformation; for that it meerly touched their freeholds, and therefore he thought it good, the house should make choice of some to be joyned with them; Also he wished the Bishops might be served as they were in in King* Henry *the* 8th *dayes, when as in the case of* præmunire *they were all thrust out of doores.*

7. *Then the Lord Treasurer said, that the Bishops if they were wise would themselves be humble suiters to her Majesty, to have some of the Temporall Lords joyned with them.*

8. The

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8. *The Lord Chamberlain utterly diſliked the Lord* Grayes *motion, alledging that it was not to be liked of, that the Lords ſhould appoint her Majeſty any to confer withall, but that it ſhould be left to her own election.*

9. Matters flying thus high, the *Arch-Biſhop*, with the reſt of the *Clergy*, conceived it the ſafeſt way to apply themſelves by Petition to the *Queen*, which they preſented as followeth. The Biſhops providently petition the Queen.

To the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty.

THe woefull and diſtreſſed ſtate whereinto we are like to fall, forceth us with grief of heart in moſt humble maner, to crave your Majeſties moſt ſoveraign Protection. For the pretence being made the maintenance and increaſe of a learned miniſtry, when it is throughly weighed, decayeth learning, ſpoileth their livings, taketh away the ſet form of prayer in the Church, and is the means to bring in confuſion and Barbariſme. How dangerous innovations are in a ſetled eſtate, whoſoever hath judgement perceiveth Set dangers apart, yet ſuch great inconveniences may enſue, as will make a ſtate lamentable and miſerable. Our neighbours miſeries might make us fearfull, but that we know who rules the ſame. All the reformed Churches in Europe, *cannot compare with* England *in the number of learned Miniſters. Theſe benefits of your Majeſties moſt ſacred and carefull Government with hearty joy we feel, and humbly acknowledge; ſenceleſs are they that repine at it, and careleſs who lightly regard it. The reſpect hereof made the Prophet to ſay;* Dii eſtis. *All the faithfull and diſcreet Clergy ſay,* ô Dea certè. *Nothing is impoſſible with God. Requeſts without grounded reaſons are lightly to be rejected. We therefore not as directors, but as humble Remembrancers beſeech your Highneſs favourable beholding of our preſent ſtate: And what it will be in time to come, if the Bill againſt Pluralities ſhould take any place.*

To the Petition were annexed a catalogue of thoſe inconveniences to the State preſent, State to come, Cathedrall Churches, Univerſities, to her Majeſty, to Religion, in caſe pluralities were taken away, here too large, to be inſerted. So that in effect, nothing was effected, as in relation to this matter, but things left *in ſtatu quo prius*, at the diſſolution of this Parliament.

10. Amongſt the mortalities of this year, moſt remarkable the death of *Richard Barnes Biſhop of Durham*, one commendable in himſelf, but much ſuffering for the * corruption, and viciouſneſs of *John Barnes* his brother and Chancellour. This Biſhop was bred in *Braſen-noſe* Colledge, made Suffragan of *Nottingham*, (the laſt I beleeve who wore that title,) and behaved himſelf very gravely in his Dioceſs. A great friend at laſt to *Bernard Gilpin*, (though at firſt by ſome ill inſtruments incenſed againſt him) and ſeeing they were *loving in their lives*, their *memories* in my *Book ſhall not be divided*, though I confeſs the later died ſome three years before. The death of Bp. *Barns.*

* See the life of *Bernard Gilpin* p. 190.

11. This *Bernard Gilpin*, born of a right worſhipfull family, at *Kentmire* in *Weſtmerland*, had *Cuthbert Tonſtall Biſhop of Durham* for his great *Uncle*, he was bred firſt in *Queens Colledge*, then *Chriſts-Church* in *Oxford*, and no doubt the prayers of *Peter Martyr* conduced to his converſion, to be a Proteſtant. For he hearing this *Gilpin* diſpute cordially on the Popiſh party, deſired of God that ſo good affections might not be miſguided, and at laſt obtained his deſire. And of *Bernard Gilpin.*

Hardly escaped in Queen *Maries* dayes.

12. He *Weathered out* the Raign of *Queen Mary*; partly with his travels beyond the seas, (chiefly residing at *Lovain, and Paris*) partly, after his return by the favour of his Uncle *Tonstall*. Before whom he was often cited, (chiefly about the Eucharist) but was discharged by confessing the *reall presence*, and that the manner thereof transcended his apprehension. *Tonstall* not inforcing him to the particularity of *Transubstantiation*, as using himself to complain on Pope *Innocent*, for defining, *de modo* to be an *article of faith*. However his foes so hardly beset him, that once he ordered his servant to provide for him a *long shroud*, not for his *winding*, but *burning sheet*, as expecting at last he should be brought to the stake for his religion, But men may *make cloaths* either for *mirth*, or for *mourning*, whilst God alone orders whether or no they shall wear them.

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A single man, yet a true father.

15. After the coming of *Queen Elizabeth* to the Crown, he with more earnestnes refused a Bishoprick, then others affected it. His parsonage at *Haughton*, as it might seem a Bishops Palace for building, so was it no less for hospitality. Fourteen Villages belonging to that mother Church, the poor whereof (besides many others) were daily relieved at his door, twenty Scholars he commonly boarded in his house, which seemed a little Colledge. In a word, he was commonly called *Father Gilpin*, and well deserved it, for his paternall affections to all. Making his yearly progress into *Rheadsdale, and Tinsdale* in *Northumberland*, (where people sat in darkness of ignorance, and shaddow of death) and instructing them by his heavenly preaching.

The brave coming forth of the Spanish Armado.

14. Now began that *fatall year* generally foretold that it would be *wonderfull* as it proved no less. Whence the *Astrologers* fetcht their *intelligence* hereof; whether from *Heaven*, or *Hell*, from other *Stars*, or from *Lucifer* alone, is uncertain: this is most sure, that this *prediction*, though hitting the *mark*, yet miss'd their *meaning*, who both first reported, and most believed it. Out comes their invincible *Navie* and *Army*, perfectly appointed for both *Elements*, *Water*, and *Land*, to *Sail* and *March* compleat in all *warlike Equipage*: so that formerly, with far less *provision*, they had conquered another *new world*. Mighty was the bulk of their *ships*, the sea seeming to *groan* under them, (being a burden to it, as they went, and to themselves, before they returned) with all manner of artillery, prodigious in number, and greatness, so that the report of their guns do stil, and ought ever, to sound in the ears of the English, not to fright them with any terrour, but to fill them with deserved thankfulness.

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The shameful fight and return thereof. *a* 1 Kings 19. 33.

15. It is said of *Senacherib*, coming against *Hierusalem* with his numerous army, *by* [a] *the way that he came shall he return, and shall not come into this City saith the Lord*: as the later part of this threatning was verified here, no *Spaniard* setting foot on *English* ground, under other notion then a prisoner; so, God did not them the honour to return the same way, who coming by South-East, a way they knew, went back by South-West, a way they sought, chased by our ships, past the 57th Degree of Northen Latitude, then and there left to be pursued after by hunger and cold. Thus having tasted the *English valour* in conquering them, the *Scotch constancy* in not relieving them, the *Irish cruelty* in barbarous butchering them, the small reversion of this great navie which came home, might be look'd upon by religious eyes, as *reliques*, not for the adoration, but instruction of their nation hereafter, not to account any thing *invincible* which is less then *infinite*.

This deliverance principally wrought by Gods arm.

16. Such as lose themselves by looking on second causes impute the Spanish ill success, partly to the Prince of *Parma*, who either mind-bound or wind-bound, staying himself, or stopt by the *Hollander*, would or could not come to their seasonable succour, and partly to the *Duke* of *Medina's* want of commission to fight with the English, (save on the defensive) till joyned

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joyned with *Parma*. Thus when God will have a deſigne defeated, amidſt the plenty, yea ſuperfluity of all imaginable neceſſaries, ſome unſuſpected one ſhall be wanting to fruſtrate all the reſt. We will not mention (ſave in due diſtance of helps) the induſtry, and loyalty of the Lord *Howard Admirall*, the valour of our captains, the ſkill of our pilots, the activity of our ſhips, but aſſigne all to the goodneſs of God, as Queen *Elizabeth* did. Leave we her in the *Quire* of *Pauls* church, devoutly on her knees with the reſt of her *Nobles* in the ſame humble poſture, returning their unfeigned thanks to the God and giver of all victory, whilſt going abroad, we ſhall finde ſome of her ſubjects worſe employed in implacable enmity about Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline one againſt another. And let not the mentioning of this *deliverance* be cenſured as a deviation from the *Church-Hiſtory of Britain*. Silence thereof being a ſin, for had the deſigne took effect, neither *Proteſtant Church* in *Britain* had remained, nor *Hiſtory* thereof been made at this preſent.

17. But *bullets* did not fly about ſo much at ſea, as baſtardly *Libels* by land, ſo fitly call'd, becauſe none durſt father them, for their iſſue. They are known, though not by their *Parents*, by their names.

Scurrilous Pamphlets diſperſed.

1 The Epitome (ſcipline)
2 The demonſtration of di-
3 The Supplication
4 Diotrephes
5 The Minerals
6 Have you any work for the (Cooper?
7 Martin Seignior } Mar-
8 Martin Junior } prelate.
9 More work for the Cooper
&c.

The main drift and ſcope of theſe pamphlets, for know one and know all (theſe foule mouth'd papers, like *Blackmoors*, did all look alike) was to defame and diſgrace the Engliſh *Prelates*, ſcoffing at them for their garb, gate, apparel, vanities of their youth, naturall defects, and perſonall infirmities; it is ſtrange how ſecretly they were printed, how ſpeedily diſpers'd, how generally bought, how greedily read, yea and how firmly beleeved, eſpecially of the common ſort, to whom no better muſick then to hear their betters upbraided.

Their reaſons for the lawfulneſs of ſuch pamphlets.

18. Some preciſe men of that ſide thought theſe jeering pens well employed. For having formerly, (as they ſay) tried all ſerious and ſober means to reclaim the Biſhops, which hitherto proved uneffectuall: they thought it not amiſs to try this new way, that whom they could not in earneſt make odious, in ſport they might render ridiculous. Wits will be working, and ſuch as have a Satyricall vein, cannot better vent it then in laſhing of ſin. Beſides, they wanted not a warrant (as they conceived) in Holy Writ, where it was no ſoloecisme to the gravity of *Eliah* to mock [a] *Baals* prieſts out of their ſuperſtition chiefly, this was conceived would drive on their deſigne, ſtrengthen their party by working on the peoples affections, which were marvelouſly taken with the reading thereof.

a 1 Kings 18. 27.

These Books diſclaimed by the diſcreet ſort and why.

19. But the more diſcreet and devout ſort of men, even of ſuch as were no great friends to the Hierarchy, upon ſolemn debate then reſolved, (I ſpeak on certain knowledge from the mouths of ſuch whom I muſt believe) that for many foul falſehoods therein ſuggeſted, ſuch Books were altogether unbeſeeming a pious ſpirit, to print, publiſh, or with pleaſure peruſe, which ſuppoſed true both in matter and meaſure, charity would rather conceal, then diſcover. The beſt of men being ſo conſcious of their own badneſs, that they are more carefull to waſh their own faces, then buſie to throw durt on others. Any man may be witty in a biting way, and thoſe that have the dulleſt brains, have commonly the ſharpeſt teeth to that purpoſe. But ſuch carnall mirth, whilſt it tickles the fleſh, doth wound

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wound the ſoul. And which was the main, theſe baſe books would give a great advantage to the generall foe, and Papiſts would make too much uſe thereof againſt Proteſtant religion, eſpecially ſeeing an [a] Arch-Angell thought himſelf *too good* to bring, and Sathan not *bad enough* to have railing ſpeeches brought againſt him.

[a] Jude 9.

The inſtruments employed in making theſe Books, heavily puniſhed.

20. But leaving private men to abound in their own ſenſe, how highly the ſtate (as it then ſtood) diſtaſted theſe books, will plainly appear by the heavie cenſures inflicted on ſuch as were but acceſſarie thereunto. To paſs by *John Penry*, and *John Udall* miniſters, accuſed for making ſome of them, (of whom in due place) together with the *Printers*, and *Humphry Newman*, a *Cobler*, chief diſperſer of them: The *Starr-Chamber* deeply fined Sr. *Richard Knightly*, and Sr. *Wigſton* for entertaining and receiving the *Preſs Gentelmen*, whom their [b] *adverſaries* allow qualified with piety, gravity, and wiſdome, which made many admire how their diſcretion could be deluded, and more bemoan that their goodneſs ſhould be abuſed by others, who had deſignes upon them. Here *Arch-Biſhop Whitgift* beſtirr'd himſelf to improve his intereſt with the *Queen*, till his importunity had angred her & till his importunity had pleaſed her again, that they might be delivered out of priſon, and eaſed of their fines, which upon their ſubmiſſion was performed. Whoſe mildneſs to mediate for his adverſaries, as it was highly commended by ſome, ſo there wanted not thoſe, who imputed his moderation therein to declining of envie, gaining of applauſe, and remorſe of his own conſcience for over rigorous proceedings: it being no charity to cure the wound he hath cauſed, and ſolicit the remitting of thoſe fines, which he had procured to be impoſed. Thus impoſſible it is to pleaſe froward ſpirits, and to make them like the beſt deed, who diſlike the doer thereof; and if any deſire to know the motions and ſtages of the *Preſs*, which printed theſe books, know it was firſt ſet up at [d] *Moulſey* near *Kingſton* in *Surrey*, thence conveyed to *Fauſt* in *Northamptonſhire*, thence to *Norton*, and afterwards to *Coventry*. Hence it was removed to *Welſtone* in *Warwick-ſhire*, whence the *Letters* were ſent to another *Preſs*, in or near *Mancheſter*, and there diſcovered by *Henry* Earle of *Darby*, in the printing of *more work for the Cooper*. No wonder then if many *Errata's* were committed by this (call it as you pleaſe *Pilgrime* or *Vagabond*) *Preſs*, when it ſelf was ever in a wandring and ſtragling condition.

[b] Sr. *G. Paul* in the life of Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* pag. 40.

[c] *Camdens Elizabetha in Ann* 1588.

[d] Sr. *G. Paul* pag. 39.

21. A *Synod* of the *Presbyterians*, of the *Warwick ſhire Claſſis*, was call'd at *Coventry*, *die decimo*, *quarto*; that is, on the 10th of *April*: wherein the queſtions, brought the laſt year from the *Brethren* of *Cambridge Synod*, were reſolved in manner as followeth.

Acts of the Synod of *Coventry*.

1. *That* [e] *private Baptiſme was unlawfull.*
2. *That it is not lawfull to read Homilies in the Church.*
3. *That the ſigne of the Croſs is not to be uſed in Baptiſme.*
4. *That the faithfull ought not to communicate with unlearned Miniſters, although they may be preſent at their ſervice, if they come of purpoſe to hear a ſermon, the reaſon is, becauſe Laymen as well as Miniſters may read publick ſervice.*
5. *That the calling of Biſhops &c. is unlawfull.*
6. *That as they deal in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, there is no duty belonging unto, nor any publickly to be given them.*
7. *That it is not lawfull to be ordained Miniſters by them, or to denounce either ſuſpenſions, or excommunications ſent from them.*
8. *That it is not lawfull to reſt in the Biſhops deprivation of any from the Miniſtry, except (upon conſultation with the neighbour Miniſters adjoyning and*

[e] Tranſcribed out of Bp. *Bancrofts* book called *Englands* Sentizing for Diſcipline by practiſe p. 86. and 87. who may ſeem have had the originall in latin.

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and his flock) it seems so good unto them: but that he continue in the same untill he be compell'd to the contrary by civill force.

9. *That it is not lawfull to appear in a Bishops Court, but with protestation of their unlawfulness.*

10 *That Bishops are not to be acknowledged either for Doctors, Elders, or Deacons, as having no ordinary calling.*

11. *That touching the restauration of their Ecclesiasticall Discipline, it ought to be taught to the people as occasion shall serve.*

12. *That (as yet) the people are not to be solicited (publickly) to the practise of the Discipline, (till) they be better instructed in the knowledge of it.*

13. *That men of better understanding are to be allured privately to the present embracing of the Discipline, and practise of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the peace of the Church.*

Likewise in the same assembly the aforesaid Book of discipline was approved to be a *draught essentiall and necessary for all times*; and certain articles (devised in approbation, and for the manner of the use thereof,) were brought forth, treated of, and subscribed unto, by Mr. *Cartwright*, and others, and afterwards tendered far and near to the severall *Classes*, for a generall ratification of all the Brethren.

22. Now if *Rebeccah* found her self strangely affected when [a] *twinns* strugled in her *wombe*, the condition of the *English Church* must be conceived sad, which at the same time had two disciplines, both of them pleading Scripture and Primitive practise, each striving to support it self, and suppress it's rivall. The *Hierarchy* commanded by authority, established by law, confirmed by generall practise, and continued so long by custome in this land, that had one at this time lived the age of *Methuselah* he could not remember the beginning thereof in *Britain*. The *Presbytery*, though wanting the stamp of authority, claiming to be the purer metall founded by some *Clergie* men, favoured by many of the *Gentry*, and followed by more of the *Common sort*, who being prompted with that naturall principle, that the weakest side must be most watchfull, what they wanted in strength, they supplied in activity. But what won them most repute, was their Ministers painfull preaching in populous places: It being observed in *England*, that those who hold the *Helme* of the *pulpit*, alwayes steere peoples hearts as they please. The worst is, that in matters of fact, all relations in these times are relations, I mean much resent of party and interest to the prejudice of truth. Let me minde the Reader to reflect his eye on our Quotations, (the Margin, in such cases being as materiall as the Text, as conteining the authors) and his judgement may, according to the credit or reference of the Author alledged believe, or abate, from the reputation of the report. Let me add, that though it be a lie in the Clock, it's but a falsehood in the Hand of the Diall, when pointing at a wrong hour, if rightly following the direction of the wheele which moveth it. And the fault is not mine, if I truly cite what is false on the credit of another. The best certainty in this kinde we are capable of, is, what we finde in the confessions of the parties themselves, deposed on oath, taken by publick notaries, and recorded in court: for such, who herein will flie higher for true intelligence, then the *Starr-Chamber*, must fetch it from heaven himself.

[a] Gen. 25. 22. The English Church distracted betwixt contrary disciplines.

23. In that *Court* we finde confessed by one Mr. [b] *Johnson*, (formerly a great *Presbyterian*, but afterwards, it seems falling from that side, he discovered many passages to their disadvantage) how that when the *Book of Discipline* came to *Northampton* to be subscribed unto, there was a generall censuring used amongst the *brethren* there, as it were to sanctifie themselves; partly

The success of the solemn humiliation of the ministers at *Northampton*.

[b] See *Englands* Scottizing for discipline, 3. Cap. 6. pag. 88.

partly by ſuſtaining a kinde of pennance and reproof for their former conformity to the *Orders* of the *Church*; and partly to prepare their mindes for the devout accepting of the aforeſaid *Book*. In which courſe of cenſuring uſed at that time, there was ſuch a ripping up one of anothers life, even from their youth, as that they came to bitterneſs, and reviling tearms amongſt themſelves; one growing thereby odious to another, and ſome did thereupon utterly forſake thoſe kinds of *Aſſemblies*. O, how wofull the *Veſſel* of the *Engliſh Church*, whilſt her ὑπηρέται, her miniſters, and under-rowers, ſome tugged it one way, and others towing it another; enough almoſt to ſplit her in pieces, with the violence of their contrary *Diſcipline*.

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The Contents of the admonition to the Catholicks of *England*.

24. Leave we them for a while, to behold how the Popiſh Clergy were employed, who in the beginning of this year, were as buſie as Bees, newly ready to ſwarme. A Book was ſet forth called the admonition, diſperſed amongſt Catholicks, and highly cried up, conſiſting of ſeverall Parts, not unfit to be here recited.

1. The Authors make their entrance into the diſcourſe, with a moſt odious and ſhamefull declamation againſt her Majeſty, ſtirring up her ſubjects hearts to contempt of her highneſs, as being one odious to God and man.
They threaten the Nobility, Gentry &c. with loſs of all their goods, their Lands, their Lives, and with damnation beſides; except that preſently upon the landing of the Spaniards, they joyned themſelves, and all their forces, men, munition, victuals, and whatſoever elſe they could make with their Catholick Army, '(forſooth) for the words be theſe. If you will avoid (ſay they) 'the Popes, the Kings, and other Princes high indignation; let no 'man of what degree ſoever, abet, aid, defend or acknowledge 'her &c. adding that otherwiſe they ſhould incurr the Angels 'Curſe and Malediction, and be as deeply excommunicated as any, 'becauſe that in taking her Majeſties part, they ſhould fight againſt 'God, againſt their lawfull King, againſt their Countrey, and that 'notwithſtanding all they ſhould do, they ſhould but defend her 'highneſs bootleſs to their own preſent deſtruction, and eternall 'ſhame.
2. After all thoſe, and many other ſuch threats, in a high and military ſtile, to ſcarr fools with, then they come to ſome more milde perſwaſions, and promiſe the noble men, that ſo they joyn with the duke of *PARMA* upon the receipt of their Admonition, they will intreat that their whole houſes ſhall not periſh. For *Perſons* did inſtigate the Engliſh *Cardinall* to ſwear by his Honour, and in the word of a *Cardinall*, that in the fury of their intended Maſſacre, there ſhould as great care be taken of every *Catholick* and *penitent perſon*, as poſſibly could be, and that he was made a *Cardinall* of purpoſe to be ſent then into *England* for the ſweet managing of thoſe Affairs.
3. Other arguments they uſed drawn from the certainty of the victory, as that all the Proteſtants would either turn their Coats, Copies, arms, or fly away, in fear and torment of the Angel of God proſecuting them; that although none of her Majeſties ſubjects ſhould aſſiſt the *Spaniards*, yet their own forces, which they brought with them were ſtrong enough, their proviſion ſufficient, their appointment ſo ſurpaſſing: that they had more expert Captains, then her Majeſty had good ſouldiers, all reſolute to be in the Cauſe, which they had

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had undertaken: that the Blood of all the blessed Bishops shed in this Land, and all the saints in heaven prayed for the Spaniards victory, that all the vertuous Priests of our Country, both at Home and Abroad, had stretched forth their sacred hands to the same end: that many priests were in the Camp to serve every spiritual mans necessity: that their forces were guarded with all Gods Holy Angels; with Christ himself in the soveraign Sacrament, and with the daily most holy oblation, of Christs own dear body and blood: that the Spaniards being thus assisted with so many helps, though they had been never so few they could not lose, and that her Majesty and her Assistants wanting these helps, although they were never so fierce, never so proud, never so many, never so well appointed, yet they could not prevail. Fear you not (say they to such as would take their part) they cannot. And thus far out of their said Jesuiticall Admonition.

The Book goes under the name of *Cardinall Allen*, though the secular Priests say he was but the Cloak-father thereof, and that [a] *Parsons* the Jesuite made it. Others conceive it equivocally begotten, as the result and extract of severall brains. No doubt had the Spanish Invasion succeeded, happy he who could have laid claim to so prophetical a piece: and they would have fallen out as the two * Harlots about the living Child, who should have been Parent thereof. Whereas now on the miscarriage of their great Navie, all disclaimed the Book, and *Parsons* procured the whole impression to be burnt, (save some [b] few sent abroad before hand to his friends) that it might not remain a monument of their falsehood. And now the Popish Priests, some lurk't here in holes, other fled into forraign parts, their confusion being the greater for their former confidence. Thus * *Sisera* comes off the more coldly, when stript out of the *garment of divers colours* wherewith his mother had arrayed him, in her fancy running faster, then the wheels of her sons Charriot to his imaginary conquest.

a *Watsons Quodlibets* pag. 240.

* 1 Kings 3.

b *Watson ut prius.*

* Judg. 5.30.

Aug. 1. 25. This year died *Edwin Sands* Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, born in *Lancashire* of worshipfull Parentage, bred in *Cambridge*, banished to *Germany*, after this promoted to be Bishop of *Worcester*, then succeeded *Grindal* in *London*, and *Yorke*, an excellent and painfull preacher, and of a pious and Godly life, which increased in his old age, so that by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the Grave, he had the other in Heaven. He was buried in *Southwell*, and it is hard to say, whether he was more eminent in his own Vertues, or more happy in his Flourishing Posterity.

The death of *Edw. Sands*, Arch-Bishop of *York*.

1589. 26. The next year produced not any great *Church matters* in its self, but was only preparatory to the ripening of business, and raising the charges against the principall *Patrons* of *Nonconformity*. Indeed *Arch-Bishop Whitgift* according to his constant custome and manner, repaired daily to the *Councell-Table* early in the morning, and after an usuall appreciation of a *Good-morrow* to the *Lords*, he requested to know if there were any Church business to be debated, and if the answer were returned in the Affirmative, He stayed and attended the issue of the matter. But if no such matter appeared, he craved leave to be dispensed withall, saying, *Then my Lords, here is no need of me*, and departed. A commendable practise clearing himself from all aspersions of *civill-pragmaticallness*, and tending much to the just support of his reputation.

Arch-Bishop *Whitgift*, his discretion.

1590. Sept. 1. 27. On the first of *September* Mr. *Cartwright*, Batchelor in Divinity, was brought before Her Majesties Commissioners, there to take his oath, and give in his positive answer to the following Articles.

Articles objected against Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*.

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[a] The copy of these Articles were found by a friend, in Mr. *Travers* his study, after his death, who as kindly communicated as I have truly transcribed them.

1. *Imprimis*, [a] We do object and articulate against him, that he, being a Minister (at least a Deacon) lawfully called, according to the godly laws, and orders of this Church of *England* hath forsaken, abandoned, and renounced the same orders Ecclesiastical, as an antichristian, and unlawfull manner of calling, unto the Ministry, or Deaconship.

2. *Item*, that he departing this Realm into forraign parts, without license, as a man discontented with the form of Government Ecclesiasticall here by law established, the more to testifie his dislike and contempt thereof, and of the manner of his former Vocation, and Ordination, was contented in forraign parts (as at *Antwerpe*, *Middleburgh*, or elsewhere) to have a new Vocation, Election, or Ordination, by imposition of hands unto the Ministry, or unto some other order or degree Ecclesiasticall, and in other manner and form, than the laws Ecclesiasticall of this Realm do prescribe. Let him declare upon his oath the particular circumstances thereof.

3. *Item*, that by vertue or colour of such his later Vocation, Election, or Ordination, becoming a pretended Bishop, or Pastor, of such Congregation as made choice of him, he established, or procured to be established at *Antwerp*, and at *Middleburgh* among Merchants, and others, Her Majesties Subjects, a certain *Consistory*, *Seminary*, Presbytery, or *Eldership* Ecclesiastical, consisting of himself, being *Bishop*, or *Pastor*, (and so *President* thereof) of a *Doctor*, of certain *Ancients*, *Seniours*, or *Elders* for government Ecclesiastical, and of *Deacons* for distributing to the poor.

4. *Item*, that the said *Eldership*, and the authority thereof, certain English-born Subjects were called, elected, or ordained by imposition of hands, to be Ministers, or Ecclesiastical Doctors (being not of that degree before) as *Hart*, *Travers*, *Grise*, or some of them; and some that were also Ministers afore, according to the orders of the Church of *England*, as *Fenner*, *Allen*, were so called, and other English Subjects were also called, and likewise ordained Elders, and some others were ordained Deacons, in other manner and form, than the laws Ecclesiasticall of the Realm do prescribe, or allow of.

5. *Item*, that such *Eldership* so established, under the Presidentship of him the said *Thomas Cartwright*, had used (besides this authority of this Vocation, and Ordination of Officers ecclesiasticall) the Censures, and keyes of the Church, as publick admonition, suspension from the Supper, and from execution of offices ecclesiastical, and the censures of excommunication; likewise authority of making laws, degrees, and orders ecclesiastical, and of dealing with the doctrine, and manners of all persons in that Congregation, in all matters whatsoever so far as might appertain to conscience.

6. *Item*, that he the said *Thomas Cartwright*, in the publick administration of his Ministry there, among Her Majesties Subjects, used not the forme of liturgie, or Book of Common-Prayer, by the laws of this land established, nor in his government ecclesiasticall, the laws and orders of this land, but rather conformed himself in both to the use and form of some other forraign Churches.

7. *Item*, that since his last return from beyond the Seas, being to be placed at *Warwick*, he faithfully promised (if he might be but tolerated to preach) not to impugne the laws, orders, policy, government, nor governours in this Church of *England*, but to perswade, and procure, so much as he could, both publickly, and privately, the estimation, and peace of this Church.

8. *Item*, That he, having no Ministry in this Church (other then such as afore

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before he had forſaken, and ſtill condemneth as unlawful) and without any licenſe (as Law requireth) he hath ſince taken upon him to preach at *Warwick*, and at ſundry other places of this Realm.

9. *Item*, That ſince his ſaid return, in ſundry private conferences, with ſuch Miniſters and others, as at ſundry times by word, and letter, have asked his advice, or opinion, he hath ſhewed miſlike of the Laws, and Government Eccleſiaſtical, and of divers parts of the Liturgie of this Church; and thereby perſwaded, and prevailed alſo with many in ſundry points, to break the orders and form of the Book of Common-Prayer, who obſerved them before, and alſo to oppoſe themſelves to the Government of this Church, as himſelf well knoweth, or verily believeth.

10. *Item*, That in all, or moſt of ſuch his Sermons, and Exerciſes, he hath taken occaſion to traduce, and enveigh againſt the Biſhops, and other governours under them in this Church.

11. *Item*, That he hath grown ſo far in hatred, and diſlike towards them, as that at ſundry times, in his prayer at Sermons, and namely, Preaching at *Banbury*, about a year ſince, in ſuch place as others well diſpoſed pray for Biſhops, he prayed to this, or like effect; *Becauſe that they, which ought to be pillars in the Church, do bend themſelves againſt Chriſt, and his truth, therefore O Lord give us grace, and power, all as one man, to ſet our ſelves againſt them.* And this in effect (by way of emphaſis) he then alſo repeated.

12. *Item*, that preaching at ſundry times and places, he uſually teacheth at all occaſions, to deprave, condemn, and impugn the manner of Ordination of Biſhops, Miniſters and Deacons; ſundry points of the Politie, Government, Laws, Orders, and rights Eccleſiaſtical, and of the publick Liturgie of the Church of *England*, contained in the Book of Common-Prayer; as namely, the uſe of the Surplis, the Interrogatories to God-Fathers, &c. in the name of the Infants, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, the Thankſgiving after Child-birth, Burials by Miniſters, the Kneeling at Communion, ſome points of the Letany, certain Collects and Prayers, the reading of portions of Scripture for the Epiſtle and Goſpel, and the manner of Singing in Cathedral Churches, and others.

13. *Item*, That preaching at the Baptizing of one of *Job Throgmortons* children, he ſpoke much of the unlawfulneſs, and in derogation of the Government, Politie, Laws, and Liturgy Eccleſiaſtical of this Realm; and to the juſtification of a Government by Elderſhips in every Congregation, and by Conference, and Synods, &c. abroad, as Divine Inſtitutions commanded by Chriſt, and the onely lawful Church-government; ſeeking to prove and eſtabliſh ſuch Elderſhips out of that word in one of the *Pſalms*, where *Thrones* are mentioned.

14. *Item*, That by toleration, and impunity, he did grow ſo confident, and withal implacable againſt the Laws, Government, and Orders of this Church of *England*, that he could not endure M^r *Bourdman*, and others (preaching ſundry times at *Warwick*) to ſpeak in defence thereof, but took upon him to confute in ſundry Sermons there, theſe things which the ſaid *Bourdman* had truly, and dutifully, in that behalf ſpoken, and delivered.

15. *Item*, That in his Sermons at *Warwick*, and elſewhere, within the ſaid time, he often delivered many frivolous, ſtrange, and undiſcreet poſitions; as namely, that to kneel down and pray when a man comes into the Church, or pray there privately, was but to offer the ſacrifice of fools. That it was requiſite, all the hearers that were able ſhould ſtand upon their feet during Sermons; and diſcourſing about

women, and their child-birth, &c. did ſpeak thereof ſo indiſcreetly, and offenſively, that ſundry of them in great grief, had conſpired to have miſchieved him with ſtones in the open ſtreets.

16. *Item*, That by his perſwaſions, privately and publickly delivered, ſundry perſons in and about *Warwick*, were appointed to impugn, both in words and deeds, the Laws, Orders, and rights preſcribed by the Book of Common-Prayer; inſomuch as both his own wife by his procurement and conſent, refuſed after child-birth, to come, and give thanks in ſuch place of the Church, and in that ſolemn manner as thereby is preſcribed; and ſome other women alſo of that Town, by ſuch perſwaſion, and example, did uſe the like contempt.

17. *Item*, That ſundry times (or at leaſt once) when he communicated at the Lords Supper there, he ſate, or ſtood upon his feet; and divers others, induced by his perſwaſions, and example, both then and at other times did the like. And, that at other times there, or in other places where he hath communicated, both himſelf and others, (as he had appointed or perſwaded afore) did walk along, and receive the Sacrament of the Miniſter as they paſſed by him.

18. *Item*, That for theſe, and ſuch like diſorders, he was preſented to the Biſhop of *Wigorne*, his *Ordinary*. Before whom being convented in the Conſiſtory there, he ſpake to the juſtification, and upholding of ſuch doing of his, and of others: and there very publickly, and offenſively affirmed, and diſputed, *That the Book of Common-Prayer, &c. is not eſtabliſhed by Law.*

19. *Item*, That when by authority from the ſaid Biſhop, for his contempt he was ſuſpended from preaching, *& ab omni functione Miniſterii*, he appealed from the ſaid ſuſpenſion, yet did not proſecute within a year after, whereby (the cauſe being according to Law remitted again to the Biſhop) he, the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright*, according to the former proceedings, falling again into the ſentence of ſuſpenſion (which was alſo intimated, and made known unto him) nevertheleſs in contempt of the Authority Eccleſiaſtical, he hath preached at *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and elſewhere ſince the ſaid time.

20. *Item*, When one of his men-ſervants had committed Fornication, and gotten a baſtard in his houſe, he, taking upon him the authority of the *Ordinary*, did appoint unto the delinquent a publick form of penance, or ſatisfaction, in Saint *Maries-Church* at *Warwick*, and cauſed him to perform the ſame.

21. *Item*, Since his placing at *Warwick* he, with others (at ſuch times as they thought fit) have agreed to have, and ſo have had, divers publick Faſts, without the Queen her Authority, and have invited, and perſwaded both ſundry perſons to be there preſent, and alſo certain to preach, to the number of three, four, or five, ſucceſſively one after another, being all noted to be ſuch, as miſlike and impugn ſundry points of the Laws, Government, and Liturgy Eccleſiaſtical of this Church of *England*. In which Sermons, both he the ſaid *Cartwright*, and ſuch others alſo as then preached, did impugn, and enveigh againſt the preſent Laws, Government, Politie, and Liturgy Eccleſiaſtical of this Church of *England*.

22. *Item*, That from time to time, ſince his abode in *Warwick*, by his practice and dealing, he hath nouriſhed a faction, and heart-burning of one inhabitant there againſt another, ſevering them in his own, and his followers ſpeeches, by the names of *The Godly*, or *Brethren favouring ſincerity*, and *The Profane*.

23. *Item*, That he doth know, or credibly heard, who were the penners, printers, or ſome of the diſperſers of the ſeveral Libels, going under the

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the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, of *the Demonſtration of Diſcipline*, of *Diotrephes*, and ſuch like books, before it was known to Authority; and yet in favour of ſuch, and contempt of good laws, did not manifeſt the ſame to any who had authority to puniſh it.

24. *Item*, that being aſked his opinion of ſuch books, he anſwered thus in effect, or ſomthing tending this way, *viz.* (meaning the Biſhops, and others there touched) would not amend by grave books, and advertiſements, and therefore it was meet they ſhould thus be dealt with, to their further reproach and ſhame.

25. *Item*, that for, and in the behalf of the Church of *England* he penned, or procured to be penned, all or ſome part, of a little book intituled in one part, *Diſciplina Eccleſiæ ſacrâ Verbo Dei deſcripta*; and in the other part, *Diſciplina Synodica ex Eccleſiarum uſu &c.* And, after it was peruſed by others, whom he firſt acquainted therewith, he recommended the ſame to the cenſures, and judgements of moe brethren (being learned Preachers) and ſome others, aſſembled together by his means, for that and other like purpoſes: Which, after deliberation, and ſome alterations, was by them, or moſt of them, allowed, as the only lawfull Church government, and fit to be put in practice; and the wayes and means for the practiſing thereof in this Realm, were alſo then, or not long after, agreed or concluded upon by them.

26. *Item*, that for the better and more due practiſe of it within the ſpace of theſe ſeven, ſix, five, foure, three, two, or one year laſt paſt, the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright*, and ſundry others (as aforeſaid according to former appointment and determinations by them made) have met in Aſſemblies, termed Synods, more general (as at *London*, at Terms, and Parliament times; in *Oxford* at the Act; in *Cambridg* at the times of Commencement, and *Sturbridge* fair) and alſo more particular, and Provinciall Synods, and at Claſſes, or Conferences of certain ſelected Miniſters, in one, or moe places of ſundry ſeverall ſhires, as, *Warwick*, *Northampton*, *Rotland*, *Oxford*, *Leiceſter*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Eſſex*, and others.

27. *Item*, that at ſuch Synods and Conferences, it hath been concluded, that all the Miniſters, which ſhould be received to be either of the ſaid generall Synods, or of any more particular and Provincial, or of a Claſſis, or Conference, ſhould ſubſcribe to the ſaid Diſcipline, that they did allow it, would promote it, practiſe it, and be governed by it. And according to the form of a ſchedule hereunto annexed, or ſuch like, both he the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright*, and many others, at ſundry, or ſome generall Aſſemblies, as at Provincial, and at ſeveral conferences, have within the ſaid time, ſubſcribed the ſame, or ſome part thereof.

28. *Item*, that at ſuch Synods and all other Aſſemblies, a moderator of that meeting, was firſt by him and them choſen, according to the preſcription of the ſaid book. And at ſome of ſuch meetings, and Aſſemblies amongſt other things, it was reſolved, and concluded; that ſuch particular conferences in ſeverall Shires ſhould be erected; how many perſons, and with what letters from every of them, ſhould be ſent to the generall Aſſembly; and that one of them, at their coming home to their Conference, ſhould make known the determinations of the generall Aſſembly, to be by every of them followed, and put in practice: which courſe in ſundry places of this Realm hath (within the time aforeſaid) been accordingly followed and performed.

29. *Item*,

29. *Item*, that he with others in ſome ſuch Claſſis or Conference; or in a Synod, or more generall Aſſembly holden, did treat, and diſpute (among other points) theſe ſix Articles conteined in another ſchedule annexed, and ſet down their reſolution, and determination of them.

30. *Item*, that he, with others aſſembled in ſuch a generall Aſſembly, or Synod at *Cambridge*, did conclude, and decree (as in another ſchedule annexed, or in ſome part thereof is conteined) which decrees were made known afterwards at *Warwick*, to ſundry Claſſes there by his means aſſembled, and allowed alſo by them then met together in the ſame or like form.

31. *Item*, that all ſuch ſeverall meetings, Synods, and Conferences, within the ſaid time, many other determinations, as well what ſhould be done and performed, or omitted; as alſo what ſhould be holden conſonant to Gods word, or diſagreeing from it, have been ſet down by the ſaid *Thomas Cartwright* and others. As namely, that all admitted to either Aſſembly ſhould ſubſcribe the ſaid book of Diſcipline, *Holy*, and *Synodicall*: that thoſe who were ſent from any Conference to a Synod, ſhould bring letters *fiduciarie*, or *credence*: that the laſt Moderator ſhould write them: that the ſuperſcription thereof ſhould be to a known man of the Aſſembly then to be holden: that no book made by any of them ſhould be put in print, but by conſent of the Claſſis at leaſt: that ſome of them muſt be earneſt, and ſome more milde and temperate, whereby there may be both of the ſpirit of *Elias*, and *Elizeus*: that all admitted amongſt them, ſhould ſubſcribe, and promiſe, to conform themſelves in their proceedings, adminiſtration of Sacraments, and of Diſcipline, to the form of that Book; and that they would ſubject themſelves to the cenſuring of the Brethren, both for doctrine and life: and laſtly, that upon occaſion, when any their brethren ſhall be ſent by them upon affairs of the Church (as to the great meetings, Parliament &c.) they all would bear their charges in common: that there might be no ſuperiority amongſt them, and that the Moderatorſhip (as it happ'ned) is not a ſuperiority, or honour, but a burden: that no profane writer, or any other, than Canonical Scripture may be alledged in Sermons: that they ſhould all teach, that the miniſtry of thoſe who did not preach, is no miniſtry, but a meer nullity: that it is not lawfull to take any oath, whereby a man may be driven to diſcover any thing penal to himſelf, or to his brother, eſpecially if he be perſwaded the matter to be lawfull, for which the puniſhment is like to be inflicted; or having taken it in this caſe, need not diſcover the very truth: that to a Biſhop, or other Officer eccleſiaſticall (as is uſed now in the Church of *England*) none obedience ought to be given, neither in appearing before them, in doing that which they command, nor in abſtaining from that which they inhibit: that in ſuch places as the moſt of the people favoured the cauſe of ſincerity, Elderſhip ſhould warily and wiſely be placed and eſtabliſhed, which Conſiſtory in ſome places hath been either wholy, or in part erected accordingly; yea, in ſome Colledges in the Univerſity, as he knoweth, hath heard, or verily beleeveth.

Theſe Articles were tendered to M^r. *Cartwright* in the Conſiſtory of *Pauls*, before *John Almare* Biſhop of *London*, the two Lord Chief Juſtices, Juſtice *Gawdy*, Sergeant *Puckering* (afterwards *Lord keeper*) and Attorney-Generall *Popham*.

28. Theſe

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28. These Commissioners did move him to give in his answer (the rather because the chief points in the Interrogatories were delivered in general terms unto him) and they severally assured him on their credits, that by the Laws of the Realm, he was to take his oath, and to answer as he was required. But Mr. *Cartwright* desired to be born withall; pleading, that he thought he was not bound by the laws of God so to do. Hereupon he was sent to the rest of his brethren to the *Fleet*, where he secretly, and silently took up his lodging; many admiring at the *pannick peaceableness*, and so quiet a *calm*, where so violent a tempest was feared to arise.

Mr. *Cartwright* refuseth to answer an oath.

Nov. 4.

29. Some soon after expected the appearance of the Presbyterian party, accounting it more valour to free, than to keep their friends from prison. The rather, because of a passage in a letter of Mr. *Wigingtons* to one Mr. *Porter* at *Lancaster*.

Wigington his ridling words.

> Mr. Cartwright *is in the* Fleet *for the refusall of the oath, (as I hear) and* Mr. Knewstubs *is sent for, and sundry worthy Ministers are disquieted, who have been spared long. So that we look for some* Bickering *ere long, and then a* Battle *which cannot long endure.*

Words variously expounded, as mens fancies directed them. Some conceived that this *Bickering*, and *Battle* did barely import a *passive conflict*, wherein their patience was to encounter the power of their adversaries, and to conquer by suffering. Parallel to the Apostles [a] words *Without were fightings*, meaning *combats* to wrastle with in many difficulties opposing their proceedings. Others expounded the words literally (not of a *tame*, but *wilde Battle*) and of some intended violence, as if shortly they would muster their (hitherto invisible) forces to storm the *Fleet*, and rescue their friends therein. A third sort beheld *Wigington* the writer of these words, as one, but of the *soberer sort* of *distracted men*, and therefore in vain do staid heads make serious comments on light mens random-expressions, where the knot is neither to be untied, nor cut, but cast away.

[a] 2 Cor. 7. 5.

30. Now the principall pillars of the Presbyterian party, being some in restraint, more in trouble, all in fear; applied themselves by their secret solicitors to *James* King of *Scotland*, and procured his letter to the Queen in their behalf, seconded with another to the same effect. They conceived so potent a Petitioner must needs prevail, especially in this juncture of time; the Queen having lately (since she put his mother to death) Adulced him with fair language, and kind carriage. This Letter was sent to one Mr. *Johnson* a Scotch Merchant in *London*, by him presented to the Queen, perused by her Majesty, and remitted to her *Privie-Councell*; but behold the Tenour thereof.

The king of Scots writs in favour of the Non-conformists.

34. 1591.

> *Right Excellent, high and mighty Princess, our dearest Sister and Cousin in our heartiest manner, We recommend us unto you. Hearing of the apprehension of* Mr. *Udall and* Mr. Cartwright, *and certain other Ministers of the Evangel within your Realm; Of whose good erudition and faithfull travels in the Church, we hear a very credible commendation, howsoever that their diversity from the Bishops and others of your Clergy, in matters touching them in conscience hath been a mean by their dilation, to work them your misliking; at this present we cannot (weighing the duty which we owe to such as are afflicted for their conscience in that profession) but by our most effectuous and earnest Letter interpone us at your hands to stay any harder usage of them for that cause. Requesting you most earnestly, that*

that for our cause and intercession it may please you to let them be relieved of their present strait, and whatsoever further accusation or pursuit depending on that ground, respecting both their former merit, in setting forth the Evangell, the simplicity of their conscience in this defence which cannot well be, their let by compulsion, and the great slander which could not fail to fall out upon their further streighting for any such occasion. Which we assure us your zeal to Religion, besides the expectation we have of your good will to pleasure us, will willingly accord to our request, having such proofs from time to time of or like disposition to you in any matters which you recommend unto us, and thus right excellent, right high, and mighty Princes, our dear sister and Cousin, we commit you to Gods protection.

Edenburgh *June* 12. 1591.

This letter prevailed little with the Queen, nor do I finde that the king of *Scotland* was discontented thereat. Princes politickly understanding their mutual secret language (not to say silent signs) whose desires to forraign Princes for private persons carry this tacite reservation, if it may stand with the conveniency and pleasure of him to whom it is written. Besides, they know by their own experience, that often there is the least of themselves in their own letters, as granted meerly for quietness sake to satisfie the importunity of others.

Mr. *Cartwright* discharged the Star-Chamber by the intercession of Arch Bishop *Whitgift*.

31. *One word* from *Arch.* Bp. *Whitgift* befriended Mr. *Cartwright* more then *both the letters* from the King of *Scotland*. This Prelate reflecting on his abilities, and their ancient acquaintance in Trinity College: and remembring (as an honorable Adversary) they had brandished pens one against another, and considering that both of them now were well stricken in years, and (some will say) fearing the success in so tough a conflict, on Mr. *Cartwrights* generall promise to be quiet, procured his dismission out of the Starr-Chamber, and prison wherein he was confined. Henceforward Mr. *Cartwright* became very peaceable, not that he began to desert the cause, but the cause him. The Original state of the point of Non-conformity being much altered and disguised from its self, and many state businesses (which Mr. *Cartwright* disclaimed) by turbulent spirits shuffled into it.

A preface to the ensuing discourse.

32. Next followeth the just death of *Hacket* for his damnable Blasphemy, and I am sensible of a sad dilemma concerning the same. For *not relating* the story, will be interpreted *favouring* of him, and *wronging* the truth. *Relating* it, may be accounted *gracing* his impieties by recording them. And seeing it is hard for one soul to attend two things at once, some will say, no Author can write and detest, nor Reader peruse and detest these his blasphemies so at the same instant, but that there will be *a short intervall* betwixt them, yet *long enough* to have *Piety wounded* therein. However arming our selves and others with caution premised, we enter on this sorrowfull subject. The rather because the *best* may be bettered by the *worst* of men. When considering that naturall corruption in their hearts, is not less *headstrong*, but more *bridled*. *Think not that* Hacket *and his two Companions were worse by nature then all others of the English nation. I tell you nay, for if Gods restraining grace be taken from us we shall all runn unto the same excess of riot.*

The Character of *Hacket*.

33. This *William Hackes* was born at *Oundale* in *Northhampton-shire*, of so cruel and fierce a nature, that he is reported to have bit off, and eat down the

Anno Dom. 1591. the noſe of his Schoolmaſter. A Maulſter by trade, which calling being too narrow for his active ſoul; He undertook to be a *Diſcoverer* of, & *Informer* againſt *Recuſants*. An imployment which often procured his admittance into the preſence of great perſons, when his betters were excluded. One of a bold and confident nature, who though but an invited gueſt where many Clergie men were preſent, would allwayes preſume to *ſay grace* and *pray* before them. A great ſtickler for the *Geneva* diſcipline, being very great with *Wigginton* and other the moſt violent of that faction. Always inculcating that ſome extraordinary courſe muſt be preſently taken with the obſtructors thereof. Once he deſperately took his dagger and violently ſtruck the ſame into the picture of the Queen, aiming at her heart therein by proportion. He pretended alſo to revelations, Immediate Raptures and diſcourſes with God, as alſo to *buffetings of Satan*, atteſting the truth thereof, with moſt direfull oaths and execrations.

His monſtrous opinions and practiſes.

34. One Argument *Hacket* uſed to alledge to prove his own *Invulnerability*, *Becauſe he profered leave to any one to kill him that would.* The cunning Impoſtor knowing full well that it was death for any to do it, being ſecured from ſuch violence, not by any ſecret quality in himſelf, but by the good laws of the Queen, againſt whom he ſo bitterly enveighed. *He* railed alſo againſt the Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* and Chancellour *Hatton*, with other of the Privie Councellors, pretending himſelf ſent from Heaven to reform *Church* and *State*, and bring in a new diſcipline into both by extraordinary means.

Proclaimed by his two Prophets.

35. Afterwards he gave it out, that the principall ſpirit of the *Meſſias* reſted in him, and had two Attendants. *Edmund Coppinger* (the Queens ſervant and one of good deſcent) for his prophet of mercy. And *Henry Arthington* a *York-ſhire* Gentleman for his prophet of Judgment. Theſe proclaimed out of a Cart in *Cheap-ſide*, that Chriſt was come in *Hacket*, with his fan in his hand, to purge the godly from the wicked, with many other precedent, concomitant and conſequent impieties. *For who can otherwiſe conceive but ſuch a prince-principall* of Darkneſs muſt be proportionably attended with a black guard of monſtrous Opinions and expreſſions. They cryed alſo, Repent *England*, Repent. Good counſell for all that heard, but beſt for them that gave it. With much adoe (ſuch the preſs of people) they got home to broken-wharf where *Hacket* lay, and next day all three were ſent to *Bridewell*, though ſome conceived *Bedlam* the more proper place for them. And ſome dayes after, *Hacket* being ſolemnly arraigned before the Judges at *Weſtminſter*, demeaned himſelf very ſcornfully, but was found guilty on a double inditement and condemned.

An adventure with more boldneſs then diſcretion.

36. During his impriſonment in *Bridewell*, one Dr. *Childerly* Rector of St. *Dunſtans* in the Eaſt repaired unto him, and proffered to gripe arms with him and try the wriſts, which *Hacket* unwillingly ſubmitted to do. Though otherwiſe boaſting himſelf invulnerable and impenetrable. The Doctor (though with ſome difficulty, *Hacket* being a foul ſtrong lubber, yet) fairly twiſted his wriſts almoſt to the Breaking thereof, but not to the bowing of him to any confeſſion or remorſe. Whilſt the other preſently haſteth home to his houſe, lock'd himſelf up in his Study, and with faſting and prayer beg'd pardon of God for his pride and boldneſs, that having neither promis'd precept, or precedent for his practiſe in ſcripture, he ſhould adventure on ſuch a triall wherein juſtly he might have been worſted for his preſumption, and diſcreet men will more commend the relenting tenderneſs of his heart, then the ſlight and ſtrength of his hands.

Hacket's execution.

37. *Hacket* was brought to the Gibbet near to the Crosse in *Cheap-side*, and there belched forth most blasphemous execrations, till the halter stopped his breath. I know what one Lawyer pleadeth in his behalf, though it be little credit to be the Advocate of such a Client, *That the Bishops had made him madd with persecuting of him.* Sure it was, if he were madd, not *any learning* but *overmuch pride* made him so, and sure it is, he discovered no distemper in other particulars, personating at least wise, if not performing all things with a composed gravity. But there is a madness which Physicians count most uncurable, and call it *Modesta Insania*, when one is mad, as to one particular point alone, whilst serious and sober in all other things. Whether *Hacket* were not toucht with this or no, I will not decide, but leave him to stand or fall, to his own master. *Coppinger* died in *Bridewell*, starving himself (as it is said) by wilfull abstinence. *Arthington* (the prophet of judgment) lived to prove the object of Gods and the Queens mercy, and printed a plain book of his hearty repentance. Happy herein that he met with a generall belief of his serious sorrow and sincere amendment.

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This accident unhappily improved against him the Nonconformists.

38. This businesse of *Hacket* happened very unseasonably for the Presbyterians. True it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the Episcopall party. And such of them as loved *Hacket the Nonconformist*, abhorred *Hacket the Heretick*, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of Impiety. But (besides the glutenous nature of all aspersions to stick where they light) they could not wash his *odium* so fast from themselves, but their Adversaries were as ready to rub it on again. This rendred them at this time so hated at Court, That for many moneths together no *Favourite* durst present a petition in their behalf to the Queen, being loath to lose himself, to save others, so offended was her Majesty against them.

Mr *Stone* by his confession discovereth the meeting of the Brethren, with the circumstances thereof.

39. The same day wherein *Hacket* was executed, *Thomas Stone*, Parson of *Warkton* in *Northhampton-shire* (by vertue of an Oath tendered him the day before by the Queens Atturney, and solemnly taken by him) was examined by the Examiner for the Starr-Chamber in *Grayes Inne*, from six of the clock in the morning, till seaven at night, to answer unto thirty three Articles, but could only effectually depose to these which follow, faithfully by me transcribed out of a confession written with his own hand, and lately in my Possession.

July 27.

1 Interrog.

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1. Interrog.

Who and how many assembled and met together with the said Defendents, T. C. H. E. E. S. &c. all or any of them where, when, how often &c?

The answer of *T. S.* to the Interrog. touching the Circumstances of

1 Places of meeting
- 1 Greater
  - 1 In *London* — 1 *Travers*, 2 *Egertons*, 3 *Gardeners*, 4 *Barbers* — Houses
  - 2 In *Cambridge* S^t *Johns* College
- 2 Lesse,
  - 1 In *Northampton* — 1 *Johnsons*, 2 *Snapes* — Houses
  - 2 In *Kettering* or near it — 1 *Dammes*, 2 *Stones* — Houses

2 Times.
1. Since the beginning of the last Parliament.
2. Sundry times at *London*, how oft he remember'd not.
3. Sundry times at *Northampton*, how oft not remembred.
4. Sundry times at *Kettering*, how not remembred.
5. Once at *Cambridge*, about *Sturbridge* fair time was 1. or 2. years.
6. Once at *London*, a little before M^r *Cartwright* was committed at M^r *Gardeners* house.
7. Once at this Deponents house, the certain time not remembred.

3 persons

1 Meeting in *London* joyntly or severally.
- M^r *Travers*, M^r *Clark*, M^r *Egerton*, M^r *Gardener*, M^r *Barber*, M^r *Brown*, M^r *Somerscales*
- M^r *Cartwright*, M^r *Chatterton*, M^r *Gyfford*, M^r *Allen*, M^r *Edmunds*, M^r *Gylybrand*.
- M^r *Culverwell*, M^r *Oxenbridge*, M^r *Barbon*, M^r *Fludd*, This Deponent.

2 Meeting in *Camb.*
- M^r *Chatterton* and others of *Cambridge*, M^r *Cartwright*, M^r *Gyfford*, M^r *Allen*
- M^r *Snape*, M^r *Fludde*, This Deponent.

3 Meeting in *Northampton* joyntly or severally.
- M^r *Johnson*, M^r *Snape*, M^r *Sybthorpe*, M^r *Edwards*, M^r *Fludde*, This Deponent
- M^r *Spicer*, M^r *Fleshware*, M^r *Harrison*, M^r *Littleton*, M^r *Williamson*, M^r *Rushbrook*
- M^r *Baxter*, M^r *Barbon*, M^r *King*, M^r *Proudfome*, M^r *Massie*, M^r *Bradshaw*

4 Meeting at *Kettering* or nere to it.
- M^r *Dammes*, M^r *Pattison*, M^r *Okes*, M^r *Baxter*
- M^r *Rushbrook*, M^r *Atkinson*, M^r *Williamson*, M^r *Massie*.
- This Deponent.

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2 Interrog.

Who called these Assemblies, by what Authority, how, or in what sort?

Answer.

That he knew not by whom they were called, neither knew he any other Authority therein, saving a voluntary, or free motion, one giving another Intelligence as occasion served, sometimes by letters, and sometimes by word of mouth.

3 Interrog.

Who were Moderators in them, and what their Office?

Answer.

That he remembred not who where Moderators in any meeting particularly, saving once at *Northampton*, when M^r *Johnson* was admonished, and that was either himself, or M^r *Snape*, he knew not well whether.

4 Interrog.

What things were debated in those meetings or Assemblies?

Answer.

That the things Chiefly and most often considered of in those Assemblies were these. First, The subscription to the Book of Common-Prayer; how farr it might be yielded unto, rather then any should forgoe his Ministery. Secondly, The Book of Discipline was often perused, discussed &c. Thirdly, Three petitions or supplications were agreed upon to be drawn. First, to her Majesty. Secondly, to the Lords of the Councell. Thirdly, to the Bishops. The things debated of in particular, he remembred not more then these. First, the perfecting of the Book of Discipline, and purpose to subscribe to it at *Cambridge*. Secondly, this question disputed, whether it were convenient for M^r *Cartwright* to reveal the Circumstances of the Conference, a little before he was committed. Thirdly, The admonishing of M^r *Johnson* once at *Northampton*. Fourthly, The debating of this question, whether the Books called *Apocrypha* were warrantable to be read publickly in the Church as the Canonical Scriptures.

5 Interrog.

Whether any Censures were exercised, what kinds, when, where, upon whom, by whom, for what cause?

Answer.

That he never saw any Censure exercised, saving admonition once upon M^r *Johnson* of *Northampton*, for misdemeaning himself in his conversation, to the Scandall of his Calling, neither was that used with any kinde of Authority, but by a voluntary yielding unto it, and approving of it, as well in him that was admonished, as in him which did admonish.

6 Interrog.

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6 Interrog.

Whether any of the ſaid Defendents had moved or perſwaded any to refuſe an Oath, and in what caſe &c ?

Anſwer.

That he never knew any of the Defendents to uſe words of perſwaſion to any to refuſe an Oath; only Mr *Snape* ſent him down in writing certain reaſons drawn out of the Scripture, which moved him to refuſe the generall Oath, *ex officio*, which I ſtood perſwaded, that he ſent to none other end, but to declare that he refuſed not to ſwear, upon any contempt, but only for Conſcience ſake.

I have inſiſted the longer on this Depoſition, becauſe the firſt and fulleſt that I finde in the kinde thereof, conteining their Claſſes more formally ſetled in *Northampton-ſhire*, then any where elſe in *England*. For as the weſt part of that ſhire is obſerved to be the higheſt place of *England*, as appeareth by the Rivers riſing there, and running thence to the four winds; ſo was that County a probable place (as the middeſt of the land) for the Preſbyterian Diſcipline, there erected, to derive it ſelf into all the quarters of the kingdom.

40. But when the news of Mr *Stones* anſwer was brought abroad, he was generally cenſured by thoſe of his party, as well ſuch as were yet at liberty, conceiving themſelves endangered by his diſcovery, as by thoſe already in priſon, complaining that *he added affliction to their bonds*. Yea his embracing a different courſe from the reſt, caſt an Aſperſion on others of his ſide, as leſs ſound in Judgement, or tender in conſcience, becauſe peremptorily concealing, what he thought fitting to confeſs. Many that highly eſteemed him before, hereafter accounted him no *pretious* but a *counterfet ſtone:* So that he found it neceſſary in his own vindication to impart the reaſons of his Confeſſion to ſuch as condemned him, if not for a Traytor, at leaſt for a Goward in the Cauſe. The reaſons why Mr *Stone* made this confeſſion againſt the hope and expectation of the Breth.

1. [a] He judged it unlawfull to refuſe an oath, limitted and bounded within the compaſs of the conferences, being required before a lawfull Magiſtrate in a Plea for the Prince to a lawfull end. 1, to trie out the truth in a doubtfull fact, ſuſpected and feared to be dangerous, both to Church and Common-Weal, but ſuch was that oath which was tendered to him, *ergo*.
2. He being lawfully ſworn, judged it unlawfull to be mute, much more to ſpeak any untruth.
3. If he had not been urged by oath to reveal, yet did he judge that ſilence unlawfull, which juſtly cauſeth ſuſpition of evill, as of Treaſon, Rebellion, Sedition, &c.
4. He judged that concealment unlawfull which was not only ſcandalous, but alſo dangerous, as this that might occaſion and incourage wicked perſons to hide their Complices in their worſt attempts.
5. He judged that the clearing of a doubtfull fact, requireth the clearing of the Circumſtances, which cannot be cleared till they be known.
6. He judged that ſilence unlawfull, which leaveth the truth friendleſs, or few friends when ſhe hath need of many.

[a] Carefully by me tranſcribed out of his own Letters to his friends.

7. He

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7. He judged it a point or note of Puritanisme for any to stand so upon the integrity of their own Actions, as that they should not be doubted of, suspected, examined, censured &c.

8. He saw no probability nor possibility in reason to have the circumstances longer concealed. 1. Because many of them are already made known, partly by the letters and writings of the B. in Bonds, which have been intercepted, partly also by certain false brethren, and lastly by certain faithfull, but weak brethren, whose confessions are to be seen under their own hands. 2. Because the Magistrate is resolutely set to search them out, and lastly, because divers are to be called and to answer upon Oath, which approve not the concealing of them.

9. He judged the inconveniences which come by the concealing, to be (if not moe in number) yet greater in weight, and more inevitable then those that come by revealings, which as it may appear in some of the former Reasons alledged to prove the unlawfulness of concealing: so may it further appear in these that follow.

10. The good name and credit of any (of a Minister much more) ought to be dearer to him, and to all those that love him then his liberty &c. but by this concealing the credit of many good Ministers is eclipsed.

11. This concealing hath caused the continuance of some in bonds and imprisonment hitherto, would cause others to be committed, and withall causeth suspition of evills, Treason, Rebellion, Sedition, &c. and thereby also evill report, slander &c.

12. As by concealing the aforesaid suspition and slander lieth still upon us all which have been in these actions: so doth the same grow every day more grievous by the wicked attempts of hypocrites, and prophane persons, which carry the name of Puritans, Precisians &c. as those of late in Cheap-side.

13. Although it be very like, that the revealing will bring punishment upon the rest, yet is it not certain nor necessary, but the concealing doth certainly cause suspition, slander &c.

14. The concealing argueth either some guiltiness, or at the least some faintness and fear to be seen or known in these Actions.

15. It leaveth the truth (which now travaileth) poor, naked, destitute, and void of friends, it casteth the care, credit, countenance, defence and maintenance of it upon those few which are in prison, which ought to be supported and maintained by all.

16. It leaveth the burden upon eight or nine mens shoulders, which ought to be eased by many.

What satisfaction this gave to his party I know not, sure I am the Bishops till his dying day beheld him as an ingenuous man, carrying his conscience with the reason thereof in his own brest, and not pinning it on the president of any other: whereupon they permitted him peaceably to possess his parsonage, (being none of the meanest) though he continued a stiffe Non-conformist, only quietly enjoying his own opinion. Indeed he was a down-right *Nathanael*, if not guilty of too much of the dove in him: faulty in that defect, wherein more offend in the excess, not minding the world so much, as became a provident parent. But we leave him when we have told the Reader, that he was bred a Student in *Christ-Church*, and was [a] Proctor of *Oxford*, *Anno* 1580, and died quietly an old man *Anno* 1617 at *Warkton* in *Northampton-shire*.

[a] Brian Twine in Appendice Ant. Ac. Oxon.

41. Thus

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41. Thus one link being slipp'd out, the whole chain was quickly broken and scattered. *Stone* his discovery marr'd for the future all their formal meetings, as Classically, or Synodically methodized. If any of these Ministers hereafter came together, it was for *visits*, not *visitations*; to enjoy themselves, not enjoyn others orders to be observed by them. Synodicall meetings finally blasted.

42. Whereas Mr *Stone* confesseth their meeting in *Cambridge*, with Mr *Chatterton and others*, I finde some of these *others* [a] elsewhere specified, namely Mr *Perkins*, and Mr *Thomas Harrison*, afterwards the reverend Vice-Master of *Trinity-Colledge*, both of them concurring, though neither of them very active in this cause. Mr *Perkins*, whatsoever his judgement was in point of Church-discipline, never publickly medled with it in his preaching; and, being pressed by others about the lawfullness of subscription, he declined to manifest his opinion therein, glad to enjoy his own quiet, and to leave others to the liberty of their own consciences. *Solomons* observation found truth in him, [b] *When a mans wayes please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him*; whose piety procured freedom to his preaching, and fair respect to his person, even from those who in affections differed, and in opinion dissented from him: for all held *Perkins for a Prophet*; I mean for a painfull, and faithfull dispenser of Gods will in his word. *Perkin's* piety procures his peace.

[a] Dr *Bancroft* in his book of dangerous positions chap. 7. p. 39.

[b] Prov. 16. 7.

43. But I am weary of writing these sad dissentions in our Church, and fain would pass over to some more pleasing subject: from the renting of Gods Church, to the repairing of it, from the confounding thereof, to the founding, and building, of some eminent place for learning, and religion. But finding none of that nature this very year in *England*, I am fain to seek one beyond the seas, and at last have lighted on the University, and Colledge of *Dublin*, which now began to be erected. Transition to a more pleasant subject.

44. Anciently *Ireland* was the Seminary of Saints, people from all parts of Christendome repairing thither, there to finde, and thence to fetch the perfect pattern of Monastical devotion. Many hundred years after, namely, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Second, *Alexander Bickner*, Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, obtained licence of the Pope, to erect an University in *Dublin*; but the designe succeeded not according to his desire, and others expectation. Now at the last the same was effected by Royall Authority, and a Colledge there erected, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. This mindeth me of a pleasant passage: In the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, it was enjoyned, that all Churches dedicated to S[t] *Thomas Becket*, should be new named, and consigned over to some real Saint. Now whilest country people sate in consultation, what new Saint such Churches should assume, being divided in their opinions, to whom the same should be dedicated, an old man gave this advice, *Even dedicate* it to the Holy Trinity, which will last and continue, when all other Saints may chance to be taken away. The foundation of an University in *Dublin*.

45. Many eminent persons concurred to advance so worthy a work. And because we are to speak of a Colledge, wherein seniority takes place, we will rank these persons, not according to their dignity, but time of their benefaction. The severall Benefactors thereto.

1. *Henry Usher*, then Arch-Deacon of *Dublin*, bred in *Cambridge* (afterward Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, and uncle to *James Usher* the present Arch-Bishop thereof) took a journey with much danger into *England*, and with more difficulty procured the *Mort-main* from
2. Queen *Elizabeth*, who graciously granted it, naming the Corporation, *Collegium Sanctæ ac Individuæ Trinitatis, ex fundatione Reginæ Elizabethæ, juxta Dublin.*

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3. *William Cecil* Baron of *Burleigh*, and treasurer of *England*, is appointed in the *Mort-main* first Chancellour of the University, as being an active instrument to procure the same.

4. S^r *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland* (whose Arms are deservedly graven over the Colledge gate) issued out his letters for collection to all the Counties in *Ireland*, to advance so good a designe; and the *Irish* (though then generally Papists) were very bountifull thereunto.

5. M^r *Luke Chaloner*, Fellow of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, received, and disbursed the monies, had the oversight of the fabrick, which he faithfully procured to be finished, meriting that verse inscribed on his fair monument in *Dublin* Colledge Chappel, built by his * daughter.

* Since married to the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*.

Conditur hoc Tumulo Chaloneri triste Cadaver,
Cujus ope, & precibus, conditur ista domus.

This Tomb within it here contains,
Of *Chaloner* the sad Remains.
By whose prayer, and helping hand,
This House erected here doth stand.

6. The Major, and Aldermen of *Dublin*, bestowed on the Colledge the sight thereof (with some accommodations of considerable grounds about it) being formerly a Religious house, termed *Allhallows*, which at the suppression of Abbies was bestowed on their Corporation.

7. *Adam Loftus*, Fellow of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, at this present Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, and Chancellour of *Ireland*, was the first Master of the Colledge, holding it as an honorarie title, though not so much to receive credit by, as to return lustre to the place.

8. S^r *Warham Saint-Leger*, was very bountifull in paying yearly pensions, for the maintenance of the first students thereof, before the Colledge was endowed with standing revenues.

9. S^r *Francis Shane*, a mere Irish man, but good Protestant, was a principal Benefactor, and kept this infant-foundation from being strangled in the birth thereof.

10. *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, Lord Lievetenant of *Ireland*, and second Chancellour of this University, bestowed at the intreaty of the Students of this Colledge, a Cannoneers pay, and the pay of certain dead places of Souldiers, to the value wellnigh of foure hundred pounds a year, for the Scholars maintenance, which continued for some years.

11. King *James*, that great Patrone of learning, to compleat all, confirmed the revenues of this Colledge *in perpetuum*, endowing it with a great proportion of good land in the Province of *Ulster*.

Thus thorough many hands this good work at last was finished, the first stone whereof was laid *May* 13. 1591. and in the year 1593. Schollars were first admitted, and the first of them *James Usher*, since Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, that mirrour of learning, and religion, never to be named by me, without thanks to him, and to God for him. Nor must it be forgotten, that, what *Josephus* [a] reports of the Temple built by *Herod*, καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν οἰκοδομουμένου τοῦ ναοῦ, τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑετὸν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους

[a] *Antiq. Jud. lib.* 15. *cap.* 20.

Anno Dom. 1591.

ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκ μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκαλύπτετο τὸ ἔργον, during the time of the building of the Temple, it rained not in the day time, but in the night, that the showrs might not hinder the work; I say, what by him is reported, hath been avouched to me by witnesses above exception, that the same happened here from the founding, to the finishing of this Colledge; the officious Heavens always smiling by day (though often weeping by night) till the work was completed.

46. The whole Species of the University of *Dublin*, was for many years preserved in the Individuum of this one Colledge. But since this instrument hath made better musick, when (what was but a *monochord* before) hath got two other smaller *strings* unto it, the addition of *New-Colledge*, and *Kildare-Hall*. What remaineth? but that I wish that all those worthy Divines bred therein, may have their [a] *Doctrine drop as the rain; and their speech distill as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showrs upon the grass.* The addition of two emissarie Hostells.

a Deut. 32. 2.

47. Let none censure this for a digression from our *Church-History* of *England*. His discourse that is resident on the *Son*, doth not wholy wander from the *Father*, seeing none will deny, but that *proles* is *pars parentis*, *the childe is part of the parent*. *Dublin* University, was a *Colonia deducta* from *Cambridge*, and particularly from *Trinity Colledg*, therein (one motive perchance to the name of it) as may appear by the ensuing Catalogue of the Provosts thereof. Dublin a Colonie of Cambridge.

1. *Adam Loftus*, Fellow of *Trinity Colledge*, first Provost.
2. *Walter Travers*, Fellow of the same Colledge, second Provost,
3. *Henry Alvy*, Fellow of S^t *Johns Colledge* in *Cambridge*, third Provost.
4. S^r *William Temple*, who wrote a learned Comment on *Ramus*, Fellow of *Kings Colledge*, fourth Provost.
5. *Joseph Stede*, Fellow of *Christ-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, chosen Provost, but refused to accept it.
6.
7. *William Chapel*, Fellow of the same Colledge, seventh Provost.

Know also that this University did so Cantabrize, that she imitated her in the successive choice of her Chancellours, the daughter dutifully approving, and following the judgement of her mother therein.

48. This year was fatall to no eminent Protestant Divine, and I finde but one of the Romish perswasion dying therein; *Arthur* (shall I say?) or *Laurence Faunt*, born of worshipfull parentage at *Folston* in *Leicester-shire*, bred in *Merton-Colledge* in *Oxford*, whence he fled (with M^r *Pots*, his Tutor) to *Lovain*, and never more returned into *England*. From *Lovain* he removed to *Paris*, thence to *Minchen*, an University in *Bavaria* (where *William* the Duke *exhibited* unto him) thence to *Rome*, where he was admitted a Jesuite. Hence Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth sent him to be governor of the Jesuits Colledge at *Posna* in *Poland*, newly erected by *Sigismund* King thereof. Yea, so great was the fame of this *Faunt*, that (if his own letters may be beleeved) three Princes courted him at once, to come to them. He altered his Christian name of *Arthur*, because (as his [b] kinsman tells us) no Kalender-Saint was ever of that name, and assumed the name of *Laurence*, dying this year at *Vilna* in *Lituania*, leaving books of his own making, much prized by those of his own profession. The death of *Arthur Faunt*.

b Burton in Description of *Leicester-shire* pag. 10.

49. Now began the heat, and height, of the sad contest betwixt M^r *Richard Hooker* Master, and M^r *Walter Travers* Lecturer of the Temple. We will be the larger in the relating thereof, because we behold their actions not as the deeds of private persons, but the publick Champions of their The contest betwixt *Hooker* and *Travers*.

Anno Dom. 1591. Anno Regni Eliz. 34

Party. Now as an *Army* is but a *Champion diffused*, so a *Champion* may be said to be an *Army contracted*. The Prelaticall Party wrought to the height in and for *Hooker*, nor was the Presbyterian power less active in assisting Mr *Travers*, both sides being glad they had gotten two such eminent Leaders, with whom they might engage with such credit to their cause.

Hooker his Character.

50. *Hooker* was born in *Devon-shire*, bred in *Oxford*, Fellow of *Corpus Christi* Colledge; one of a solid judgement, and great reading. Yea, such the *depth* of his learning, that his *Pen* was a better *Bucket* than his *Tongue* to draw it out. A great defender both by preaching and writing of the Discipline of the Church of *England*, yet never got (nor cared to get) any eminent dignity therein, conscience, not covetousness engaging him in the controversie. Spotless was his conversation, and though some dirt was cast, none could stick on his reputation. Mr *Travers* was brought up in *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and because much of *Church matter* depends upon him, I give the Reader the larger account of his carriage.

Travers takes his orders beyond Seas.

51. *Travers* meeting with some discontents in the Colledge after the death of Dr *Beamond* (in whose time he was elected fellow) took occasion to travail beyond Seas, and comming to *Geneva*, contracted familiarity with Mr *Beza*, and other forraign divines, with whom he by letters continued correspondency till the day of his death. Then returned he and commenced Batchelor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, and after that went beyond sea again, and at *Antwerp* was ordained minister, by the Presbytery there, whose Testimoniall I have here faithfully transcribed out of the Originall.

Quam multis de causis sit & æquum & consultum unumquemque eorum qui ad verbi Dei ministerium asciscuntur, vocationis suæ testimonium habere, Asserimus, coacta Antuerpiæ *ad* 8. Maij 1578. *duodecim Ministrorum verbi cum totidem fere senioribus Synodo, præstantissimum pietate & eruditione virum ac fratrem reverendum* Doctorem Gualterum Traverseum, *omnium qui aderant suffragiis ardentissimis, votis, consueto ritu fuisse in sancto verbi Dei ministerio institutum, precibusque ac manuum impositione confirmatum. Postero autem die post sabbatum ab illo in frequenti Anglorum coetu concionem, rogante eo qui a Synodo delegatus erat Ministro, propensissimisque totius Ecclesiæ animis acceptum fuisse. Quod quidem Domini ac fratris nostri colendi apud Anglos Ministerium, ut benignitate sua Deus omnipotens donorum suorum incrementis & amplissimo functionis ejus fructu ornare dignetur, enixè precamur per Iesum Christum* Amen. *Dat.* Antwerpiæ 14. Maij. 1578.

Det. Logelerius Vilerius verbi Dei Minister & Johannes Hochelcus *verbi Dei minister.*

Johannes Taffinus *Verbi Dei Minister.*

Thus put in orders by the Presbytery of a forrain Nation, he continued there some years, preached (with Mr *Cartwright*) unto the English factory of Merchants at *Antwerpe*, untill at last he came over into *England*, and for seven years together became Lecturer in the Temple (refusing all presentative preferment to decline subscription) and lived domestick chaplain in the house of the Lord Treasurer *Cicel*, being Tutor for a time to *Robert* his son, afterwards Earl of *Sarisbury*. And although there was much heaving and shuffing at him (as one disaffected to the discipline) yet Gods goodness, his friends greatness, and his own honesty, kept him, (but with much difficulty) in his ministeriall imployment.

52. Yea

Anno Regis Eliz. 34 Anno Dom. 1591.

52. Yea now so great grew the credit and reputation of Mr *Travers*, that (by the advice of Mr *Andrew Melvin*) he and Mr *Cartwright* were solemnly sent for, to be Divinity professors in the University of St *Andrews*, as by this *autograph* (which I have in my hands, and here think fit to exemplifie) may plainly appear.

He with Mr *Cartwright* invited to be Divinity professors in St. *Andrews*.

MAgno quidem, fratres charissimi, gaudio nos afficit constantia vestra, & invicta illa animi fortitudo, quâ contra Satanæ imperium & reluctantem Christi imperio mundi fastum armavit vos domini spiritus, in asserenda apud populares vestros Ecclesiæ suæ disciplina. Sed permolestum tamen nobis semper fuit, pertinaci inimicorum odio & violentia factum esse, ut cum latere & solum subinde vertere cogimini, minus aliquanto fructus ex laboribus vestris ad pios omnes perveniat, quam si docendo publicè & concionando destinatam ecclesiæ Dei operam navare licuisset. Hoc quia in patria vobis negatum videbamus, non aliud nobis magis in votis erat, quàm ut exulanti in vobis Christo hospitium aliquod in ultima Scotia præberetur. Quod ut fieri non incommodè possit, speramus longo nos conatu perfeciisse.

Vetus est & non ignobilis apud nos Academia Andreana; in quâ cùm aliæ artes, tum philosophia imprimis ita hucusque culta fuit, ut quod ab exteris nationibus peteretur, parum nobis, aut nihil in eo genere deesset. Verum divina illa sapientia, quam vel solam, vel præcipuam colere christianos decet, neglecta diu in scholis jacuit; quod à prima statim religionis instauratione, summus omnium ardor exstaret in erudienda plebe; in aliis ad sacrum verbi ministerium instituendis paucissimi laborarent: non leve ut periculum subesset, ne (quod propitius nobis Deus avertat) concionatorum aliquando inopia periret, quod tanta cum spe in hominum animos conjectum est veræ pietatis semen.

Animadvertit hoc tandem ecclesiasticus Senatus, & cum rege regnique proceribus diligenter egit, ne hanc officij sui & solicitudinis partem desiderari amplius paterentur. Placuit & summo omnium applausu in proximis ordinum comitiis decretum est, ut quod amplitudine ceteris & opulentia collegium præstat theologiæ perpetuo studiis consecretur: utque ad verbi Dei ministerium nemo admittatur, nisi linguarum, utriusque testamenti & locorum communium curriculo prius confecto: constat autem quadriennii spacio à quinque professoribus posse. Ex hoc numero adhuc desunt Thomas Cartwrigtus & Gualterus Traversus: *reliquos nobis domi ecclesia nostra suppeditabit. Messem hic videtis singulari vestra eruditione & pietate non indignam. Ad quam pius vos princeps & proceres nostri; ad quam boni vos omnes & fratres vestri; ad quam Christi vos ecclesia & Christus ipse operarios invitat. Reliquum est, ut humanissimè vocantes sequi velitis; & ad docendi hanc provinciam, vobis honorificam, ecclesiæ Dei salutarem maturetis; magnas à principe, majores à Christi ecclesia, maximas & immortales à maximo & immortali Deo gratias inituri. Quod ut sine mora facere dignemini, per eum ipsum vos etiam atque etiam obtestamur, cui acceptum ferri debet, quod ecclesiæ filii sui prodesse tantopere possitis. Valete.* Edinburgi.

Ja Glasgney Academiæ
Cancelarius. Alaynus Rector.
Thomas Smetonius *Decanus*

Andreas Melvinus Collegij præfectus
Mr *David Wems minister Glascovienſis.*

Anno Dom. 1591. Anno Regni Elizæ 34.

This proffer both joyntly refuſed, with return of their moſt affectionate thanks, and ſuch who know leaſt are moſt bold in their conjectures, to adventure at the reaſons of their refuſall. As that they would not leave the Sun on their backs, and remove ſo far North, or they were diſcouraged with the ſlenderneſs of the ſalary aſſigned unto them. In plain truth they were loath to leave, and their friends loath to be left by them, conceiving their pains might as well be beſtowed in their native Country; and *Travers* quietly continued Lecturer at the Temple till Mr *Hooker* became the Maſter thereof.

The character of *Hooker* as to his preaching.

53. Mr *Hooker* his voice was low, ſtature little, geſture none at all, ſtanding ſtone-ſtill in the Pulpit, as if the poſture of his body were the emblem of his minde, unmoveable in his opinions. Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the end of his Sermon: In a word, the doctrine he delivered, had nothing but it ſelf to garniſh it. His ſtile was long and pithy, driving on a whole flock of ſeverall *Clauſes* before he came to the *cloſe* of a ſentence. So that when the copiouſneſs of his ſtile, met not with proportionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjuſtly cenſured, for perplext, tedious, and obſcure. His ſermons followed the inclination of his ſtudies, and were for the moſt part on controverſies, and deep points of School Divinity.

The deſcription of *Travers*.

54. Mr *Travers* his utterance was gracefull, geſture plauſible, matter profitable, method plain, and his ſtile carried in it *indolem pietatis a Genius of grace* flowing from his ſanctified heart. Some ſay, that the congregation in the Temple, *ebb'd in the fore noon, and flowed in the afternoon*, and that the auditory of Mr *Travers* was far the more numerous, the firſt occaſion of emulation betwixt them. But ſuch as knew Mr *Hooker*, knew him to be too wiſe to take exception at ſuch trifles, the rather becauſe the moſt judicious is always the leaſt part in all auditories.

They claſh about matters of Doctrine.

55. Here might one on Sundayes have ſeen, almoſt as many writers as hearers. Not only young ſtudents, but even the graveſt *Benchers* (ſuch as Sr *Edw. Cook* and Sr *James Altham* then were) were not more exact in taking inſtructions from their clients, then in writing notes from the mouths of their Miniſters. The worſt was, theſe two preachers though joyned in affinity (their neareſt kindred being married together) acted with different principles, and claſhed one againſt another. So that what Mr *Hooker* delivered in the forenoon, Mr *Travers* confuted in the afternoon. At the building of *Solomons* Temple 1 *King.* 6. 7. *neither hammer, nor axe, nor tool of iron was heard therein.* Whereas, alaſs in this *Temple*, not only much knocking was heard, but (which was the worſt) the nailes and pins, which one maſter-builder drave in, were driven out by the other. To paſs by leſſer differences betwixt them about *Predeſtination.*

Hooker maintained.	*Travers* defended.
The Church of *Rome*, though not a pure and perfect, yet is a true Church, ſo that ſuch who live and die therein * upon their repentance of all their ſins of ignorance may be ſaved.	The Church of *Rome* is no true Church at all, ſo that ſuch as live and die therein, holding Juſtification in part by works, cannot be ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaved.

* Being *weak, ignorant*, and *ſeduced.*

Thus much diſturbance was cauſed to the diſquieting of peoples conſciences, the diſgrace of the ordinance, the advantage of the common enemy, and the diſhonour of God himſelf.

56. Here

Anno Regin. Eliz. 34. Anno Dom. 1591.

56. Here Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* interpoſed his power, and ſilenced *Travers* from preaching either in the Temple or any where elſe. It was laid to his charge: 1. That he was no lawfull ordained Miniſter according to the Church of *England*. 2ly. That he preached here without licence. 3ly. That he had broken the order (made in the 7th year of her Majeſties reign. Wherein it was provided, *that erroneous Doctrine, if it came to be publickly taught, ſhould not be publickly refuted, but that notice thereof ſhould be given to the Ordinary, to hear and determine ſuch cauſes, to prevent publick diſturbance.*

Travers is ſilenced by the Arch-Biſhop.

57. As for *Travers*, his ſilencing, many which were well pleaſed with the deed done, were offended at the manner of doing it. For all the Congregation on a Sabbath in the after noon were aſſembled together, their attention prepared, *the Cloath* (as I may ſay) and napkins were laied, yea, the gueſts ſet, and their knives drawn for their ſpirituall repaſt, when ſuddenly as Mr *Travers* was going up into the pulpit, a ſorry fellow ſerved him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to Authority, (the milde and conſtant ſubmiſſion whereunto won him reſpect with his adverſaries) Mr *Travers* calmly ſignified the ſame to the Congregation, and requeſted them quietly to depart to their chambers. Thus was our good *Zacheus ſtruck dumb in the Temple*, but not for *infidelity*, unpartial people accounting his fault at moſt but *indiſcretion*. Mean time, his Auditory (pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him preach, ſhould ſo publickly prove abortive, and ſent ſermonleſs home) manifeſted in their variety of paſſion, ſome grieving, ſome frowning, ſome murmuring, and the wiſeſt ſort, who held their tongues, ſhaked their heads, as diſliking the managing of the matter.

Many pleaſed with the deed, but not with the manner of doing it.

58. *Travers* addreſſed himſelf by petition to the Lords of the privie Councell (where his ſtrength lay, as *Hookers* in the Arch-Biſhop of *Cant.* and high Commiſſion) grievouſly complained that he was puniſhed before he was heard, ſilenced (by him apprehended the heavieſt penalty) before ſent for, contrary to equity and reaſon. *The* [a] *Law condemning none before it hear him, and know what he hath done.*

Travers his plea in his petition.

[a] Joh. 7. 51.

1. To the exception againſt the lawfulneſs of his Miniſtry, he pleaded that the communion of Saints allows Ordination legall in any Chriſtian Church, Orders herein are like degrees, and a Doctor graduated in any Univerſity, hath his title and place granted him in all Chriſtendome.
2. For want of licence to preach, he pleaded that he was recommended to this place of the Temple by two letters of the Biſhop of *London* the Dioceſan thereof.
3. His Anti-preaching in the afternoon againſt what was delivered before; he endeavoured to excuſe by the example of St *Paul*, [b] *who gave not place to* Peter, *no not an hour, that the truth of the Goſpell might continue amongſt them.*

[b] Gal. 2. 5.

But we are too tedious herein, eſpecially ſeeing his petition is publickly extant in print, with Mr *Hooker* his anſwer thereunto, whither we referr the reader for his more ample ſatisfaction.

59. By the way, it muſt not be forgotten, that in the very midſt of the *Paroxiſme* betwixt *Hooker* and *Travers*, the latter ſtil bare (and none can challenge the other to the contrary) a reverend eſteem of his adverſary. And when an unworthy aſperſion (ſome years after) was caſt on *Hooker*, (if Chriſt was daſht, ſhall Chriſtians eſcape clean in their journey to heaven) Mr *Travers* being aſked of a private friend, what he thought of the truth of

A charitable adverſary.

of that accuſation, *In truth*, (ſaid he) *I take* Mr *Hooker to be a holy man.* A ſpeech with coming from an adverſary, ſounds no leſs to the commendation of his charity who ſpake it, then to the praiſe of his piety of whom it was ſpoken. Anno Dom. 1591. Anno Regni Eliz. 34.

Travers muſt have no favour.

60. The Councell table was much divided about *Travers* his petition. All *Whitgifts* foes were *ipſo facto* made *Travers* his favourers, beſides he had a large ſtock of friends on his own account. But *Whitgifts* finger moved more in Church matters, then all the hands of all the privie Councellers beſides, and he was content to ſuffer others to be beleeved (and perchance to beleeve themſelves) great actors in Church-government, whilſt he knew, he could and did do all things himſelf therein. No favour muſt be afforded *Travers* on any terms. 1. Dangerous was his perſon, a *Cartwright* junior, none in *England* either more loving *Geneva*, or more beloved by it. 2ly. Dangerous the place, the Temple being one of the *Inns* (therefore a publick) of *Court* (therefore a principall) place, and to ſuffer one oppoſite to the Engliſh diſcipline, to continue Lecturer there, what was it but in effect to *retain* half the Lawyers of *England* to be of *Councell* againſt the eccleſiaſtical government thereof. 3ly. Dangerous the Precedent this leading caſe would be preſumed on for others to follow, and a *ranks breaking, may be an armies ruining.*

Whitgift his politick carriage.

61. This was the conſtant cuſtome of *Whitgift*, if any Lord or Lady ſued to him to ſhew favour for their ſakes to Non-conformiſts, his anſwer to them was rather reſpectfull to the requeſter, then ſatisfactory to the requeſt He would profeſs how glad he was to ſerve them, and gratifie them in compliance with their deſire, aſſuring them for his part all poſſible kindneſs ſhould be indulged unto them; but in fine, he would remit nothing of his rigour againſt them. Thus he never denied any great mans deſire, and yet never granted it, pleaſing them for the preſent with generall promiſes, and (in them not diſſembling, but uſing diſcreet and right expreſſions) ſtill kept conſtant to his own reſolution. Hereupon afterwards the nobility ſurceaſed making more ſutes unto him, as ineffectuall, and even left all things to his own diſpoſall.

Travers goeth into *Ireland*, and returneth.

62. Thus Mr *Travers*, notwithſtanding the plenty of his potent friends, was overborn by the Arch-Biſhop, and (as he often complained) could never obtain to be brought to a fair hearing. But his grief hereat was ſomething abated, when *Adam Loftus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*, and Chancellor of *Ireland*, (his ancient Collegue in *Cambridge*) invited him over, to be Provoſt of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Dublin*. Embracing the motion, over he went, accepting the place, and continued ſome years therein; till diſcompoſed with the fear of their civil wars, he returned into *England*, and lived here many years very obſcurely (though in himſelf a ſhining light) as to the matter of outward maintenance. 1598 35.

His contented life, and quiet death.

63. Yet had he *Agurs* wiſh, *neither poverty, nor riches*, though his *enough* ſeemed to be of ſhorteſt ſize. It matters not whether mens means be mounted, or their mindes deſcend, ſo be it that both meet as here in him in a comfortable contentment. Yea, when the right Reverend, and Religious *James Uſher* (then Biſhop of *Meath*, ſince) Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh* (brought up, under him, and with him agreeing in doctrine, though diſcenting in Diſcipline) profered mony unto him for his relief, Mr *Travers* returned a thankfull refuſall thereof. Sometimes he did preach, rather when he durſt, than when he would, debarred from all cure of ſouls by his non-conformity. He lived, and died unmarried, and though leaving many nephews (ſome eminent) Schollars, bequeathed all his books of Oriental languages (wherein he was exquiſite) and plate worth fifty pounds to *Sion-Colledge* in *London*. Oh! if this good man had had an hand to his heart, or rather a purſe to his hand, what charitable works would he have left behinde him?

But,

Anno Regin. Eliz. 35

Anno Dom. 1592.

But in pursuance of his memory, I have intrenched too much on the modern times. Only this I will adde, perchance the Reader will be angry with me for saying thus much, and I am almost angry with my self for saying no more of so worthy a Divine.

64. Return we to the year 1592. which we finde in *London* fill'd with funeralls; so that within twelve moneths, moe than ten thousand were swept away therein of the plague; And amongst them, reverend Mr *Richard Greenham*, the reason why we finde not the exact date of his death. In contagious times, the corpses of those who living were best beloved, are rather hurried, than carried to the grave; and in such confusions, those Parishes who have the best memories, prove forgetfull, their Registers being either carelessly kept, or totally omitted. Thus our *Greenham* was mortally visited with the plague (whereof we finde *Munster*, *Franciscus Junius*, *Chimidantius*, and other worthy Divines formerly deceased in *Germany*) that patent of preservation against the pestilence [a] *A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee*, running (as all other temporall promises) with this secret clause of revocation, if God in his wisdome were not pleased otherwise to countermand it.

The death of worthy Mr *Greenham* of the plague:

a Psal 91. 7.

65. It may be said of some persons in reference to their history, *that they were born men*, namely such of whose birth, and youth, we finde no particular account. *Greenham* is one of these, for, for want of better intelligence we finde him full grown at the first, when *Anno Domini*, he was admitted into *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*. In which House some years after, the youth of Mr *Lancelot* [b] *Andrews* (afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*) was well acquainted with Mr *Greenham*: and I dare boldly say, if *Greenham* gained any learning by *Andrews*, *Andrews* lost no religion by *Greenham*. He afterwards left the University, and became Minister three miles off at *Drie-Drayton*.

Fellow of *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*.

b Some say he had an hand in making some of Mr *Greenhams* works.

66. *Drie-Drayton* indeed, which though often watered with Mr *Greenhams* tears, and oftner with his prayers, and preaching, moistened the rich with his counsel, the poor with his charity, neither produced proportionable fruitfulness. The generality of his Parish remained ignorant, and obstinate, to their Pastours great grief, and their own greater damage and disgrace. Hence the Verses,

He is humbled with an obstinate parish.

Greenham had pastures green,
But sheep full lean.

Thus God alone is the good shepheard, who doth feed, and can fat his sheep, and can make them to thrive under his keeping.

67. He used often, at the intreaty of some Doctors to preach at St *Maries* in *Cambridge*, where sometimes so great his zeal in pressing important points, that he hath lost himself in the driving home of some application, even to the forgetting of his text (as himself would confess) till he recovered the same on some short recollection. He alwayes bitterly inveighed against Non-Residents; professing, that he wondered how such men could take any comfort in their wealth. For, *me thinks* (saith he) *they should see written on every thing which they have*, Pretium sanguinis, *this is the price of blood.* But his master-piece was in comforting wounded consciences. For, although *Heavens hand can only set a broken heart*, yet God used him herein as an instrument of good to many, who came to him with weeping eyes and went from him with chearefull souls. The breath of his gracious counsel blew up much *smoking flax*, into a *blazing flame*.

His dexterity in healing afflicted consciences.

68. Hereupon

He leaving his Cure cometh to *London*.

68. Hereupon the importunity of his friends (if herein they proved so) perswaded him to leave his Parish, and remove to *London*, where his publick parts might be better advantaged for the general good. They pleaded the little profit of his long pains to so poore and peevish a Parish. Pitie it was so good a fisher-man should cast his nets elsewhere, than in that ocean of people. What was *Drit-Drayton* but a bushel to hide, *London* an high candlestick to hold up the brightness of his parts? Over-intreated by others (even almost against his own judgement) he resigned his Cure to a worthy successour, and repaired to *London*. Where, after some years preaching up and down in no constant place, he was resident on no *Cure*, but the curing of consciences. I am credibly [a] informed, he in some sort repented his removall from his Parish, and disliked his own erratical, and planetary life, which made him fix himself Preacher at last at *Christ-Church* in *London*, where he ended his dayes.

Anno Dom. 1593. Anno Regin. Eliz. 35.

69. He lived Sermons, and was most precise in his conversation; a strict observer of the *Lords-day*, and a great advancer thereof thorough the whole Realm, by that Treatise which he wrote of the Sabbath. No book in that age made greater impression on peoples practice, as [b] one (then a great wit in the University, now a grave wisdome in our Church) hath ingeniously expressed.

a By my own father Mr *Thomas Fuller*, who was well acquainted with him. A great instrument of the good keeping of the Lords-day.

b Mr *Joseph Hall*.

On Mr *Greenhams* book of the *Sabbath*.

While *Greenham* writeth on the Sabbaths rest,
His soule enjoyes not, what his penn expresst:
His work enjoyes not what it self doth say,
For it shall never finde one resting day.
A thousand hands shall tosse each page, and line,
Which shall be scanned by a thousand eine;
That, *Sabbaths rest*, or this *Sabbath's unrest*,
Hard is to say whether's the happiest.

Thus godly *Greenham* is fallen asleep: we softly draw the curtains about him, and so proceed to other matter.

SECT.

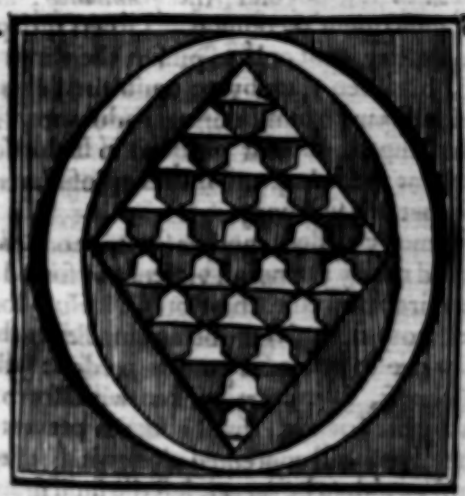
Anno Regin. Eliz. 25 Anno Dom. 1582

Section VIII.

To the Lady *Anne Archer* of *Tanworth* in *Warwickshire*.

Madam,

You, beeing so good a Housewife, *know, far better then I, how much* strength *and* handsomness *good* hemming *addeth to the* end *of a* cloath. *I therefore being now to put a* period *to this long and important* Century, *as big as the whole Book besides (but chiefly containing her* Reign, *the* Honour *of your* Sex *and our* nation) *have resolved (to prevent the* unraveling *thereof,) to close and conclude it, with this Dedication to your Ladiship. On which* account *alone you are placed* last *in this Book, though otherwise the* first *and* freest *in incouraging my weak endeavours.*

H. 1582. I.  Mr *Udal* come we now to treat, though thorough some defect in the [a] Records (transposed, or lost) we cannot tell the certain day of his condemnation, and death. But this appears in the office, that two years since (*viz.* 32 of *Eliz. July* 23.) he was indicted and arraigned at *Croydon*, for defaming the Queen Her government in a book by him written, and intituled, *A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the government of his Church, in all times and places, untill the worlds end.* But the *marital words* (as I may terme them) are found in the preface of his book, written *to the supposed governors of the Church of* England, *Arch-Bishops, Bishops* &c. and are inserted in the body of his Indictment as followeth.

The uncertain date of Mr. *Udals* death.

[a] Searched by me, and my friends in the office of the Clerk of Assise for *Surrey*.

Anno Dom. 1592. Anno Regni Reg. 35.

"Who can without blushing deny you to be the cause of all ungod-
"lines? seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man
"to be any thing, saving a found Christian. For, certainly it is
"indifferent in these dayes to be a Papist, or Brownist, or of the Family of
"love, yea any most wicked wretch whatsoever, rather than that which we should be.
"And I could live these twenty years any such in *England* (yea in a
"Bishops house it may be) and never be much molested for it; so
"true is that which you are charged with in a *Dialogue* lately come
"forth against you, and since burned by you, that you care for no-
"thing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damna-
"tion of your own soules, and infinite millions moe.

To this indictment he pleaded *not guilty*, denying himself to be the Author of the Book. Next day he was cast by the Jurie, and submitted himself to the mercy of the Court, whereby he prevailed that judgement against him was respited till the next Assises, and he remanded to the *Marshalsey*.

Mr *Udal* his supplication to the Lords of the Assises.

2. *March* following (the 33d of Queen *Elizabeth*) he was brought again to the Bar before the Judges, to whom he had privately presented a petition with all advantage, but it found no entertainment. Insomuch, that in this moneth of *March* (the day not appearing in the Records) he, at the Assises held in *Southwark*, was there condemned to be executed for a felon.

Various censures on his condemnation.

3. Various were mens censures on these proceedings against him. Some conceived it *rigorous* in the *greatest* (which at the best is *cruel* in the *least*) degree, considering the worth of his person, and weakness of the proof against him. For he was a learned man, blameless for his life, powerfull in his praying, and no less profitable, than painfull in his preaching. For, as *Musculus* in *Germany* (if I mistake not) first brought in the plain, (but effectual) manner of preaching by *Use and Doctrine*: so *Udal* was the first who added *reasons* thereunto, the strength and sinews of a Sermon. His English-Hebrew-Grammar he made whilst in prison, as appears by a subscription in the close thereof. The proof was not pregnant, and it is generally believed that he made only the preface (out of which his indictment was chiefly framed) and not the body of the book laid to his charge. Besides, it was harsh to inflict *immediate*, and *direct* death, for a *consequential*, and *deductory* felonie, it being *pen-housed* out beyond the *foundation*, and intent of the Statute to build the indictment thereupon. Others thought that some exemplary severity was necessary, not only to pinion the wings of such pamphlets from flying abroad, but even thereby to crush their eggs in the nest. Surely the multitude of visits unto him, during his durance, no whit prolonged his life. For, flocking to popular prisoners in such cases, is as ominous a presage of their death, as the flying, and fluttering of Ravens, near, and about the house, and chamber of a sick body.

He died peaceably in his bed.

4. But an higher Judge had formerly passed another sentence on *Udals* death, that his soul and body should not by shamefull violence be forced asunder, but that they should take a faire farewell each of other. How long he lived after his condemnation we know not, (there being a tradition that Sr *Walter Rawleigh* procured a Reprieve in a fair way to his pardon:) this is certain, that without any other sickness, save heart-broken with sorrow, he ended his dayes. Right glad were his friends, that his death prevented his *death*; and the wisest of his foes were well contented therewith, esteeming it better, that his candle should *goe*, than be *put out*, lest the snuff should be unsavoury to the survivers, and his death be charged as a cruel act on the account of the procurers thereof.

5. The

Anno Regni Eliz. 36. Anno Dom. 1593.

5. The Ministers of *London* flocked to his funeralls, and he was decently interred in the Church-yard of S^t *George's* in *Southwark*, not far from Bishop *Bonners* grave. So near may their bodies, when dead, in posture be together, whose mindes, when living, in opinion were farr asunder. Nor have I ought else to observe of him, save that I am informed, that he was father of *Ephraim Udal* a solid and pious Divine, dying in our dayes, but in point of discipline of a different opinion from his father.

His solemn buriall.

6. And now the *Sword* of Justice being once *drawn*, it was not *put up again* into the *Sheath*, before others were executed For *Henry Barrow* Gentleman, and *John Greenwood* Clerk, (who some dayes before were indicted of felony at the Sessions Hall without Newgate, before the L^rd Major, and the *two chief Justices*, for writing certain Seditious Pamphlets) were hanged at *Tyburn*. And not long after *John Penry* a Welchman, was apprehended at *Stebunhith* by the *Vicar* thereof, arraigned and condemned of felony at the *Kings-Bench* at *Westminster*, for being a principal penner and publisher of a libellous Book called *Martin-mar-prelates*, and executed at S^t *Thomas Waterings*, *Daniel Studely Girdler*, *Saxie Billot Gentleman*, and *Robert Bowley* Fishmonger were also condemned for publishing scandalous Books, but not finding their execution, I beleeve them reprieved and pardoned.

H. B. I. G. & I. P. executed.

Stow his Chronicle pag. 765.

7. About this time, if not somewhat sooner, (for my enquiry cannot arrive at the certain *date*) Queen *Elizabeth* took her last farewell of *Oxford*, where a *Divinity Act* was kept before her, on this question, *Whether it be lawfull to dissemble in matters of Religion?* One of the opponents endeavoured to prove the affirmative by his own example, *who then did what was lawfull, and yet he dissembled in disputing against the Truth*, the Queen being well pleased at the wittines of the *Argument*. D^r *Westphaling*, (who had divers years been B^p of *Hereford*) coming then to *Oxford*, closed all with a learned *determination* wherein no fault, except somewhat too *copious*, (not to so lay *tedious*) at that time her Highness intending that night to make a Speech, and thereby disappointed.

The Queens last coming to *Oxford*.

S^r I. Harrington in his additional supply to Bp. *Godwin* p. 134.

1594. 8. Next day her *Highness* made a Latin oration to the *Heads of Houses*, (on the same token she therein gave a check to D^r *Reynolds* for his non-conformity) in the midst whereof perceiving the old Lord *Burleigh* stand by, with his lame legs, she would not proceed till she saw him provided of a *stool* [a], and then fell to her speech again, as sensible of no interruption, having the *Command* as well of her *Latin* tongue, as of her *loyal Subjects*.

Her Latin Oration.

[a] *Idem* p. 136.

9. *John Pierce* Arch-Bishop of *York* ended his life, Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, Bishop of *Rochester*, *Sarisbury*, and Arch-Bishop of *York*. When newly beneficed a young man in *Oxford-shire*, he had drowned his good parts in drunkenness, conversing with his country parishioners, but on the confession of his fault to a grave Divine, reformed his conversation, so applying himself to his studies, that he deservedly gained great preferment, and was highly esteemed by Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Almoner he continued for many years, and he must be a wise and good man whom that thrifty Princess would intrust with distributing her mony. He was one of the most grave and reverent prelates of his age, and after his reduced life, so abstemious, that his Physitian in his old age could not perswade him to drink wine. So habited he was in sobriety, in detestation of his former excess.

10. The same year died *John Elmar* Bishop of *London*, bred in *Cambridge*, well learned, as appeareth by his Book, titled the *Harborough of Princes*. One of a low stature, but stout spirit, very valiant in his youth, and witty all his life. Once when his Auditory began at sermon to grow dull in their attentions, he presently read unto them many verses out of the Hebrew Text, whereat they all started, admiring what use he meant to make thereof. Then shewed he them their *folly*, that whereas they neglected *English*, whereby they might be edified, they listened to Hebrew, whereof they understood

The death of Bp. Elmar.

understood not a word. He was a stiff and stern champion of Church Discipline, on which account, none more mocked by *Martin Mar-Prelate*, or hated by Non-conformists. To his eldest son he left a plentiful estate, and his second, a Dr of *Divinity* was a worthy man of his profession. Anno Dom. 1594. Anno Regin. Eliz. 37.

The death of *Will. Reginald.* a *Pitzeus de illustribus Anglia Scriptoribus in Anno* 1594.

11. But of the *Romanists*, two principal *Pillars* ended their lives beyond the Seas. First *William Reginald, alias Rose*, born at a *Pinho* in *Devon-shire*, bred in *Winchester* School, then in *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*. Forsaking his Country he went to *Rome*, and there solemnly abjur'd the *Protestant* Religion, and thereupon was permitted to read, (a favour seldome or never bestowed on such *novices*) any *Protestant* Books, without the least restriction, presuming on his zeal in their cause. From *Rome*, he removed to *Rhemes* in *France*, where he became professor of Divinity and *Hebrew*, in the *English* Colledge, where (saith my b Author) with studying, writing, and preaching against the *Protestants*, perchance he exhausted himself with too much labour, and breaking a vein almost lost his life with vomiting of blood. Recovering his strength, he vow'd to spend the rest of his life in writing against Protestants, and death at *Antwerp* ceased on him (the 24th of *August* the 50th year of his age) as he was a making of a book, called *Calvino-Turcismus*, which after by his dear friend, *William Gifford*, was finished, set forth and dedicated to *Albert Duke of Austria*.

b *Idem, ibidem.*

The death of Cardinal *Allen.*

12. *William Allen*, (commonly called the *Cardinall* of *England*) followed him into another world, born of honest Parents, and allied to noble Kindred in *Lancashire*: Brought up at *Oxford* in *Oriall* Colledge, where he was Proctor of the University, in the dayes of Queen *Mary*, and afterwards *Head* of St *Mary-Hall*, and *Canon* of *Yorke*. But on the change of Religion, he departed the land, and became Professor of Divinity at *Doway* in *Flanders*, then *Canon* of *Cambray*, *Master* of the *English* Colledge at *Rhemes*, made *Cardinall* 1587. *August.* the 7th by *Pope Sixtus Quintus*, the King of *Spain* bestowing on him an c *Abby* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and nominating him to be *Arch-Bishop* of *Machlin*; But death arrested him to pay the debt to Nature d *October* 16th, and he was buried in the Church of the *English Colledge* at *Rome*. This is that *Allen* whom we have so often mentioned, conceived so great a *Champion* for their Cause, that *Pope Gregory* the 13th said to his Cardinalls, c *Venite fratres mei, Ostendam vobis Alanum*: which the Author thus translates, or rather Comments on, *Come my brethren, and I will shew you a man, in* England *born, to whom all* Europe *may give place for his high prudence, reverend Countenance and purport of Government.* His loss was much lamented by the *Catholicks*, not without cause, whose Gravity, and Authority had done many good offices, in composing the *Grudgings* which began to grow betwixt *Secular Priests* and *Jesuits*; which private heart-burnings soon after his death, blazed out in the prison of *Wisbich*, into an open *Scandal*, as now we come to Report.

c *Camd. Eliz. in hoc Anno.*
d *Pitzeus de illust. Ang. Script. pag.* 793
e *Watsons Quodlibets pag.* 97.

A sad subject to write of Christian discords.

13. Here I protest (though uncertain how far to finde belief,) that I take no delight in relating these discontents, much less shall my pen widen the wound betwixt them: for though I approve the opinions of neither, yet am I so much friend to the persons of both parties, as not to make much to my self of their Discords: The rather because no Christian can heartily laugh at the factions of his fiercest enemies, because that sight at the same time pincheth him, with the sad remembrance that such divisions that have *formerly*, do at the *present*, or may *hereafter*, be found amongst those of his own profession; such is the frailty of humane Nature in what side soever. However hereafter let not *Papists* without cause or measure vaunt of their unity, seeing their pretended *Ship* of St *Peter*, is not so solidly compacted, but that it may *spring a Leake*. Nor let them boast so confidently of their sufferings, and blame our severity unto them, as if enduring such hard usage in their imprisonment: Surely like f *Joseph their feet were not hurt in the*

1595. 38.

f Psal. 105. 18.

Anno Regni Eliz. 36. Anno Dom. 1594.

the Stocks, the Iron did not enter into their Soul; neither with [g] *Jeremy, were they cast into a dirty dungeon, where they sunk in mire*: nor with [h] *Peter were they bound with two Chains*; nor with [i] *Paul* and *Silas were they thrust into the inner prison, and made fast*; but had in their Durance, Liberty, List, and Leasure, to begin, foment, and prosecute, this violent *Schisme* betwixt themselves.

g Ier. 38. 6.
h Acts 12. 6.
i Acts 16. 24.

14. Untill this time the *prime Catholicks* in *Wisbich Castle*, had lived there in restraint, with great Unity and Concord. And the *Papists* do brag that then and there the *English* Church was most *visible*, untill one *Father Weston alias Edmonds*, a *Jesuite*, coming thither, erected a government amongst them, making certain Sanctions and Orders, which all were bound to observe; secretly procuring subjects to himself, and claiming a Superiority over all the *Catholicks* there. Yet so cunningly he contrived the matter, that he seemed not ambitiously to affect, but religiously to accept this Authority profered unto, yea seemingly forced upon him. For one of his friends writes to Father *Henry Garnet*, Provincial, then living in *England*, to this effect.

The beginning of the Schism betwixt the Secular and the Jesuits.

Good Father Weston *in the humility of his heart, lies on his bed, like the man sick of the Palsie, in the Gospel. Nor will he walk confidently before others in the way of the Righteous, except first he be let down through the Tiles, and it be said unto him from the Provinciall, arise, take up thy Bed and walke.*

Yet if the *Seculars* may be beleeved, he did not only arise but run, before that word of *Command* given him by *Garnet*, and put his Jurisdiction in execution. Besides those of his own society, many of the *Secular Priests* submitted themselves unto him, seduced (say [k] *some*) by the seeming sanctity of the *Jesuits*, and having their Judgements bribed to that side by unequal proportions of mony received, besides promising themselves that in case the land was invaded, by the activity of the *Jesuits*, all power and preferment would be at their dispose, and so they should be sooner and higher advanced.

k Declaratio motuum ac turbarum &c. ad Clem. octavum exhibita pag. 12.

15. But the greatest number, and learned sort of the *Secular Priests* stoutly resisted his superiority, affirming how formerly it had been offered to *Thomas Watson* Bishop of *Lincolne*, (late prisoner amongst them) and he refused it, as inconsistent with their present Condition, affliction making them equalls and a Prison putting a parity betwixt them; if any *order* might pretend to this *Priority*, it was most proper for the *Benedictines*, extant in *England* above *a thousand* years agoe: that the *Jesuits* were *Puisnies*, and if all *Orders* should sit down as *Jacobs children, at the Table of Joseph, the eldest according to his Age, and the youngest according to his Youth*; the last and least place of honour was due unto them; That the *Secular Priests* had borne the *heat of the day*, in preaching and persecution; some of them having endured above twenty years imprisonment for conscience sake, (as Mr *Bluet* for [m] one) before some of the *Jesuits* knew what durance meant. That *Weston* was not eminent for Learning, Religion, or any prime quality, save only the affecting that place, which his betters had declined. That it was monstrous, that he being a *Jesuite*, and so a member of another society, should be made a head of their body. The *Lay-Catholicks* were much offended

The Secularis refuse to obey *Weston*, and why.

l Gen. 34. 33.

m *Watsons Quodlibet.* pag. 4.

fended with the *Schisme* some withheld, others threatning to withhold their charity from both parties, conceiving it the ready means, when *maintenance* was detained from both sides, to *starve* them into agreement

Anno Dom. 1594. Anno Regni Eliz. 37.

Weston imployed but as a Scout to discover the temper of the secular priests.

16. One might admire why father *Weston* should so earnestly desire so silly a dominion, having his power, as well as his own person confin'd within the walls of *Wisbich Castle*, a narrow *Diocess*, only to *dominere* over a few Prisoners. The *Goaler*, yea the very *Turnkey* being his superior to controll him, if offering to exceed that compass. But Oh the sweetness of Supremacy, though in never so small a Circuit! It pleased his pride to be *Prior* of a Prison, but [n] *Agent* was the *Title*, wherewith he stiled himself; Indeed the *English Jesuits* both abroad in *England*, and beyond the *Seas*, made use of *Westons* forwardness to trie the temper of the *Secular Priests*, and to make this bold *Jesuite*, to *back* and *break* a *Skittish Colt* for further designes. If *Weston* were unhors'd, his *fall* would be little lamented, and he might thank his own boldness in adventuring, and the ill managing of his place: if he *sat* the *beast*, and it proved *tame*, then others would *up* and *ride*: and *Father Garnet Provincial* of the *Jesuits*, intended in like manner to procure from the *Pope* a Superiority over all the *Secular Priests* in *England*. *Wisbich Prison* would be enlarged all over the kingdom, and the Precedent would reach farr in the consequence thereof, which encreased the *Secular Opposition* against this leading case of *Jurisdiction*.

n *Declaratio motuum* &c. pag. 17.

He will not stand to the determination of a grave priest chosen Umpire.

17. About this time came to *Wisbich* an aged *Priest*, who had given great Testimony of the Ability of his judgement, and ardency of his affections to the *Catholick* Cause, being the *Generall Collector* of the charitable contributions unto the Prisoners. In which place he had been so diligent in gathering, secret in conveying, faithfull in delivering, unpartiall in dispensing such sums committed unto him, that deservedly he had purchased reputation to himself: Who as he had been a *Benefactor* to both Parties, so now he was made an *Arbitrator* betwixt them; with promise of both sides to rest satisfied with his decision. He condemneth the *Jesuits* guilty of a scandalous separation, and that *Weston* ought to desist from his Superiority. But the *Jesuits* would not stand to his sentence, confessing their separation *Scandalous*, but only *per accidens*, and therefore not to be left off. And whereas the aforesaid *Priest* had determined, that that separation could not *be continued without sin*, the *Jesuits* in derision demanded of him, whether he *meant a venial sin or a mortall*; and so the whole business took no effect.

At last is forced by letters from his provincial to leave off his Agency.

18. Some moneths after, two reverend *Priests* often sent for by both sides, were by joynt consent made Judges in this Cause, who resolved that *Westons Agency* should be abolished as the original of evill, and seminary of much discord: and because *Weston* refused to obey their order, these two *Priests* posted up to *London*, (where *Garnet* the *Jesuits Provincial* did lodge) and from him with much adoe, obtained *peremptory letters* to *Weston*, presently to leave off his pretended superiority. A message which went to the proud *Jesuits* heart, who was formerly heard to say, that *he* [o] *had rather threw himself headlong from the Castle wall, then desist from his office.* But now there was no remedy but he must obey, desiring only he might make a *speech* to his society, exhorting them to unity and concord, and in the midst of his Oration, as if he would have surrendred his soul and place both together, he fell speechless into a [p] swoond and hardly recovered again; so mortall a wound it is to a proud heart to part with Authority. Thus ended *Westons Agency*, the short continuance whereof was the best commendation of his command.

o *Declaratio motuum* ac &c. pag. 20.

p. *Ibidem.*

The Schism notwithstanding continues and increases.

19. But this was but a *palliate cure* to *skin* the sore over, which festered within: the enmity still continued, *Seculars* complaining, that the *Jesuits* traduced them to *Lay-Catholicks*, as cold and remiss in the cause, only dull to follow beaten paths, not active to invent more compendious wayes, for the

Anno Regni Eliz. 38.

Anno Dom. 1595.

the advance of Religion. The *Jesuits* also boasted much of their own merit, how their order though last starting, had with its speed overtook, and over-run all before them. Indeed they are excellent at the art of self-praising, not directly, but by certain consequence, for though no man *blazed* his own praise, (for one to be a *herauld* to commend himself, the same on the same *in false blazon*, as well against the rules of modesty as prudence) yet every one did praise his partner, laying an obligation on him to do the like, who in justice must do as much, and in bounty often did more gratefully repaying the commendations lent him withinterest; And thus mutually arching up one another, they fill'd the ears of all *Papists* with loud relations, of the transcendent Industry, Piety, Learning, of the men of their society, to the manifest derogation of all other orders. But more of these discords in the year following.

20. About this time thorowout *England*, began the more Solemne and strickt *observation of the Lords day*, (hereafter both in writing and preaching, commonly called the *Sabbath*) occasioned by a *Book* this year set forth by one *D. Bound Doctor of Divinity* (and enlarged with *Additions Anno* 1606.) wherein these following *opinions* are maintained. The strickt keeping of the Sabbath first revived.

1. That the commandement of Sanctifying every seventh Day, as in the *Mosaicall Decalogue*, is morall and perpetual.
2. That whereas all other things in the [a] *Jewish* Church were taken away, (*Priesthood, Sacrifices and Sacraments*) this *Sabbath* was so changed that it still remaineth. [a] Dr *Bounds* Book of the Sabbath. p. 91.
3. [b] That there is a great reason why we *Christians* should take our selves as streighely bound to rest upon the *Lords day*, as the *Jews* were upon their *Sabbath*, it being one of the morall *Commandements*, where all are of *equall* Authority. [b] pag. 247.
4. [c] The rest upon upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most carefull exact and precise rest, after another manner then men are accustomed. [c] pag. 124.
5. [d] *Schollers* on that *day* not to study the liberall *Arts*, nor *Lawyers* to consult the case, nor peruse mens *evidences*. [d] pag. 163.
6. [e] *Sergeants, Apparitours* and *Sumners to be restrained from executing their offices.* [e] pag. 164.
7. [f] *Justices* not to examine *Causes* for the *conservation* of the *peace*. [f] pag. 166.
8. [g] That *ringing* of more *bells* then *one* that *day* is not to be justified. [g] pag. 102.
9. [h] No *Solemn feasts*, nor *wedding dinners* to be made on that *Day* [*with permission notwithstanding of the same to* [i] *Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of Quality,*] which some conceive not so fair dealing with him. [h] pag. 106. 209. [i] pag. 211.
10. [k] All honest recreations, and pleasures lawfull on other dayes (as *shooting, fencing, bowling,*) on this *day* to be forborn. [k] pag. 102.
11. [l] No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter. [l] pag. 272. 275.

It is almost incredible how taking this *Doctrine* was, partly because of it's own Purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the *Lords Day*, especially in *Corporations*, began to be precisely kept, people *becoming a Law* to themselves, forbearing such sports, as yet by statute permitted; yea many rejoycing at their own restraint herein. On this *day* the *stoutest fencer* laid down the *buckler*, the most skillful Archer *unbent his bow*, counting all *shooting* besides the *Marke*; *May-games* and *Morisdances* grew out of request, and good reason that *Bells* should be silenced from gingling about mens leggs, if their very *Ringing* in *Steeples* were adjudged

judged unlawfull: some of them were ashamed of their former pleasures, like *children* which grown bigger, *blushing* themselves out of their *rattles* and *whistles*. Others forbare them for fear of their Superiors, and many left them off out of a Politick Compliance, least otherwise they should be accounted licentious. Anno Dom. 1595. Anno Regni Reginæ 37.

21. Yet learned men were much divided in their judgements about these *Sabatarian Doctrines*, some embraced them as ancient truths consonant to *Scripture*, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the encrease of piety: Others conceived them grounded on a *wrong bottome*, but because they tended to the manifest advance of Religion, it was pitty to oppose them, seeing none have just reason to complain, being *derived* into their own *good*. But a third sort flatly fell out with these positions, as *pulling mens necks with a jewish yoak, against the liberty of Christians*: That Christ as Lord of the Sabbath had removed the Rigour thereof, and allowed men lawfull recreations: That this Doctrine put an unequall Lustre on the Sunday on set purpose to eclipse all other Holy dayes to the derogation of the authority of the Church: That this strickt observance was set up out of Faction to be a Character of Difference, to brand all for libertines who did not entertain it.

Tho: Rogers first publickly opposeth Dr *Bounds* opinion.

22. However, for some years together in this controversie, Dr *Bound* alone carried the Garland away, none offering openly to oppose, and not so much as a feather of a quill in print did wag against him. Yea as he in his second edition observeth, that many both in their Preachings, Writeings, and Disputations, did concurr with him in that argument: and three several profitable treatises, (one made by Mr *Greenham*,) were within few years successively written, by three godly learned [a] Ministers. But the first that gave a check to the full speed of this doctrine, was *Thomas Rogers* of *Horningar* in *Suffolk*; in his preface to the Book of Articles. And now because our present age begins to dawn, and we come within the view of that Truth, whose footsteps heretofore we only followed at distance, I will interpose nothing of my own, but of an historian only turn a Notarie, for the behoof of the Reader, faithfully transcribing such passages, as we meet with in order of time.

[a] Dr *Bound* in his preface to the Reader 2 edition.

Notwithstanding what the [b] *Brethren wanted in strength, and learning, they had in wiliness, and though they lost much one way in the general, and main point of their Discipline, yet recovered they not a little advantage another way by an odde and new device of theirs in a special Article of their Classical instructions. For while worthies of our Church were employing their engins and forces, partly in defending the present Government Ecclesiastical, partly in assaulting the Presbyterie, and new discipline, even at that very instant the Brethren, (knowing themselves too weak either to overthrow our holds, and that which we hold, or to maintain their own) they abandoned quite the Bulwarks which they had raised, and geve out were impregnable, suffering us to beat them down without any or very small resistance; and yet not careless of their affairs, left not the Warrs for all that, but from an odde corner and after a new fashion which we little thought of, (such was their cunning set upon us a fresh again, by dispersing in Printed Books which for tenn years space before they had been in hammering among themselves to make them compleat) their Sabbath speculations and Presbyterian, (that is more then either kingly or Popely, Directions for the observation of the Lords day.*

[b] *Rogers* preface to the Articles Parag. 20.

And in the next page he [c] proceedeth, *It is a comfort unto my soule, and will be till my dying hour, that I have been the man and the means that the Sabatarian errors, and impieties are brought into light and knowledge of*

[c] Idem Parag. 23.

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of the ſtate, whereby whatſoever elſe, ſure I am this good hath enſued, namely, that the ſaid Books of the Sabbath, comprehending the above-mentioned, and many moe ſuch fearfull, and heretical aſſertions,) hath been both called in, and forbidden any more to be printed and made common. Your Graces predeceſſor Arch-Biſhop Whitgift, *by his letters and officers at Synods and Viſitations Anno* 1599. *did the one, and* Sr John Popham *Lord chief Juſtice of* England *at* Bury Sr Edmonds *in* Suffolk *Anno* 1600. *did the other.*

But though both Miniſter and Magiſtrate joyntly endeavoured to ſuppreſs *Bounds* Book, with the Doctrine therein contained, yet all their care did but for the preſent make the Sunday ſet in a cloud to ariſe ſoon after in more brightneſs. As for the Arch-Biſhop his known oppoſition to the proceedings of the Brethren, rendered his Actions more odious, as if out of envie he had cauſed ſuch a pearl to be concealed. As for Judge *Popham*, though ſome conceived it moſt proper for his place to puniſh fellonious Doctrines (which robbed the Queens ſubjects of their lawfull liberty) and to behold them branded with a mark of Infamie, yet others accounted him no competent Judge in this controverſie. And though he had a dead hand againſt offenders, yet theſe Sabbatarian Doctrines (though condemned by him) took the priviledge to pardon themſelves, and were publiſhed more generally then before. The price of the Doctors Book began to be doubled, as commonly Books are then moſt called on, when called in, and many who hear not of them when printed, enquire after them when prohibited; and though the Books wings were clipt from flying abroad in print, it ran the faſter from friend to friend in tranſcribed Copies; and the Lords day in moſt Places was moſt ſtrictly obſerved. The more liberty people were offered the leſs they uſed it, refuſing to take the freedom Authority tendered them. For the vulgar ſort have the Actions of their Superiors in conſtant jealouſie, ſuſpecting each gate of their opening to be a Trap, every Hole of their Digging to be a Mine, wherein ſome ſecret train is covertly conveyed, to the blowing up of the Subjects liberty, which made them almoſt afraid of the recreations of the Lords day allowed them; and ſeeing it is the greateſt pleaſure to the minde of man to do what he pleaſeth, it was ſport for them to refrain from ſports, whilſt the forbearance was in themſelves voluntary, arbitrary and elective, not impoſed upon them. Yea, ſix years after *Bounds* Book came forth, with enlargements publickly ſold, and ſcarce any comment, Catechiſm, or controverſie, was ſet forth by the ſtricter Divines, wherein this Doctrine (the Diamond in this Ring) was not largely preſſed and proved; ſo that as one ſaith, the Sabbath it ſelf had no reſt. For now all ſtrange and unknown writers, without further examination paſſed for friends and favourites of the Preſbyterian party, who could give the word, and had any thing in their Treatiſe tending to the ſtrict obſervation of the Lords day. But more hereof God willing in the 15th year of K. JAMES.

The Articles of *Lambeth.*

23. Now alſo began ſome opinions about Predeſtination, Freewill, Perſeverance &c. much to trouble both the Schools and Pulpit. Whereupon Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift*, out of his Chriſtian care to propagate the truth, and ſuppreſs the oppoſite errours, cauſed a ſolemn meeting of many grave and learned Divines at *Lambeth*; where (beſides the Arch-Biſhop) *Richard Bancroft*, Biſhop of *London*; *Richard Vaughan*, Biſhop elect of *Bangor*, *Humphry Tyndall*, Dean of *Ely*, Dr *Whitaker* Queens profeſſor in *Cambridge*, and others were aſſembled; theſe after a ſerious debate, and mature deliberation, reſolved at laſt on the now Following Articles.

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1. Deus ab Æterno Prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam; quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.

1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life, certain men he hath reprobated.

2. Causa movens aut efficiens Prædestinationis ad vitam non est præscio Fidei, aut Perseverantiæ, aut bonorum Operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

2. The moving or efficient cause of Predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of Perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the person predestinated, but only the good will and pleasure of God.

3. Prædestinatorum præfinitus, & certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

3. There is predetermined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented or diminished.

4. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata sua Damnabuntur.

4. Those who are not predestinated to Salvation, shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

5. Vera, viva & justificans fides, & spiritus Dei justificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in Electis, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.

5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

6. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fidei justificantæ præditus, certum est plerophoria Fidei de remissione peccatorum suorum, & salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

6. A man truly faithful, that is, such an one who is endued with a justifying faith, is certain with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

7. Gratia salutaris, non tribuitur, non excommunicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint si velint.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be sav'd if they will.

8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, & nisi pater eum traxerit, & omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad filium.

8. No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

9. Non est positum in arbitrio, aut Potestate unius cujusq; hominis servari.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

Matthew Hutton, the right Reverend Arch-Bishop of *York*, did also fully and freely in his judgement Concurr with these Divines, as may appear by his Letter here inserted.

ACcepi jam pridem literas tuas (Reverendissime Præsul) veteris illius Benevolentiæ, & amoris erga me tui plenas, in quibus effigiem opinionum meam de Articulis quibusdam nuper Cantabrigiæ *agitatis, non sine aliqua piorum offensione, qui graviter, molestique ferunt Matrem Academiam, jam multitudine liberorum & quidem doctissimorum florentem, ea dissentione filiorum nonnihil contristatam esse. Sed fieri non*

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*non potest, quin veniant Offendicula, neque desinet inimicus homo inter triticum Zizania Seminare, donec eum Dominus sub pedibus contriverit. Legi Articulos & relegi, & dum paravem aliquid de singulis dicere, visum est mihi multo potius de ipsa Electione & Reprobatione, (unde ista dissentio orta esse videtur) meam sententiam & opinionem paucis verbis explicare, quam singulis sigillatim respondens fratrum forsitan quorundam animas, (quos in veritate diligo) exacerbare. Meminisse potes (ornatissime Antistes) cum Cantabrigiæ una essemus et sacras literas in Scholis publicis interpretaremur, eandem Regulam seculi eam semper fuisse inter nos Consensionem in omnibus Religionis Causis, & ne minimam quidem vel dissentionis, vel simultatis suspicio unquam appareret. Igitur hoc tempore si judicio Dominationis tuæ, id quod pingui Minerva scripsi probatum ire intellexero, multo mihi munus displacebo. Deus te diutissime servet incolumem, ut tum Reginæ serenissimæ & toti Regno fidelissimus Consiliarius, tum etiam Ecclesiæ huic nostræ Anglicanæ pastor Utilissimus multos adhuc annos esse possis. Vale, è Musæo meo apud Bishop-*Thorp. *Calend:* Octob. *Anno Dom.* 1995.

24. But when these Articles came abroad into the world, mens Brains and tongues, as since their pens were employed about the Authority of the same, and the obedience due unto them; much puzled to finde the new place, where rightly to rank them in reputation; how much above the results, and resolutions of private Divines, and how much beneath the Authority of a Provincial Synod. Some there, that almost equalled their Authenticalness with the Acts of a Synod, requiring the like Conformity of mens judgements unto them. They endeavoured to prove that those Divines, met not alone in their private capacities, but also representing others, alledging this passage in a publick [a] letter from *Cambridge*, subscribed with the hands of the Heads of that Uuiversity. We sent up to *London* by common Consent in *November* last, Dr *Tyndall*, and Dr *Whitakers* (men especially chosen for that purpose) for conference with my Lord of *Canterbury*, and other principal Divines there &c.

The high opinions some had of these Articles.

[a] See it cited at large in our History of *Cambridge Anno* 1595.

25. Others maintain the contrary. For grant each man in this conference at *Lambeth*, one of a thousand for Learning and Religion, yet was he but one in Power and Place: and had no Proxie or deputation (the two *Cambridge* Doctors excepted) to appear in the behalf of others: and therefore their determinations, though of great use to direct, could be but of little Authority to conclude and command the consent of others.

Others value them at a lower rate.

26. But a third sort offended with the matter of the Articles, thought that the two Arch-Bishops, and the rest at this meeting, deserved censure for holding an unlawfull Conventicle. For they had not expres command from the Queen, to meet, debate, and decide such controversies. Those of the opopsite party, were not solemnly summoned and heard, so that it might seem rather a design to crush them, then clear the truth. The meeting was warranted with no legall Authority, rather a private action of Doctor *John Whitgift*, Doctor *Matthew Hutton* &c. then the publick act of the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*. [b] One goeth further to affirm, that those Articles of *Lambeth*, were afterwards forbidden by publick Authority; but when, where, and by whom he is not pleased to impart unto us. And strange it is, that a publick prohibition should be whispered so softly, that this Author alone should hear it, and none other to my knowledge take notice thereof.

Some flatly condemned both the Articles and Authors of them.

[b] Mr *Mountague* in his appeal, pag. 55. 56. 71. 72.

27. As for forrain Divines, just as they were biased in judgement, so on that side ran their Affections, in raising or decrying the esteem of these Articles;

How variously forraign Divines esteemed of them.

Articles; some [a] printed, set forth, and [b] cited them, as the sence of the Church of *England*, others, as fast slighted them, as the narrow positions of a few private and Partial persons. As for *Corvinus*, as we know not whence he had his intelligence, so we finde no just ground for what he reporteth, that Arch-Bishop *Whitgift* for his pains incurred the Queens displeasure, and [c] a Præmunire. We presume this forrainer better acquainted with the Imperial Law, and locall customes of *Holland*, then with our municipal Statutes, and the nature of a Præmunire. Indeed there goes a *tradition* that the Queen should in merriment say jestingly to the Arch-Bp. *My Lord I now shall want no mony, for I am informed all your goods are forfeited unto me by your calling a Councel without my consent*; but how much of truth herein God knows. And be it referred to our learned in the Law, whether without danger of such a censure, the two Arch-Bishops by vertue of their place had not any implicite leave from the Queen to assemble Divines, for the clearing, declaring and asserting of difficult Truths, provided they innovate or alter nothing in matters of Religion.

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28. And now I perceive, I must tread tenderly, because I goe not (as before) on mens graves, but am ready to touch the quick of some yet alive. I know how dangerous it is to follow Truth too nere to the heels: yet better it is that the teeth of an Historian be struck out of his head for writing the the Truth, then that they remain still and rot in his Jaws, by feeding too much on the sweet-meats of flattery. All that I will say of the credit of these Articles is this. That as Medalls of Gold and Silver, though they will not pass in payment for currant coyne, because not stamped with the Kings Inscription, yet they will goe with Goldsmiths for as much as they are in weight: So though these Articles want Authentick Reputation to pass for Provinciall Acts, as lacking sufficient Authority, yet will they be readily received of Orthodox Christians, for as far as their own purity bears conformity to Gods word. And though those learned Divines be not acknowledged as competent Judges to pass definitive Sentence in those Points, yet they will be taken as witnesses beyond exception; whose testimony is an infallible evidence, what was the generall and received doctrine of *England* in that Age, about the forenamed controversies.

29. This year ended the life, First of Doctor *William Wickam*, bred in Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, first Bishop of *Lincoln*, after of *Winchester*, whose namesake *William Wickham* in the Reign of King *Edward* the third, sat in the same See more years then this did weeks. Indeed we know little of his life, but so much of his death, as we must not mention it without some pitty to him, (whil'st in pain) and praise to God for our own health, such was his torture with the stone before his death, that for [d] 14 days together, he made not water. Secondly, Worthy Doctor *William Whittakers*, whose larger character we reserve God-willing for our History of *Cambridge*. And amongst the Romanists, *Daniel Halsworth*, who as [e] *Pitzæus* describes him (Papists give no scant measure in praising those of their own Party) was well skill'd in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, an Elegant Poet, Eloquent Orator, acute Philosopher, expert Mathematician, deep-studied Lawyer, and excellent Divine: flying from *England*, he lived successively in *Savoy*, *Rome* and *Millain*, having too many professions to gather wealth, and with all his Arts and Parts, both lived in Poverty, and died in Obscurity. More eminent, but more infamous, was the death of *Robert Southwell* a Jesuite, born in [f] *Suffolk*, bred beyond the Seas, where he wrote abundance of Books, who returning into *England*, was executed *March* the third for a Traitor at *London*, and honoured for a Martyr amongst men of his own Religion.

30. The

[a] *Thysius* twice printed them at *Hardrovick*, *Anno* 1613.
[b] *Bogerman* in his 107. & 108. notes on the second part of *Grotius*.
[c] In his answer to the notes of *Bogerman* 2 part. pag. 566. and so forward to pag. 570.

These Articles excellent witnesses of the generall doctrine of *England*.

Bp. *Wickham*, Dr *Whitakers*, Dan. *Halsworth*, and *Rob: Southwell* end their lives.

[d] Bp *Goodwin* in his Catalogue of the Bishops of *Winchester*.
[e] De *Anglia* scriptoribus Ætate 16. pag. 794.

[f] *Idem ibidem.*

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30. The Secular Prieſts continued their complaints, as againſt Jeſuits in general, ſo particularly againſt *Robert Parſons*. This *Parſons* about 18 years ſince was in *England*, where by his ſtatizing, and dangerous activity, he had ſo incenſed the Queens Councell, that the Secular Prieſts, made him a main occaſion why ſuch ſharp laws were ſo ſuddenly made againſt [a] Catholicks in *England*. But no ſooner did danger begin to appear, but away went *Parſons* beyond the Seas, wherein ſome condemned his cowarlineſs, and others commended his policy, ſeeing ſuch a commander in chief, as he was in the Romiſh cauſe, ought to repoſe his perſon in ſafety, and might be never the leſs vertually preſent in the fight, by the iſſuing out of his orders to meaner officers. Nor did *Parſons* like a wheeling Cock turn aſide, with intent to return, but ran quite out of the Cockpit, and then crowed in triumph, when he was got on his own dunghil, ſafely reſident in the City of *Rome*. Here he compiled, and hence he diſpatched many letters and libels into *England*; and amongſt the reſt, that Book of the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh (entit'ling the Spaniard thereunto) ſetting it forth under the falſe name of [b] *Dolman*, an honeſt harmleſs Secular Prieſt. and his profeſſed Adverſary. And ſurely *Parſons* was a fit fellow to derive the pedigree of the Kings of *England*, who might firſt have ſtudied to deduce his own deſcent from a lawfull Father, being himſelf (otherwiſe called *Cowback*) [c] *filius populi et filius peccati*, as Catholicks have obſerved. Many letters alſo he ſent over full of threats, and aſſuring his party, that the land would be invaded by forrainers; writing therein not what he knew or thought was, but what he deſired and endeavoured ſhould be true. Some of theſe letters being intercepted, made the Queens officers (as they had juſt cauſe) more ſtrickt in ſearching, as her Judges more ſevere in puniſhing the Papiſts. Hereupon the Seculars complained, that ſuch proceedings againſt them (tearmed perſecution by them, and juſtice by our State) was cauſed by the Jeſuits, and that *Parſons* eſpecially, though he had kindled the fire, left others to bear the heat thereof. Yea, which was more, he was not himſelf contented to ſleep in a whole ſkinn at *Rome*, but laſhed others of his own Religion, and having got his neck out of the collar, accuſed others for not drawing weight enough, taxing the Seculars as dull and remiſs in the cauſe of Religion: and to ſpeak plainly, they differed as hot and cold poiſon, the Jeſuits more active and pragmatical, the Seculars more ſlow and heavie, but both maintaining treacherous principles, deſtructive to the common-Wealth.

The complaint of the Seculars againſt the Jeſuits, and principally againſt *Parſons*.

[a] *Declaratio motuum ad Clementem octavum pag.* 24.

[b] *Camdens Elizt. in Anno* 1594. p. 72.

[c] *Watſons Quodlibets.* p. 109 & 236.

31. If we look now on the *Non-Conformiſts*, we ſhall finde them all ſtill and quiet. After a *ſtorm* comes a *calm* wearied with a former *bluſterme*, they began now to repoſe themſelves in a ſad ſilence, eſpecially ſince the executions of *Udal* and *Penry* had ſo terrified them, that though they might have ſecret deſignes, we meet not their open and publick motions, ſo that this *Century* affordeth little more, then the *mortalities* of ſome eminent men.

A general calm.

32. We begin with *Richard Fletcher* Biſhop of *London*, bred in *Bennet Colledge* in *Cambridg*, one of a comly perſon, and goodly preſence, (qualities not to be *caſt away* in a *Biſhop*, though a *Biſhop* not to be *choſen* for them,) he lov'd to ride *the great horſe*, and had much ſkill in managing thereof, condemned for very proud, (ſuch his natural ſtately garb) by ſuch as knew him not, and commended for humility by thoſe acquainted with him, he loſt the *Queens favour* becauſe of his ſecond unhappy match, and died ſuddainly, more of grief then any other diſeaſe: with *him* let me couple another *heartbroken Biſhop*, *John Coldwell* of *Salisbury* D^r *of Phyſick* (S^t *Luke* we know was both an *Evangeliſt* and *Phyſician*) who never enjoyed himſelf, after he had conſented (though little better then ſurpriſed thereunto) to the alienation of *Sherborn Manor* from the *Biſhoprick*.

The death of Bp *Fletcher*, and Biſhop *Coldwell*.

33. Here I am at a loſs for the date of the death of *Laurence Humphry*, but confident I *hit* the *but*, though *miſs* the *mark*, as about this time. He was

The death of *Laurence Humfry*.

was a conſciencious and moderate Non-conformiſt, (condemned for *lukewarm* by ſuch as were *ſcalding-hot*,) *Dean* of *Winchester* and *Maſter* of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*, to which he bequeathed a conſiderable *Summ* of *Gold*, left in a cheſt, not to be opened, except ſome great neceſſity urged thereunto. But lately whilſt Dr *John Wilkinſon* was *Preſident* of the *Colledge*, this *Gold* was ſhar'd between *him* and the *fellows*. And though one muſt charitably believe the matter not ſo bad as it is reported, yet the moſt favourable relation thereof gave a general diſtaſt. Anno Dom. 1596. Anno Regin Eliz. 39.

A great Antiquaries good intention diſcouraged.

34. Sure I am, a great Antiquarie lately deceaſed, (rich as well in his ſtate, as learning) at the hearing hereof quitted all his intentions of *benefaction* to *Oxford* or any place elſe, on ſuſpition it would be diverted to other uſes. On the ſame token that he merrily ſaid, *I think the beſt way for a man to perpetuate his memory, is to procure the Pope to Canonize him for a Saint, for then he ſhall be ſure to be remembred in their Calender:* Whereas otherwiſe I ſee all *Proteſtant charity* ſubject to the *covetouſneſs* of *poſterity* to devour it, and bury the donor thereof in *oblivion*.

The charity of a Spaniſh Proteſtant.

35. Mr *Baltezer Zanches* a *Spaniard*, born in *Sverez* in *Eſtremadura*, founded an *alms-houſe* at *Tetnam high-croſs* in *Middleſex* for eight ſingle people, allowing them competent maintenance. Now ſeeing *Proteſtant Founders* are rare, Spaniſh *Proteſtants* rarer, *Spaniſh Proteſtant Founders* in *England* rareſt, I could not *paſs* this over with *ſilence*, nor muſt we forget, that he was the firſt *confectioner* or *comfit-maker* in *England*, bringing that myſtery to *London*, and (as I am informed) the exactneſs thereof continues ſtill in his family, in which reſpect they have ſucceſſively been the *Queens* and *Kings confectioners*.

The acts in the Parliament.

36. A *Parliament* held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the deprivation of *Popiſh Biſhops* in the firſt of this *Queens Reign*, was declared legall. Some will wonder what need is of this Statute at ſo many years diſtance, but the *Preface* intimates the neceſſity thereof. The *Legality* alſo of our *Biſhops* and their *Officers*, were again by *act of Parliament* confirmed. And whereas there was a *pretended concealment* of ſome *lands* of the *Biſhoprick* of *Norwich*, the ſame by *act* of *Parliament* were ſetled on that *See*, and the *Exchange* of *Lands* ratified, made in the *Reign* of *King Henry* the *Eight*. The contemporary convocation did nothing of moment. 1597. 40.

The death of Tho. Stapleton.

37. *Thomas Stapleton* this year ended his life, and was buried at St *Peters Church* in *Louain*, it is written in his Epitaph, *qui Ciceſtriæ in Angliâ nobili loco natus*, where *Ciceſtria* is taken not for the *City*, but Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*, having otherwiſe good aſſurance that he was born at *Henfield* in *Suſſex*, the ſame year and moneth wherein * St *Thomas More* was beheaded, obſerved by the *Catholicks* as a grand providence, he was a moſt learned aſſertor of the *Romiſh Religion*, wanting nothing but a true cauſe to defend. On one account I am beholding unto him, *viz.* for diſſwading * *Petræus* from being a *Souldier* to be a *Scholler*, whoſe Hiſtory of our Engliſh writers hath ſo often been uſefull unto me. 1598. 41.

* See *Pitzæus* in his life.

* *Idem ibidem.*

The death of Dr *Coſins*.

38. *Richard Coſins* Dr of the *Law* and *Dean* of *Arches* this year ended his life; One of the greateſt *Civilians* which our *Age* or *Nation* hath produced, a moſt moderate man in his own nature, but moſt earneſt aſſertor of the *Eccleſiaſtical* diſcipline, as by his printed works doth appear.

The death of Rob. Turner.

39. *Robert Turner* his death was now much bemoaned by the *Papiſts*, he was born at *Barſtable* in *Devon*, bred for a while in *Oxford*, whence flying beyond the Seas, he became *Canon* of *Breſlaw* in *Sileſia*, and at the ſame time *Privie Councellor* to the *Duke* of *Bavaria*, falling afterward into his diſpleaſure, probably becauſe more pragmatical then became a forrainer; however *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* (afterwards *Emperor*) took him from the *Duke* to be his own *Secretary* for the *Latine tongue*, wherein he excelled, as by his printed *Orations* doth appear, he lieth buried at *Gratz* under a handſom *Monument*. 1599. 42.

40. Great

Anno Regin Eliz. 42. Anno Dom. 1599.

40. Great was the grief of *Protestants* for the decease of *Richard Hooker*, *Turners Country-man*, as born also in *Devon-shire*, and bred in *Corpus-Christi Colledge* in *Oxford*, living and dying a single man, of whom largely before. His innocency survived to triumph over those aspersions which the malice of others (advantaged by his own *dove-like simplicity*) had cast upon him I am informed Sr *Edwin Sands* hath erected a monument over him, in his *Parish-Church* in *Kent*, where he lieth interred. The death of *Rich. Hooker*.

41. I cannot omit what I finde in this year in Mr *Camden* his * *manuscript-life* of *Queen Elizabeth*. A report was cast out by our polititians in the midst of *Harvest* of the danger of a present forrain invasion, done out of designe, to prevent the *Popularity* of the *Earl* of *Essex*, and to try the peoples inclinations. Instantly all were put into a posture of defence, mowers, reapers, all harvest folke left their work, to be imployed in musters. This afterwards appeared but a *Court-project*, whereat the country took much distast, so ill it is to jest with *edged tools*, especially with *Sythes* and *Sickles*. My Author addeth, that people affirmed that such *May-games* had been fitter in the *spring* (when sports were used amongst the *Romans* to *Flora*) and not in the *Autumn* when people were seriously imployed to fetch in the fruits of the earth. But by his leave these *Expressions flow* from *Criticks*, and *fly* far above the capacities of *Country-men*. An over-politick act disliked. * Which shortly will be set forth in a new edition.

43. 1600. 42. This *Century* Concluded the lives of two eminent *Roman Catholicks* *John Sanderson* born in *Lancashire*, bred in *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he set forth an excellent *Logick*, called *Sandersons Logick*, fourty years ancienter then that, which his worthy *name-sake* of *Oxford*, (of a different judgement in religion) hath since printed on the same subject. From *Cambridge* he fled to *Cambray* in *Artois*, where he lived with good *comfort*, and died with great *credit* with those of his own perswasion. The other *Thomas Case* of St *Johns* in *Oxford*, Dr of *Physick*, it seems always a *Romanist* in his heart, but never expressing the same, till his mortal sickness seized upon him. The death of *I. Sanderson*, and *T. Case*.

The end of the sixteenth Century.

The

THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE TENTH BOOK.

Containing the Reigne of

KING JAMES.



TO THE HONOURABLE,

ROBERT,

Lord BRUCE,

Sole SON to the Right Honourable

THOMAS

EARLE of ELGIN.

HAving, by *Gods aſsiſtance*, drawn down *my Hiſtory* to the *death* of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſome diſſwade me from continuing it any further: Becauſe, that as Saint *Peter* out of *warineſſe* (alias *cowardlineſſe*) followed *Chriſt* (who was *the Truth*) * *afarre off*; ſo they lay this down for a *Maxime*, That *the Story of Modern Times muſt not be written by any alive*; A *Poſition*, (in my poor opinion) both *diſgracefull* to *Hiſtorians*, and *prejudiciall* to *Poſterity*.

* Mat. 26. 58.

Diſgracefull to Hiſtorians:) as if they would make themſelves *like* unto the *beaſts* of the *Forreſt*, as characte-
Pſal. 104. 20,22. red by *David*, *Who move in the Darkneſſe, till the Sun ariſeth, and they get them away*; loving *to write* of *things done at diſtance*, where *Obſcurity* may protect their *Miſtakes* from *Diſcovery*, but *putting up their pens* as ſoon as the *day dawns* of *Modern Times*, and they within the *reach* of *reputation*.

Prejudiciall to Poſterity:) ſeeing *intentions* in this na-
*Plutarch in his Morals. ture long *delayed* are at laſt *defeated*. The *Young man* moved by his *Mother* to *Marry*; returned, That (*as yet*) *it was too ſoon*: and ſome yeares after, pleaded, That *now it was too late*. So ſome ſay, *Truth* is not *ripe enough* to be *written in the Age we live in*, which proveth *rotten too much* for the *next Generation* faithfully to report, when the *Impreſes* of *memorable matters* are almoſt *worn out*: the *Hiſtories* then written having more of the *Authors hand*, than *footſteps* of *truth* therein.

Sure I am, the moſt *informative Hiſtories* to *Poſterity*, and ſuch as are moſt *highly prized* by the *judicious*, are ſuch as were *written* by the *Eye-witneſſes* thereof. As *Thucidides* the *reporter* of the *Peloponeſian Warre*.

However, one may obſerve ſuch as *write the Story* of their

their *owne Times*, like the *two Meſſengers* which carried *tydings* to *David*: Of theſe, *Ahimaaz*, (ſent the rather by *permiſsion* than *injunction*) onely told *David* what he knew would *pleaſe him*, acquainting him with his *Victory*. But being demanded of his *Sons death*, he made a *Tale* of a * *Tumult*, (no better than an *officious Lye* for himſelf) *the iſſue whereof was to him unknown.* * 2 Sam. 18. 29.

Cuſhi, the other *Meſſenger*, having his carriage leſſe of *cunning*, and more of *conſcience*: informing the *King* of his *Sons death*, but *folding* it up in a *faire* expreſsion, * *The Enemies of my Lord the King, and all that riſe againſt thee to doe thee hurt, be as that young man is.* * 2 Sam. 18. 32.

Ahimaaz is imitated by *ſuch Hiſtorians*, who leave that *unwritten* which they ſuſpect will be *unwelcome*. Theſe following the rule, *Summa Lex ſalus Authoris*, when they meet with any *neceſſary* but *dangerous Truth*, paſſe it over with a *Blank* flouriſhed up with ſome *ingenious evaſion*.

Such *Writers* ſucceed to plain *Cuſhi* in their *Relations*, who give a *true account* of *actions*, and to avoid all *exaſperating terms* (which may make a *bad* matter *worſe* in relating it) uſe the moſt *lenitive language* in expreſsing *diſtaſtfull matter*, adventuring with their own *danger* to procure the *information* of others. Truly one is concerned

in *conſcience* to tranſmit to the *next Age* ſome ſhort *intimations* of *theſe Times*, out of feare that *Records* are not ſo *carefully kept* in theſe *ſo many* and *ſudden Changes*, as they were in *former Ages*.

I know *Machiavel* was wont to ſay, That *he who undertakes to Write a Hiſtory, muſt be of no Religion*: if ſo, *he* himſelfe was the beſt qualified of any in *his Age* to be a *good Hiſtorian*.

But, I believe, his *meaning* was much better than his *words*, intending therein, That *a Writer of Hiſtories muſt not diſcover his inclination in Religion to the prejudice of Truth*: *Levi-like*, who ſaid to his *Father* and *Mother*, *I have not ſeen them*, owning no *acquaintance* of any *Relations*.

This I have endeavoured to my utmoſt in *this Book*; knowing, as *that Oyle* is adjudged *the beſt* that hath *no taſt at all*; ſo *that Hiſtorian* is preferred, who hath the *leaſt Tangue* of *partial Reflections*.

However, ſome *Candour of courſe* is due to ſuch *Hiſtorians*, (wherein the *Courteſie* not ſo great in *giving* as the *Injury* in *detaining* it) which *run the Chiding* of theſe *preſent Times* in hope that *after-Ages* may *excuſe* them. And I am confident that theſe *my Labours* ſhall finde the ſame

favour

favour (which may be in *meer men*, ſhould be in *all Gentlemen*, muſt be in *true Chriſtians*) the rather becauſe *this Booke* appeareth *Patronized* by a *Dedication* to *Your Honour*.

I have ſelected *your Lordſhip* for a *Patron* to this part *of my Hiſtory*, wherein the *Reign of King* IAMES is contained, under WHoſe *peaceable Government* your *Grandfather* was His *Privie Counſellour*, and *Maſter of the Rolls*, when your *Family* was not *brought*, but *brought back* into *England*, where it had flouriſhed *Barons* many yeares before. *Plants* are much *meliorated* by *tranſplanting*, eſpecially when after many years they are *reſtored* to their *Native ſoile* as *Cordiall* unto them. And thus the *continuance* and *increaſe* of all *happineſſe to your Selfe* and *Noble Conſort*, is *the unfeigned Prayer* of

Your Honours moſt obliged ſervant

THOMAS FULLER.

Ann. 17 Eliz. 6.

Ann. Dom. 1601

THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAINE.

CENT: XVII.

1. THE difference betwixt the *Seculars* and the *Jesuites* still continued and increased. Wherefore Bishop *Bancroft*, counting the *Seculars* the better but weaker side, afforded them countenance and maintenance in *London house*, accommodating them with necessaries to' write against their adversaries, hoping the *Protestants* might assault the *Romish* cause with the greater advantage, when they found a breach made to their hand by the others own dissentions. But such who bore no good will to the *Bishop*, beholding the frequent repairing and familiar conversing of such *Priests* in his house, made a contrary construction of his actions, and reported him *Popishly* affected. Thus those who publiquely doe things in themselves liable to offence, and privately reserve the reasons of their actions in their owne bosomes, may sufficiently satisfie their consciences towards God, but will hardly avoid the censures of men, to which too unwarily they expose themselves. With more generall applause was the bounty of *Arch-Bishop Whitgift* bestowed, who now finished his *Hospitall* founded and endowed by him at *Croydon* in *Surrey*, for a *Warden*, and eight and twenty *Brethren*: As also a *Free-Schoole*, with liberall maintenance, for the education of Youth. God (the best of Creditors) no doubt, long since hath plentifully re-pay'd what was lent to him, in his Members.

The Seculars fomented by the Bishop of *Lond.* against the Jesuits.

Oct. 27. Nov. 19.

2. The last *Parl.* in this *Queenes* raigne was now begun at *Westm.* and dissolved the moneth next following. Of such things which at distance may seeme to relate to *Church* affaires, in this *Parl.* it was Enacted, That *Overseers of the Poor* should be nominated yeerly in *Easter* week under the *Hand* and *Seale* of two [a] *Justices of Peace*, and that these with the *Church wardens* should take care for the relieve of the *Poore*, binding out of *Apprentices*, &c. As also, That the *Lord Chancellor* should award *Commissions* under the *Great Seale*, into any part of the Realme, (as cause should require) to the [b] *Bishop* of every *Diocese*, and his *Chancellour*; and any four or more persons of honest behaviour, to enquire by oathes of twelve men, into the mis-imployment of any *Lands* or *Goods* given to pious uses: and by their Orders, to appoint them to be duly and faithfully paid or employed to their true uses and intents. In pursuance of this *Statute*, much good was and is done to this day, in severall parts of the *Kingdome*, the *Law* being very tender, that the true intentions of the *Donour* should take effect, as by this eminent instance may appeare. By the rule of the Law, *Copyhold Land* cannot be aliened, but by Surrender; but yet if a man Devise such Land to a Charitable use, though it had not been surrendred, this is [c] adjudged good, and shall be construed an appointment to a Charitable use within this Statute.

Acts in the last Parliament of Q. Eliz.

a *Statute* 43. of Q. *Eliz.* c. 2.

b *Ibid.* cap. 4.

c 15 *Jac.* in *Rivets* Case in Chancery.

3. Now if we look into the *Convocation*, parallel to this Parliament, therein we shall find, that it began with a Latine Sermon of *William Barlow* Doctor of Divinity, and one of Her Majesties Chaplaines, (afterwards Bishop of *Rochester*, then of *Lincolne*) Preaching on this Text, Luke 19. 13. *Negotiamini dum venio.* In this *Convocation*, *Mathew Sutcliffe*, *Doctor* of the *Law*, and *Deane* of *Exeter*

Acts of this yeares Convocation.

was choſen *Prolocutor*, but nothing ſave matters of courſe paſſed therein. Nor finde I any eminent Divine deceaſed this yeare. Ann. Dom. 1601 Ann. Reg. 43.

Franck Godw. made Biſhop of Landaff.

d In vita Greg. Nazianzen.

4. *Francis Godwin Doctor of Divinity, Sub-Deane of Exeter*, Sonne of *Thomas Godwin, Biſhop of Wells*, (like another *d Gregorie NaZianZen a Biſhop*, Son to a *Biſhop*) was promoted to the *Church* of *Landaff*, he was borne in the fourth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was not a little ſenſible of, and thankfull for Gods favour unto her, in ſuffering her ſo long to hold the *Helme* of the *Engliſh Church*, till one borne within her reigne was found fit to be a *Biſhop*. He was ſtored with all polite *Learning*, both judicious and induſtrious in the ſtudy of *Antiquity*, to whom, not onely the Church of *Landaff* (whereof he well deſerved) but all *England* is indebted, as for his other learned Writings, ſo eſpecially for his *Catalogue* of *Biſhops*. He was tranſlated *Anno* 1617. to *Hereford*, and died, many yeares after, a very old man in the reign of King *CHARLES*.

Watſon's Quodlibets againſt the Jeſuits.

5. Now came forth a notable *Book* againſt the *Jeſuites*, written in a *Scholaſtick* way, by one *Watſon* a *Secular Prieſt*, conſiſting of ten *quodlibets*, each whereof is ſub-divided into as many *Articles*. It diſcovereth the *Jeſuites* in their *colours*, ferreting them out of all their *burrowes* of *Equivocation* and *mentall reſervation*, holding *Proteus* ſo hard to it, that in deſpight of his changing into many *ſhapes*, he is forced to appeare in his own proper *forme*. No intire *Anſwer*, for ought I can learn, was ever returned to this *Book*. The *Jeſuits* (according to their old *Trick*) ſlighting what they cannot *confute*, and counting that unworthy to be done, which they found themſelves unable to doe. Indeed, for matters of fact therein, they are ſo punctually reported with the ſeverall circumſtances of time and place, that the guilty conſciences of ſuch as are concerned therein (though ſnapping and ſnarling at pieces and paſſages thereof) for the main may well give it over for unanſwerable. 1602 44

The black character of Ieſuites painted with the Penſil of a Secular Prieſt.

e Second Quodliber, third Article. pag. 62.

6. Yet the whole Book is written with an imbittered ſtyle, ſo that Proteſtant Charity hath a better conceit of Jeſuits, than to account them altogether ſo bad. Take one paſſage of many. *e No, no, their courſe of life doth ſhew what their Hudy is, and that howſoever they boaſt of their perfections, holineſſe, Meditations and exerciſes, yet their platforme is heathenish, tyrannicall, ſathanicall, and able to ſet ARETINE, LUCIAN, MACHIAVEL, yea, and DON LUCIFER in a ſort to ſchoole, as impoſſible for him, by all the art he hath, to be-ſot men as they doe.* This is the ſame *Watſon*, who, though boaſting of the *obedience* of the *Secular Prieſts* to their *Soveraigns*, and taxing the *Ieſuits* for want thereof, was notwithſtanding himſelf, afterwards executed for a *Traitor* in the reigne of King *Iames*. It ſeemes as well *Secularſ*, as *Ieſuits*, are ſo loaden with *Loyalty*, that both need the Gallowes to eaſe them of the burden thereof.

A Quiet in the Engliſh Ch: and the cauſe thereof.

7. Great at this time was the Calm in the Engliſh Church, the Brethren not endeavoring any thing in Oppoſition to the Hierarchie. This ſome impute not to their Quierneſſe, but Wearineſſe, becauſe ſo long they had in vaine ſeeked to caſt off that Yoke from them: Beſides, they did not ſo much practiſe for the Preſent, as project for the Future, to procure hereafter an Eſtabliſhment of their Eccleſiaſticall Government. For they beheld the Queenes old Age as a Taper of Virgin-Wax now in the Socket, ready to be extinguiſhed, which made them addreſſe and apply themſelves with all diligence, to *IAMES* King of *Scotland*, the Heire apparent to the Crowne, as to the riſing Sun, whom they hoped will be more favourable to their Proceedings. Hopes not altogether groundleſſe, whileſt they conſidered the Power of the Presbytery in the Church of *Scotland*, where Biſhops, though lately reſtored to their place, were ſo reſtrained in their Power, that ſmall was their Command in Church-affaires, which made the Brethren in *England* thence to promiſe Great matters to themſelves, but with what ſucceſſe ſhall be ſeen hereafter. As for Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, the Chieftaine of that Party in *England*; we finde him at this time growing rich in the Towne of *Warwick*, (there Maſter of an Hoſpitall) by the Benevolence and Bounty of his Followers, where he preached *f* very temperately, according to his Promiſe made to the Arch-biſhop.

f Sir Geo: Paul in the life of Arch-biſhop Whigift. p. 14

8. Some

Ann. Regni Reg. 44. Ann. Dom. 1602

8. Some aſcribe this his Mildneſſe to his old Age and Experience, it being commonly obſerved, that in Controverſies of this kinde, Men, when they conſult with their owne Gray haires, begin to abate of their Violence. Others conceive that Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* had conquered him with his kindeneſſe, having formerly procured him both his Pardon & Diſmiſſion out of all his Troubles, ſo that his Coales of Courteſies heaped on Mr. *Cartwright*'s Head, made the good Metall (the Ingenuity in him) to melt into Moderation. For in his Letters written with his owne hand, *March* 24. *Anno* 1601. he confeſſeth himſelf much obliged unto him, vouchſafing him the ſtyle of A RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND HIS LORD THE ARCH-BISHOP'S GRACE OF *CANTERBURY*, which Title of GRACE, he alſo often yeildeth him throughout his Letters, acknowledging his [g] Bond of moſt humble Duty ſo much the ſtraiter, becauſe his Grace's Favour proceeded from a frank Diſpoſition, without any deſert of his owne. Others (and that not improbably) doe think that Mr. *Cartwright* grew ſenſible with Sorrow, how all Sects and Schiſmes, being oppoſite to Biſhops (Browniſts, Barrowiſts, &c.) did ſhroud and ſhelter themſelves under his Protection, whom he could neither reject with Credit, nor receive with Comfort, ſeeing his Conſcience could not cloſe with their enormous Opinions, and his Counſell could not regulate their extravagant Violences, which made him by degrees decline their Party. Yet, for all this, there want not thoſe who will maintaine, that all this while Mr. *Cartwright* was not more remiſſe, but more reſerv'd in his Judgement, being ſtill as ſound, but not as ſharpe in the cauſe out of Politick intents, like a skilfull Pilot in a great Tempeſt yeilding to the Violence of a ſtorme, therewith to be carried away, contrary to his intents for the preſent, but waiting when the Wind ſhould ſoone turne about to the *North*, and blow him and his a proſperous Gale, according to their Deſires.

Several Reaſons aſſigned of Mr. *Cartwright*'s Moderation.

g Sir *George Paul*, *ut prius.*

9. What his opinions were, may appeare by the Premiſes, and his life may be preſumed moſt pious, it concerning him to be ſtrict in his Converſation, who ſo ſtickled for the Reformation of all abuſes in the Church. An excellent Scholar, pure Latiniſt (his Travels advantaging the ready uſe thereof) accurate Grecian, exact Hebraician, as his Comments on the *Proverbs*, and other Works, doe ſufficiently teſtifie. But the Maſter-piece of all his Writings, was, that his Confutation of the Rhemiſh Tranſlation of the New Teſtament into *ENGLISH*, at the Importunity of many Miniſters of *London* and *Suffolk*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, the Queenes Secretary, (Mr. *Cartwright*'s eſpeciall Patron) gave him an [h] hundred pounds to buy him Books, and incourage him in that Work. However, the ſetting forth thereof, was ſtopped by Arch-biſhop *Whitgift*; probably we may conceive, becauſe ſome Paſſages therein did glance at and gird the Epiſcopall Diſcipline in *England*, and after it had layn thirty yeares neglected, it was firſt ſet forth *Anno* 1618. and then, without either Priviledge or Licence, except any will ſay that Truth is a Licence for it ſelfe. In a word, no Engliſh Champion in that Age, did with more Valour or Succeſſe, charge and rout the Romiſh Enemy in matters of Doctrine. But when that Adverſary ſometimes was not in the field, then his active ſpirit fell foul in point of Diſcipline, with thoſe which otherwiſe were of his own Religion.

The Character of Mr. *Cartwr.*

h See the Preface of M. *Cartwright*'s Book

10. The ſame yeare proved fatall to many other eminent Clergie-men, and I hope, without offence, I may joyne them together, their Bodies at the ſame time meetnig at the Grave, though their mindes before had parted in different Opinions.

Biſhop *Weſtphaling*, Dean *Nowel*, Mr. *Perkins*, Gr. *Sayer*, and Will. *Harvie*, depart this World.

1. *Herbert Weſtphaling* Biſhop of *Hereford* (though perchance his Ambignous Death is more properly referred to the laſt yeare) brought up in *Chriſt-church* in *Oxford*, being the firſt Biſhop of that Foundation, a Man of great Piety of Life, and of ſuch [i] Gravity, that he was ſeldome, or never ſeene to laugh, leaving no great, but a well gotten Eſtate, out of which he bequeathed

i Godwin *de Præſulibus Angliæ*. p. 546.

queathed twenty pounds *per annum* to *Jesus Colledge* in *Oxford*. Ann. Dom. 1602 Ann. Reg. Eliz. 44

2. *Alexander Nowell* Doctor of Divinity, and Deane of S. *Paul's* in *London*, borne in *Lancashire*, bred in *Oxford*, afterwards fled into *Germanie*, in the reigne of *Queen Mary*. He was the first of [k] English Exiles, that returned in the dayes of Q. *Elizabeth*. And I have read how in a Parliament he was chosen Burgess of a Town of *Cornwall*: But his Election pronounced void, because he was a Deacon. A Man of a most Angelicall Life, and Deep Learning. A great Defender of Justification by Faith alone, and yet a great Practiser of Good Works; witnesse [l] two hundred pounds a year rent, for the maintenance of thirteen Students bestowed on *Brazen-nose Colledge*, wherein he had his Education. A great honourer of the Marriage of the Clergie, and yet who lived and died single himselfe. An aged Man, of 90. yeares of age, yet fresh in his youthfull Learning: yea, like another *Moses*, his eyes were not dimme, nor did he ever make use of [m] Spectacles to read the smallest Print.

3. *William Perkins*, who was born in the first, and died in the last of Q. *Eliz.* so that his Life (as [n] we have elsewhere observed, to which we remit the Reader) running parallel with this Queens Reign, began, continued, and ended therewith.

4. *Gregory* (before his entrance into Religion *Robert*) *Sayer*, bred in *Cambridge*, then leaving the Universitie, fled beyond sea, where he became a Benedictine *Monk*, of the Congregation of S. *Justin* in *Padua*. He lived in severall parts of *Europe*, as at *Rhemes*, *Rome*, *Montcasie*, *Venice*, where he died, and was buried [o] the 30. of *Octob.* having written many Volumes in great esteem with men of his Profession.

5. *William Harris*, as Obscure among Protestants, as Eminent with the Popish Party. A Master of Art of *Lincoln Colledge* in *Oxford*: whence leaving the Land, he fled beyond-sea, living at *Doway*, and afterwards he came over into [p] *England*, where it seemes he had the Hap to escape the Queenes Officers, and to die in his Bed. His Book called *THE THEATRE OF THE MOST TRUE AND ANTIENT CHURCH OF* ENGLAND, is highly accounted of Roman Catholiques.

11. About this time the low Estate of the City of *Geneva* (the Nursery of the Reformed Religion) was lively represented to the Prelates, Clergy, and Well-disposed Persons of *England*, being for the Present in a very Dolefull condition. Long since it had been undone, but because it had so many Enemies to undoe it: So that by Gods providence, [q] *Out of the Devourer came Meat*; such Neighbouring Princes and States, which were both Willing and Able to swallow up this *Zoar*, did preserve it. For rather than *Savoy* should suppresse it, *Venice*, *Florence*, the *Popish Cantons* in *Switzerland*, and *France* it self, would support. But for all this politick Geometry, wherewith long it had hung safe betwixt severall Competitours, it was, lately, shrewdly shaken by the Puissance of the Duke of *Savoy*, who, addicted to the Spanish Faction, had banished all Protestants out of his Dominions: Arch-bishop *Whitgift* (whose hand was ever open to any Pious Design) led with his liberall Example, and the rest cheerefully followed, so that large summes of money were seasonably made over for the Relieve of *Geneva*.

12. Queen *Elizabeth*, the mirrour of her Sex and Age, having above 40 years, to the Admiration of Envy it selfe, managed this Kingdome, finding when she began, few Friends that durst help, and leaving no Foes that could hurt her, exchanged her Earthly, for a Heavenly Crowne, who, as she lived and died an unspotted Virgin, so her Maiden memory is likely, in this respect, to remaine sole and single; seeing History affords no Prince to be matched to her Fame in all considerable Particulars. Her Corps were solemnly interred under a fair Tomb in

[k] *Donald Lupton in his Life.*

[l] *Cambden's Elizabeth in Anno 1602.*

[m] *Hugh Holland in his Icones Virorum Illustrium.*

[n] In the *Holy State*, where see his Life at large.

[o] *Pitseus de Scriptoribus Angliæ Ætate Decima septima.* p. 801.

[p] *Idem ibidem.*

Relief sent to the City of *Geneva*.

[q] Judg. 14. 14.

The death of Q. *Elizabeth*.

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in *Westminster*; the lively Draught whereof, is pictured in most *London*, & many Countrey Churches, every Parish being proud of the shadow of her Tomb; and no wonder, when each Loyal Subject erected a mournfull Monument for her in his heart. But soon after all English Soules were employed equally to divide themselves betwixt Exclamations of Sorrow for her Death, and Acclamations of Joy for K. *James* his succeeding her.

King Ja. 1.

13. And now it is strange with what Assiduity and Diligence, the two Potent Parties, the Defenders of Episcopacy and Presbytery, with equall Hopes of Successe, made (besides Private and Particular Addresses) Publique and Visible Applications to King *James*, the first to continue, the later to restore, or rather set up their Government; So that whilest each Side was Jealous, his Rival should get the Start by early stirring, and rise first in the Kings favour. Such was their Vigilancy, that neither may seem to go to Bed: Incessantly diligent both before and since the Queenes Death, in dispatching Posts and Messages into *Scotland* to advance their severall Designes. We take notice of two principall, M. *Lewis Pickering* a *Northampton-shire* Gentleman, and zealous for the Presbyterian Party, was the third Person of quality, who riding incredibly swift (good Newes makes good Horsemen) brought King *James* the Tydings of Queen *Elizabeths* Death. But how farre, and with what Answer he moved the King in that Cause, is uncertaine. Doctour *Thomas Nevill*, Deane of *Canterburie*, came into *Scotland* some dayes after him, (except any will say, that he comes first, that comes really to effect what he was sent for) being solemnly employed by [a] Arch-bishop *Whitgift* to his Majesty in the name of the Bishops and Clergy of *England*, to tender their Bounden Duties, and to understand his Highnesse Pleasure for the ordering and guiding of Ecclesiasticall Causes. He brought back a welcome Answer to such as sent him of his Highnesse purpose, which was to uphold, and maintain the Goverment of the late Queen, as she left it setled.

K. *James* sends a Welcome message to the Episcopall Party.

[a] Sir *G: Pauls* in the Arch-bishops Life, Numb. 126.

14. Soone after followed the Treason of *William Watson* on this occasion. This *Watson*, Secular Priest, had written a bitter Book against the *Jesuits*, as being one *knowing* (though not so *secret*) of their faults, as their owne *Confessours*, taxing them with truth so plaine, they could not deny, so foule, they durst not confesse it. Now such is the charity of *Jesuits*, that *They never owe any man any ill will*, making present payment thereof. These Holy Fathers (as *Watson* intimated on the [d] Scaffold, at his Death, and forgave them for the same) *cunningly and covertly drew him into this action*, promoting him, who was ambitious, (though pretending to much Mortification) treasonably to practise his own preferment.

Watson's silly Treason.

[d] *Stowes* Chronicle. p. 831.

15. *Watson*, with *William Clark* another of his own profession) having fancied a *notionall Treason*, imparted it to *George Brooks*, one angry with Nature, not so much for making him *lame*, as a *younger Brother*. These break it to (*Brook* his Brother) the L. *Cobham*, to the Lord *Gray* of *Whaddon*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, the one a known *Protestant*, the other a reputed *Puritan*, the third an able *Statesman*: Besides, some other Knights, displeased with their present Fortunes (how quickly is *Discontent* inflamed into *Disloyalty*!) because, since the *turning of the Wheele*, at the Queenes Death, on the wrong Side of Preferment. *Watson* devised an *Oath of Secrecy* for them all, which was no more than needfull, considering their different *Interests*, rather pieced than united, patched than pieced together.

His *manly* Complices.

16. Had one lost his Religion, he might have found it (though I confesse a *Treason* is but a bad place to seeke it in) in this Conspiracy, wherein men of all perswasions were engaged. Their *Parts* were as different as their *Opinions*, some of them being conceived too wise to begin, and others too weak to finish so dangerous a Designe. The ends they propounded to themselves, (as they were charged therewith) were to *kill the King, raise Rebellion, alter Religion, at least gaine a Toleration, and procure a forraign Invasion*, with many more things which, may be spoken easier in a *Minute*, than done in an *Age*, especially their Interest being

Their wild mistakes whereby to attaine a mad end.

not much at home, and nothing abroad. They ante-divided all *Offices of State* betwixt themselves, Lord *Marshall* to one, *Treasurer* to another, Master of the Horse to a third, Secretary to a fourth, &c. onely Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (able to discharge any) had no particular Office assigned unto him. *Watson* was to be Lord *Chancelour*, being very fit for the place, had he but as much skill to decide *Causes*, as write *Quodlibets*. There wanted nothing to estate them in all these *Offices*, but onely their getting of them.

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The two Priests executed.

17. Wonder not that this Treason was discovered so soon, but covered so long. The *two Priests* alone, with *G: Brook*, were executed, who, to use the words of King *James* in his Letter to Sir *Benjamine Tichbourne*, Sheriff of *Hantshire*, (for the Plague being in *London*, Terme was removed to *Winchester*, where they were tried) *Waire the principall Plotteris and Intisaris of all the rest, to the embracing of the saidis treasonabil Machinations*. The rest were pardoned their Lives, not their Lands. We must not forget that the Priests pleaded the fillest for themselves of all that were arraigned, alledging, that their Practise against the King could not be Treason, because done against him before he was crowned. *Watson* instancing in *Saul*, who was anoynted in [e] *Ramah*, and afterward made King in [f] *Mizpeh*. *Clark* insisted on *Rehoboam*, as being no King till the People had [g] made him so. Not remembring (what our Lawyers there minded them of) the difference betwixt successive Kings, deriving their claime from their Ancestors, and one newly elected, the English Crowne also being as incapable of an *Inter-regnum*, as Nature of a *Vacuitie*. Mean time, the Jesuits looked on, and laughed at *Watson*'s Execution, to see how bunglingly Secular Priests went about a Treason, resolving in the next platforme thereof (which now they were contriving) to rectifie the errours *Watson* had committed: not to ingage in a squint-ey'd company (where two did not look the same way) but to select a competencie of cordial Catholiques for the purpose.

Nov. 19.

e 1 Sam. 10. 1.
f Ibid. ver. 24.
g 1 King. 12. 1

Mr Cartwright dedicates a Book to King James.

18. No sooner was King *James* setled on the English Throne, but Mr. *Cartwright* presented unto him his Latin Coment on *Ecclesiastes*, thankfully mentioning in his Dedication, how he had, some twenty yeares before, been chosen to be Professour in a Scotch University, though declining the acceptance thereof, because of his Pastorall Charge, being then Minister to the English Congregation at *Antwerp*. Thanks, perchance, not so proper to the person of King *James* (though in Loyalty and good Manners, justly tendred unto him) as due, rather to those who in his minority steered the affaires of *Scotland*: Nor let any wonder that an English man should be proffered preferment in *Scotland*, seeing it was but *one for another*, remembring that I have read in the life of Mr. *Knox*, that he was offered an English Bishoprick in the reigne (as I take it) of K. *Edw:* the 6. and likewise refused the same.

Mr. Cartwright his Death.

19. But Mr *Cartwright* survived not long after (otherwise, no doubt, we should have heard of him in *Hampton*-Court-Conference, as the Champion of his Party) who died at the age of sixty, on the 27. of *December* following. To what we have formerly largely writ of his Character, we now onely adde, that he was born in *Hertford*-shire, and married the Sister of M. *Stubbs*, whose hand was struck off for writing an [interpreted] Libel against Queen *Elizabeths* Marriage with *Monsieur*. This I dare boldly say, She was a most excellent Wife, if she proved like her Brother, whom Mr. *Cambden* (no great friend of Puritans) cordially commendeth for a right honest man, generally beloved whilest living, and lamented when dead. He was afflicted towards his old Age with many Infirmities, insomuch that *he was forced continually to studie upon his* * *knees*. My Eares shall be deaf to the uncharitable inference of those, who impute this extraordinary painfull posture as a just punishment upon him, in that he had so bitterly inveighed against the gesture of those as superstitious, who reverently received the Sacrament on their knees. M. *Dod* preached his Funerall Sermon.

Dec. 27.

Camden in his Eliz.

* See his Life lately set forth by M. Clark.

The Presbyterian Petition to K. & Parl.

20. And now, because there was a generall expectation of a Parliament, suddenly to succeed the Presbyterian Party, that they might not be surprised, before they

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they had their tackling about them, went about to get hands of the Ministers to a Petition, which they intended seasonably to present to the K. and Parl. M. *Arthur Hildersham*, and M. *Stephen Egerton*, with some others, were chosen, and chiefly intrusted to manage this important businesse. This was called *The millenary Petition*, as, *One of a thousand*, [w] though in indeed there were but seven hundred and fifty Preachers hands set thereunto: But those all collected onely out of five and twenty Counties. However, for the more rotundity of the number, and grace of the matter, it passeth for a full thousand; which, no doubt, the Collectours of the names (if so pleased) might easily have compleated. I dare not guesse what made them desist before their number was finished; whether they thought that these were enough to doe the deed, and moe, were rather for ostentation than use; or, because disheartned by the intervening of the *Hampton-Court Conference*, they thought, that these were even too many to petition for a Deniall. It is left as yet uncertaine, whether this Conference was by the Kings favour graciously tendered, or by the mediation of the Lords of his Counsell powerfully procured; or by the Bishops, as confident of their cause, voluntarily proffered; or by the Ministers importunity effectually obteyned. Each Opinion pretends to Probability, but the last most likely. And, by what meanes soever this Conference was compassed, *Hampton-Court* was the Place, the 14 of *January* the Time, and the following Names the Persons which were employed therein.

w See M. Hildersham's Life set forth By Mr. *Clark*.

160[4]

Jan. 14.

For Conformity.		Moderator	Against Conformity.
Arch-bish. of *Canterbury*.	*Whitgift*.	KING *JAMES*.	Dr. *Reynolds*. *Sparks*.
Bishops of: *London*.	*Bancroft*.	Spectators.	Mr. *Knewstubs*. *Chaderton*.
Durham.	*Mathew*.	*All the Lords of the Privy Counsil, whereas some at times, interposed a few words.*	[b] These remaining in a Room without, were not called in the first day.
Winchester.	*Bilson*.		
Worcester.	*Babington*.		
St. *Davids*.	*Rudd*.	Place.	
Chicester.	*Watson*.	*A withdrawing Room within the Privy chamber.*	
Carleil.	*Robinson*.		
Peterbor.	*Dove*.		
Deans of: [a] *The Chappell*.			
Christ-Church.			
Worcester.			
Westminster.	*Andrewes*.		
S. *Pauls*.	*Overall*.		
Chester.	*Barlow*.		
Sarisbury.	*Bridges*.		
Winsor.			
D. *Field*. *King*.			

a Though all these Deanes were summoned by Letters, and present in the Presence-Chamber; yet onely five, (viz. of the Chappel, *Westminster*, *Pauls*, *Chester* and *Sarisbury*) on the first day were called in.

To omit all gratulatory Preambles, as necessary, when spoken, as needlesse, if now repeated, we will present onely the Substance of this Dayes Conference, his Majesty thus beginning it.

"It is no novel device, but according to the example of all Christian Princes, for Kings to take the first course for the establishing of the Church, "both in Doctrine and Policy. To this the very Heathen related in their Proverb, *A Jove principium*, particularly in this Land, King *Henry* the 8. towards the end of his Reign, altered much, King *Edward* the 6. more, Queen "*Mary* reversed all, and lastly, Queen *Elizabeth* (of [b] famous memory) setled "Religion as now it standeth.

"Herein I am happier than they, because they were faine to alter all things "they

b Note his Majesty never remembred her, but with some honourable Addition.

"they found eſtabliſhed, whereas I ſee yet no ſuch cauſe to change, as confirm "what I finde well ſetled already. For bleſſed be Gods gracious Goodneſſe, "who hath brought me into the *Promiſed Land*, where Religion is purely "profeſſed, where I ſit amongſt Grave, Learned, and Reverend Men, not as "before, *elſewhere*, a King without State, without Honour, without Order, "where Beardleſſe Boyes would brave us to the Face.

"And I aſſure you, we have not called this *Aſſembly* for any *Innovation*, "for we acknowledge the Government Eccleſiaſticall, as now it is, to have "been approved by manifold bleſſings from God himſelf, both for the in- "creaſe of the Goſpel, and with a moſt happy and glorious Peace. Yet be- "cauſe nothing can be ſo abſolutely ordered, but that ſomething may be ad- "ded thereunto, and corruption in any State (as in the Body of Man) will in- "ſenſibly grow either thorough Time or Perſons; and becauſe we have re- "ceived many complaints ſince our firſt entrance into this Kingdome of ma- "ny diſorders, and much diſobedience to the Lawes, with a great falling away "to Popery; Our purpoſe therefore is, like a good *Phyſitian*, to examine and "try the Complaints, and fully to remove the occaſions thereof, if *ſcandalous*, "cure them, if *dangerous*; and take knowledge of them, if but *frivolous*, there- "by to caſt a *Sop* into *Cerberus* his Mouth, that he bark no more. For this "cauſe we have called you *Biſhops and Deans* in, ſeverally by your ſelves, not to "be confronted by the contrary Opponents, that if any thing ſhould be found "meet to be redreſſed, it might be done without any *viſible Altera- "tion*.

"Particularly there be ſome ſpeciall Points wherein I deſire to be ſatisfied, "and which may be renduced to three Heads, 1. Concerning the Book of "*Common Prayer*, and Divine Service uſed in the Church. 2. *Excommunicati- "on* in Eccleſiaſticall Courts. 3. The *providing of fit and able Miniſters for* Ire- "land. In the *Common Prayer-book* I require ſatisfaction about three "things:

"Firſt about *Confirmation*. For the very name thereof, if arguing a *Confir- "ming of Baptiſme*, as if this Sacrament without it were of no validity, is plain- "ly blaſphemous. For though at the firſt uſe thereof in the Church, it was "thought neceſſary, that baptiſed Infants, who formerly had anſwered by "their *Patrini*, ſhould, when come to yeares of diſcretion, after their Profeſ- "ſion made by themſelves, be confirmed with the bleſſing of the Biſhop, I "abhorre the Abuſe wherein it is made a Sacrament, or Corroboration to *Ba- "ptiſme*.

"As for *Abſolution*, I know not how it is uſed in our Church, but have heard "it likened to the Popes Pardons. There be indeed two kindes thereof from "God: One generall, all Prayers and Preaching importing an Abſolution. "The other particular to ſpeciall Parties, having committed a Scandall, and "repenting: Otherwiſe, where Excommunication precedes not, in my judge- "ment there needs no Abſolution.

"*Private Baptiſme* is the third thing wherein I would be ſatisfied in the "*Common Prayer*: If called *Private* from the *Place*, I think it agreeable with "the uſe of the *Primitive Church*; but if termed *private*, that any, beſides a "lawfull *Miniſter*, may *baptiſe*, I utterly diſlike it. [And here his *Ma- "jeſty* grew ſomewhat earneſt in his Expreſſions, againſt the *baptiſing* by *Women* "and *Laicks*.]

"In the ſecond Head of Excommunication, I offer two things to be conſide- "red of: Firſt the Matter, Secondly the Perſons. For the firſt, I would be "ſatisfied, whether it be executed (as it is complained of to me) in light Cau- "ſes, and that too commonly, which cauſeth the undervaluing thereof. For "the Perſons, I would be reſolved, why *Chancellours*, and *Commiſſaries*, be- "ing *Lay-men*, ſhould do it, and not rather the *Biſhops* themſelves, or ſome "*Miniſter* of Gravity and account, depured by them for the more dignity

to

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"to ſo high and weighty a Cenſure. As for providing Miniſters for *Ireland*, "I ſhall refer it in the laſt daies Conference to a Conſultation.

[c] Ar-Bp. of Cāt. Confirmation *hath been uſed in the* Catholick Church *ever ſince the Apoſtles; and it is a very untrue ſuggeſtion (if any have informed your Highneſſe) that the* Church *of* England *holds* Baptiſme *imperfect without it, as adding to the vertue and ſtrength thereof.*

c He addreſſed himſelfe to the King on his knee.

Bp. of Lon. *The Authority of* Confirmation *depends not onely on* [d] *Antiquity, and the Practiſe of the* Primitive Church, *but is an Apoſtolical Inſtitution, named in expreſſe words,* Heb. 6. 2. *and ſo did Mr.* Calvin *expound the very place, earneſtly wiſhing the reſtitution thereof in the reformed Churches.* [*The Biſhop of* Carlile *is ſaid gravely and learnedly to have urged the ſame, and the Biſhop of* Durham *noted ſomething out of S.* Mathew *for the Impoſition of hands on Children.*]

d Citing *Cypr.* Ep. 73. and *Tert. Adverſus Luciferiam.*

The Concluſion was this, For the fuller Explanation that we make *Confirmation*, neither a *Sacrament* nor a *Corroboration* thereof, their Lordſhips ſhould conſider whether it might not without Alteration (whereof his Majeſty was ſtill very wary) be intitled an *Examination* with a *Confirmation.*

Ar-B. of Cāt. *As for the point of* Abſolution *(wherein your Majeſty deſires ſatisfaction) it is clear from all abuſe or ſuperſtition, as it is uſed in our* Church *of* England, *as will appear on the reading both of the* Confeſſion *and* Abſolution *following it, in the beginning of the Communion Book.*

Here the King peruſed both, and returned.

His Majeſty. I like, and approve them, finding it to be very true what you ſay.

Bp. of Lond. *It becometh us to deal plainly with your Majeſty. There is alſo in the Book a more particular and perſonall Abſolution in the* Viſitation of the Sick.

Here the Dean of the Chappel turned unto it and read it.

These be ſeverally cited.

Bp. of Lond. *Not onely the* Confeſſions *of* Auguſta, Boheme, *and* Saxon, *retaine and allow it, but Mr.* Calvin *alſo doth approve, both ſuch a* generall, *and ſuch a* private *(for ſo he termes it)* Confeſſion *and* Abſolution.

His Majeſty. I exceedingly well approve it, being an Apoſtolicall and Godly Ordinance, given in the name of Chriſt, to one that deſireth it, upon the clearing of his Conſcience.

The Concluſion was this, That the Biſhops ſhould conſult, whether unto the Rubrick of the *general Abſolution*, theſe words, *Remiſſion of Sins*, might not be added for explanation ſake.

Arch-Bp. of Can. *To the point of* private Baptiſme, *the adminiſtration thereof by* Women *and* Lay-perſons *is not allowed in the practiſe of the Church, but enquired of, and cenſured by Biſhops in their Viſitations.*

His Majeſty. The Words of the Book cannot but intend a permiſſion of Women and private Perſons to baptiſe.

Bp. of Worc. *The doubtfull words may be preſſed to that meaning; yet the Compilers of the Book did not ſo intend them, as appeareth by their contrary practiſe. But they propounded them ambiguouſly, becauſe otherwiſe* (perhaps) *the Book would not* (then) *have paſſed the Parliament.*

[d] To this he cited the Teſtimony of the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke.*

Bp. of Lond. *Thoſe reverend Men intended not by ambiguous terms to deceive any, but thereby intended* [e] *a Permiſſion of private Perſons to baptiſe,* in caſe of neceſſity. *This is agreeable to the practiſe of the ancient Church, Act.* 2. when three thouſand being baptiſed in a day, (*which for the Apoſtles alone to doe, was* [*at the leaſt*] *improbable*) *ſome being neither* Prieſts *nor* Biſhops, *muſt be preſumed imployed therein, and* ſome Fathers *are of the ſame opinion.* Here he ſpake much, and earneſtly about *the neceſſity of Baptiſme.*

e Here he produced the Letters of ſome of thoſe firſt compilers.

His Ma. That in the *Acts* was an *Act extraordinary*, and done before a Church was setled and grounded, wherefore no sound reasoning thence to a Church stablished and flourishing. I maintaine the necessity of Baptisme, and always thought the place *John* 3.5. *Except one be born againe of Water*, &c. was meant thereof. It may seem strange to you, my Lords, that I think you in *England* give too much to Baptisme, seeing fourteen moneths agoe in *Scotland*, I argued with my Divines there, for attributing too little unto it; Insomuch that a pert Minister asked me, if I thought Baptism so necessary, that, if omitted, the Child should be damned? I answered, No: But if you, called to baptise a Child, though privately, refuse to come, I think you shall be damned. Ann. Dom 1604. Ann. Reg. Jac.

But, this necessity of Baptisme I so understand, that it is necessary to be had, if lawfully to be had, that is, ministred by lawfull Ministers, by whom alone, and no private person in any case, it may be administred: though I utterly dislike all Re-baptization on those whom Women or Laicks have baptised.

Bp. of Winch. *To deny private Persons to baptize in case of necessity, were to crosse all Antiquity, and the common Practice of the Church, it being a rule agreed on amongst Divines, that the Minister is not of the Essence of the Sacrament.*

His Ma. Though he be not of the *Essence* of the Sacrament, yet is he of the *Essence* of the right, and lawfull Ministry thereof, according to Christs Commission to his Disciples, *Go preach and baptise*, &c. g Mat. 28, 20.

The Result was this, To consult, whether in the Rubrick of Private Baptisme, which leaves it indifferently to all, these words, *Curate, or lawfull Minister*, may not be inserted.

For the point of Excommunication, His Majesty propounded, whether in causes of lesser moment the name might not be altered, and the same censure retained. Secondly, whether in place thereof another coertion, equivalent thereunto, might not be invented? Which all sides easily yeilded unto, as long and often desired; and so was

The end of the first dayes Conference.

On *Monday January* the 16. they all met in the same place, with all the Deans and Doctours above mentioned, (*Patrick Galloway*, Minister of *Perth* in *Scotland*, admitted also to be there) And hopefull Prince *Henry* sate on a stoole by his Father. Jan. 16.

The King made a pithie Speech to the same purpose which he made the first day, differing onely in the conclusion thereof, being an addresse to the four Opposers of Conformity, there present, whom he understood the most grave, learned, and modest of the *aggrieved sort*, professing Himself ready to hear at large what they could object, and willed them to begin.

Dr. Reyn. *All things disliked or questioned, may be reduced to these four Heads.*

1. *That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to Gods Word.*
2. *That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.*
3. *That the Church government might be sincerely ministred according to Gods Word.*
4. *That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more increase of Piety.*

For the first, may Your Majesty be pleased, that the Book of Articles of Religion concluded an 1562. *may be explained where obscure, enlarged where defective*, viz. *Whereas it is said, Article the* 16. After we have received

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received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from Grace. *Those words may be explained with this or the like addition,* Yet neither totally, nor finally. *To which end it would do very well, if the nine orthodoxall Assertions, concluded on at* Lambeth, *might be inserted into the Book of Articles.*

Secondly, whereas it is said in the 23 *Article, that it is not lawfull for any* in the Congregation *to preach, before he be lawfully called: these words ought to be altered, because implying* one out of the Congregation *may preach, though not lawfully called.*

Thirdly, in the 25 *Article there seemeth a contradiction, one passage therein confessing* Confirmation, *to be a depraved imitation of the Apostles, and another grounding it on their example.*

Bp. of Lond. *May your Majesty be pleased, that the ancient Canon may be remembred.* Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi. *And, there is another Decree of a very ancient Council, That no man should be admitted to speak against that whereunto he hath formerly subscribed.*

And as for you Doctor Reynolds, *and your Sociates, how much are ye bound to his Majestie's Clemency, permitting you, contrary to the Statute* primo Elizabethæ, *so freely to speak against the Liturgie, and Discipline established. Faine would I know the end you aime at, and whether you be not of Mr.* Cartwright's *minde, who affirmed, That we ought in Ceremonies rather to conforme to the* Turks *than to the* Papists. *I doubt you approve his Position, because here appearing before his Majesty in Turky-Gownes, not in your Scholastick habits, according to the order of the Universities.*

His Majesty. My Lord Bishop, something in your passion I may excuse, and something I must mislike. I may excuse you thus farre, That I thinke you have just cause to be moved, in respect that they traduce the well-setled Government, and also proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their owne pretence, and the intent of this Meeting. I mislike your sudden interruption of Doctour *Reynolds*, whom you should have suffered to have taken his liberty; For, there is no Order, nor can be any effectuall Issue of Disputation, if each party be not suffered, without chopping, to speak at large. Wherefore, either let the Doctor proceed, or frame your Answer to his Motions already made, although some of them are very needlesse.

Bp. of Lond. *Upon the first motion concerning falling from Grace, may Your Majesty be pleased to consider how many in these dayes neglect holinesse of Life, presuming on persisting in Grace upon Predestination,* If I shall be saved, I shall be saved. *A desperate Doctrine, contrary to good Divinity, wherein we should reason rather* ascendendo *than* descendendo, *from our Obedience to God, and Love to our Neighbour, to our Election and Predestination. As for the* Doctrine *of the* Church of England, *touching* Predestination, *it is in the very next Paragraph,* viz. We must receive Gods Promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture, and in our doings the will of God is to be followed, which we have expresly declared unto us in the Word of God.

His Majesty. I approve it very well, as consonant with the place of *Paul, Work out your salvation with feare and trembling.* Yet let it be considered of, whether any thing were meet to be added for clearing of the Doctors doubt, by putting in the word *often*, or the like. Mean time, I wish that the *Doctrine* of *Predestination* may be tenderly handled, lest on the one side Gods *Omnipotency* be questioned by impeaching the Doctrine of his *eternall Predestination*, or on the other side a desperate presumption arreared, by inferring the necessary certainty of persisting in Grace.

B. of Lond. *The second Objection of the* Doctors *is vain, it being the* Doctrine *and* Practice *of the* Church *of* England, *that none but a* Licensed Minister *may preach, nor administer the* Lords Supper.

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His Majesty. As for *Private Baptisme*, I have already with the *Bishops* taken order for the same.

Then came they to the 2d. point of Confirmation, and upon the perusal of the words of the Article, His Majesty concluded the pretended Contradiction a Cavill.

Bp. of Lond. *Confirmation is not so much founded on the place in the* Acts *of the* Apostles, *but upon* Heb. 6. 2. *which was the opinion, besides the judgement of the* Fathers, *of Mr.* Calvin [b] *and Doctour* Fulk [i], *neither needeth there any farther proof, seeing (as I suppose) he that objected this holds not* Confirmation *unlawfull, but he and his* Party *are vexed that the use thereof is not in their owne hands, for every* Pastor *to confirme his owne* Parish; *for then it would be accounted an* Apostolicall Institution, *if Dr.* Reynolds *were pleased but to speak his thoughts therein.*

b On Heb. 6. 2.
i On Act. 8. 37.

Dr. Reyn. *Indeed seeing some* Diocesse *of a* Bishop *hath therein six* [k] *hundred* Parishes, *it is a thing very inconvenient to permit* Confirmation *to the* Bishop *alone, and I suppose it impossible that he can take due examination of them all which come to be confirmed.*

k Here the Bishop of *London* thought himself touched, because about 609 in his Diocess.

Bp. of Lond. *To the matter of fact, I answer, that Bishops in their Visitations appoint either their Chaplains, or some other Ministers, to examine them which are to be confirmed, and lightly confirme none but by the testimony of the* Parsons *and* Curates, *where the Children are bred and brought up.*

To the Opinion I answer, that none of all the Fathers ever admitted any to confirme *but* Bishops *alone. Yea, even S.* Jerome *himselfe (otherwise no friend to* Bishops) *confesseth the execution thereof was restrained to* Bishops *onely.*

Ecclesiæ Salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens data potestas, tot in Ecclesiâ efficientur Schismata quot Sacerdotes.

Bp. of Winch. Dr. Reynolds, *I would fain have you, with all your Learning, shew where ever* Confirmation *was used in antient times by any other but* Bishops; *These used it partly to examine* Children, *and after Examination by* Imposition of Hands (*the Jewish Ceremony of Blessing*) *to blesse and pray over them; and partly to try whether they had been baptised in the right forme or no. For in former ages some* baptised (*as they ought*) in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost. *Some* (*as the* Arrians) in the name of the Father as the greater, and the Sonne as the lesse. Some in the name of the Father by the Sonne, in the Holy Ghost. *Some* not in the name of the Trinity, but onely in the Death of Christ. *Whereupon* Catholick Bishops *were constrained to examine them who were baptised* in remotis, *concerning their* Baptisme, *if right to* confirme *them, if amisse to* instruct *them.*

His Majesty. I dissent from the judgement of S. *Jerome* in his assertion, that *Bishops* are not of *Divine Ordination.*

Bp. of Lond. *Unlesse I could prove my* Ordination *lawfull out of the* Scriptures, *I would not be a* Bishop *four hours longer.*

His Majesty. I approve the *calling* and *use* of *Bishops* in the *Church*, and it is my *Aphorisme*, No *Bishop*, no *King*; nor intend I to take *Confirmation* from the *Bishops*, which they have so long enjoyed. Seeing as great reason that none should confirme, as that none should preach without the *Bishops* License. But let it be referred, whether the word *Examination* ought not to be added to the *Rubrick* in the title of *Confirmation* in the *Communion-book*. And now Dr. *Reynolds* you may proceed.

Dr. Reyn. *I protest I meant not to gall any man, though I perceive some took personall exceptions at my words, and desire the imputation of* [m] *Schisme may not be charged upon me. To proceed on the 37. Article, wherein are these words,* The Bishop of Rome hath no authority in this Land. *These are not sufficient, unless it were added,* nor ought to have any.

m It seemes the Bishop of *London*, jealous that he was reflected on, (as is aforesaid) called the Doctor *Schismatick.*

His Majesty. Habemus jure, quod habemus, and therefore in as much as it is said *he hath not*, it is plaine enough *that he ought not to have.*

Here

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Here passed some pleasant discourse betwixt the King and Lords about *Puritans*, till returning to seriousnesse: There began the

Bp. of Lond. *May it please your* Majesty *to remember the Speech of the* French Embassadour, Mounsieur Rognee, *upon the view of our* solemne service *and* Ceremonie, *viz.* That if the Reformed Churches in France had kept the same order, there would have been thousands of Protestants more than there are.

Dr. Reyn. *It were well if this proposition might be added to the Book of* Articles, The Intention of the Minister is not of the Essence of the Sacrament, *the rather, because some in* England *have preached it to be* essentiall, *and here againe I could desire that the nine* Orthodoxall Assertions *concluded at* Lambeth, *may be generally received.*

His Majesty. I utterly dislike the first part of your motion, thinking it unfit to thrust into the *Book of Articles* every *position negative*, which would swell the book into a *volume* as big as the *Bible*, and confound the *Reader*. Thus one *M. Craig in Scotland* with his, *I renounce* and *abhorre* his multiplyed *detestations* and *abrenuntiations*, so amazed simple people, that not able to conceive all their things, they fell back to *Popery*, or remained in their former ignorance. If bound to this forme, the Confession of my faith must be in my *Table-booke*, not in my *head*.

Because you speake of *intention*, I will apply it thus. If you come hither with a *good intention* to be informed, the whole work will sort to the better effect: But if your *intention* be to go as you came (whatsoever shall be said) it will prove the intention is very *materiall* and *essentiall* to the end of this present action.

As for the nine *Assertions* you speak of, I cannot sodainly answer, not knowing what those Propositions of *Lambeth* be.

Bp. of Lond. *May it please your Majesty, this was the occasion of them, by reason of some Controversies arising in* Cambridge *about certain points of Divinity, my* Lords Grace *assembled some* Divines *of speciall note to set down their* opinions, *which they drew into nine* Assertions, *and so sent them to the* University *for the appeasing of those quarrels.*

His Majesty. When such questions arise amongst *Scholars*, the quietest proceedings were to determine them in the *University*, and not to stuff the *Book of Articles*, with all *Conclusions Theologicall*.

Secondly, the better course would be to punish the *Broachers* of *false Doctrine*, than to multiply *Articles*, which, if never so many, cannot prevent the contrary opinions of men till they be heard.

Dean of Pauls. *May it please your Majesty, I am neerely concerned in this matter, by reason of a* Controversie *betwixt me and some other in* Cambridge, *upon a Proposition, which I there delivered, namely, that whosoever (though before* justified) *did commit any grievous sinne, as* Adultery, Murder, &c. *doe become* ipso facto, *subject to* Gods wrath, *and guilty of* Damnation, quoad præsentem statum, *untill they repent. Yet, so that those who are* justified *according to the purpose of* Gods Election (*though they might fall into grievous sin, and thereby into the present* Estate of Damnation) *yet never totally nor finally from* Justification; *but were in time renewed by* Gods spirit *unto a lively* Faith *and* Repentance. *Against this* Doctrine *some did oppose, teaching that persons once truly* justified, *though falling into grievous sinnes, remained still in the state of* Justification, *before they actually repented of these sinnes, yea, and though they never repented of them through forgetfulnesse or sudden death, they nevertheless were justified and saved.*

His Majesty. I dislike this *Doctrine*, there being a necessity of conjoyning *repentance* and *holinesse* of Life with *true Faith*, and that is *Hypocrisie*, and not *justifying* Faith, which is severed from them. For although *Predestina-*

destination and *Election* depend not on any *qualities, actions*, or *works* of Man which are mutable, but on *Gods eternall Decree*. Yet such is the necessity of *repentance* after known sinnes committed, that without it no *Reconciliation* with God, or *Remission* of Sins.

Dr. Reyn. *The* Catechisme *in* the Common-Prayer-book *is too brief, and that by* Mr. Nowel *(late* Deane *of* Pauls*) too long for* Novices *to learne by heart. I request therefore that one* Uniform Catechisme *may be made, and none other generally received.*

His Majesty. I think the Doctour's request very reasonable, yet so, that the *Catechisme* may be made in the fewest and plainest *affirmative termes* that may be, not like the many ignorant *Catechismes* in *Scotland*, set out by every one who was the *Sonne of a good man*; insomuch that what was *Catechisme-Doctrine* in one *Congregation*, was scarcely received as *Orthodox* in another; and herein I would have two rules observed: First, That curious and deep questions be avoided in the *Fundamentall instruction* of a People, Secondly, That there should not be so general a departure from the *Papists*, that every thing should be accounted an *Errour* wherein we agree with them.

Dr. Reyn. *Great is the Prophanation of the Sabbath day, and contempt of your Majestie's Proclamation, which I earnestly desire may be reformed.*

This motion found an unanimous consent.

Dr. Reyn. *May your Majesty be pleased that the Bible be new translated, such as are extant not answering the Originall, and he instanced in three particulars.*

Gal. 4. 25.	*In the*	ουσοιχεῖ	*Ill translated*	Bordereth.
Psal. 105. 28.	*Originall*	They were not disobedient.		They were not obedient.
Psal. 106. 30.		*Phinehas* execut. judgement.		*Phinehas* prayed.

B. of Lond. *If every mans humour might be followed, there would be no end of translating.*

His Majesty. I professe I could never yet see a Bible well translated in English; but I think, that of all, that of *Geneva* is the worst. I wish some speciall pains were taken for an uniform translation, which should be done by the best learned in both Universities, then reviewed by the Bishops, presented to the *Privy Councell*, lastly ratified by Royall Authority, to be read in the whole Church, and no other.

Bp. of Lond. *But it is fit that no marginall notes should be added thereunto.*

His Majesty. That Caveat is well put in, for in the *Geneva* Translation, some notes are partiall, untrue, seditious, and savouring of traiterous conceits: As, when from *Exodus* 1. 19. Disobedience to Kings is allowed in a Marginall note. And 2 *Chron.* 15. 16. King *Asa* taxed in the Note for onely *deposing* his Mother for Idolatry, and not *killing* her. To conclude this point, let Errours, in matters of Faith, be amended, and indifferent things be interpreted, and a glosse added unto them. For as *Bartolus de Regno* saith, that *a King with some weaknesse, is better than still a change*; so rather a Church with some Faults, than an Innovation. And surely, if these were the greatest matters that grieved you, I need not have been troubled with such importunate Complaints.

Dr. Reyn. *May it please your* Majesty, *that unlawfull and seditious Books be suppressed, such as* Ficlerus, *a Papist*, De Jure Magistratus in Subditos, *applyed against the late Queen for the Pope.*

Bp. of Lond. *There is no such licentious divulging of these Books, and none have Liberty, by Authority, to buy them, except such as* Dr. Reynolds, *who was supposed would confute them. And, if such Books come into the Realme by secret conveyances, perfect notice cannot be had of their importation.*

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tation. Besides, Ficlerus *was a great Disciplinarian, whereby it appeares what advantage that sort gave unto the Papists, who,* mutatis personis, *apply their owne arguments against Princes of their Religion, though for my part I detest both the Author and Applyer alike.*

The Ld. Cecil. *Indeed the unlimited liberty of dispersing Popish and Seditious Pamphlets in* Paul's *Church yard, and both the Universities, hath done much mischief; but especially one called* Speculum Tragicum.

His Majesty. That is a dangerous Book indeed.

L. H. Howard. *Both for Matter and Invention.*

Ld. Chancel. *Of such Books, some are Latin, some are English, but the last dispersed do most harm.*

Secret. Cecil. *But my Lord of* London *(and no man else) hath done what he could to suppresse them.*

His Majesty. Dr. *Reynolds,* you are a better *Colledge-man* than a *States-man,* if meaning to tax the Bishop of *London* for suffering those Books, betweene the Secular Priests and Jesuits, to be published, which he did by warrant from the Council, to nourish a Schisme betwixt them.

Ld. Cecil. *Such Books were tolerated, because by them the Title of* Spaine *was confuted.*

Ld. Treasurer. *And because therein it appeares, by the Testimony of the Priests themselves, that no Papists are put to death for Conscience onely, but for Treason.*

Dr. Reyn. *Indeed I meant not such Books as were printed in* England, *but onely such as came from beyond the Seas. And now to proceed to the second generall point, concerning the* planting *of* learned Ministers, *I desire they be in every Parish.*

His Majesty. I have consulted with my Bishops about it, whom I have found willing and ready herein: But, as *subita evocatio* is *periculosa,* so *subita mutatio:* It cannot presently be performed, the Universities not affording them. And yet they afford moe learned men, than the Realme doth Maintenance, which must be first provided. In the mean time, ignorant Ministers, if young, are to be removed, if there be no hope of amendment; if old, their death must be expected, because *Jerusalem* cannot be built up in a day.

Bp. of Winch. *Lay-Patrons much cause the insufficiency of the Clergy, presenting mean Clerks to their Cures (the Law admitting of such sufficiency) and, if the Bishop refuseth them, presently a* Quare impedit *is sent out against him.*

Bp. of Lond. *Because this I see is a time of moving Petitions, * may I humbly present two or three to your* Majesty: *First, That there may be amongst us a* praying Ministery, *it being now come to passe, that men think it is the onely Duty of* Ministers *to spend their time in the Pulpit. I confesse, in a Church newly to be planted, Preaching is most necessary, not so in one long established, that Prayer should be neglected.*

* This he spake kneeling.

His Majesty. I like your Motion exceeding well, and dislike the Hypocrisie of our Time, who place all their Religion in the Eare, whilest Prayer (so requisite and acceptable, if duly performed) is accounted and used as the least part of Religion.

Bp. of Lond. *My second motion is, that untill Learned men may be planted in every Congregation, godly Homilies may be read therein.*

His Majesty. I approve your Motion, especially where the Living is not sufficient for the maintenance of a learned Preacher. Also, where there be multitudes of Sermons, there I would have Homilies read divers times.

Here the King asked the assent of the Plantiffs, and they confessed it.

A preaching Ministry is best, but where it may not be had, godly Prayers and Exhortations do much good.

Lord

Egerton, L. Ellesmere:

L^d. Chancel. *Livings rather want Learned men, than Learned men Livings; many in the Universities pining for want of Places. I wish therefore some may have* single Coats [*one Living*] *before others have* Doublets [*Pluralities.*] *And this method I have observed in bestowing the King's Benefices.*

Bp. of Lond. *I commend your honourable care that way, but a* Doublet *is necessary in cold Weather.*

L^d. Chancel. *I dislike not the Liberty of our Church, in granting to one man two Benefices, but speak out of mine own purpose and practise, grounded on the aforesaid reason.*

Bp. of Lond. *My last motion is, that* Pulpits *may not be made* Pasquils, *wherein every discontented Fellow may traduce his Superiours.*

His Majesty. I accept what you offer, for the Pulpit is no place of personall Reproof, let them complaine to me, if injured.

Bp. of Lond. *If your* Majesty *shall leave your self open to admit of all Complaints, your Highnesse shall never be quiet, nor your under-Officers regarded, whom every Delinquent, when censured, will threaten to complain of.*

His Majesty. I mean they shall complaine to Me by degrees; first to the *Ordinarie*, from him to the Arch-bishop, from him to the Lords of the Council; and, if in all these no remedy be found, then to my Self.

* This concerned the fourth generall head, (viz. the Communion Book) as he first propounded it; however, here he took occasion to urge it.

Dr. Reyn. *I come now to* Subscription, * *as a great impeachment to a learned Ministerie, and therefore intreat it may not be exacted as heretofore; for which many good men are kept out, though otherwise willing to subscribe to the Statutes of the Realme, Articles of Religion, and the Kings Supremacy. The reason of their backwardness to subscribe, is, because the Common-prayer enjoyneth the* Apocripha books *to be read in the Church, although some Chapters therein contain manifest Errours repugnant to Scripture. For instance,* Eccluſ. 48. 10. Elias in person *is said to come before Christ, contrary to what is in the* New * Testament *of* Elias in resemblance, *that is,* John the Baptist.

* Mat. 11. 14. Luke 1. 17.

Bp. of Lond. *Most of the Objections against those Books, are the old Cavills of the* Jewes, *renewed by S.* Jerome (*who first called them* Apocripha) *which opinion, upon* Ruffinus *his challenge, he, after a sort, disclaimed.*

Bp. of Winch. *Indeed S.* Jerome *saith,* Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem.

His Majesty. To take an even order* betwixt both, I would not have all Canonicall Books read in the Church, nor any Chapter out of the Apocripha, wherein any errour is contained; wherefore let Dr. *Reynolds* note those Chapters in the Apocripha books, wherein those offences are, and bring them to the Arch-bishop of *Cant.* against Wednesday next; and now Dr. proceed.

* Viz. in the Dominical Gospels.

Dr. Reyn. *The next Scruple against Subscription, is, because it is twice * set down in the Common-prayer-book,* Jesus said to his Disciples, *when by the Text in the Originall, it is plain,* that he spake to the Pharisees.

His Majesty. Let the word *Disciples,* be omitted, and the words, *Jesus said* be printed in a different Letter.

Mr. Knewst. *I take exceptions at the Cresse in Baptism, whereat the* weak Brethren *are offended, contrary to the counsel of the Apostle,* Romans 14. 2 Corinth. 8.

* Here we omit Mr. Knewstub his exception against the interrogatories in Baptisme, because he spake so perplexedly, that his meaning is not to be collected therein.

His Majesty. Distingue tempora, & concordabunt Scripturæ, Great the difference betwixt those times and ours. Then, a Church not fully settled; Now, ours long established. How long will such Brethren be weak? Are not *FORTY FIVE* years sufficient for them to grow strong in? Besides, who pretends this weaknesse? We require not Subscriptions of *Layicks* and *Ideots*, but of *Preachers* and *Ministers*, who are not still (I trow) to be fed with Milk, being inabled to feed others. Some of them are

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are *strong enough*, if not *head-strong*; conceiving themselves able enough to teach him who last spake for them, and all the Bishops in the Land.

Mr. Knewst. *It is questionable whether the Church hath power to institute an outward significant signe.*

Bp. of Lond. *The* Crosse *in* Baptisme *is not used otherwise than a Ceremony.*

Bp. of Winch. *Kneeling, lifting up of the Hands, knocking of the Breast, are significant Ceremonies, and these may lawfully be used.*

D. of the Chap. *The Rabbines write, that the Jewes added both Signes and Words at the institution of the Passeover, viz. when they ate sowre herbs, they said,* Take and eat these in remembrance, &c. *When they drank Wine, they said,* Drink this in remembrance, &c. *Upon which addition, and tradition, our Saviour instituted the Sacrament of his last Supper, thereby approving, a Church may institute and retaine a Signe significant.*

His Majesty. I am exceeding well satisfied in this point, but would be acquainted about the antiquity of the use of the Crosse.

Dr. Reyn. *It hath been used ever since the Apostles time; But the question is, how ancient the use thereof hath been in Baptism.*

D. of Westm. *It appeares out of* Tertullian, Cyprian, *and* Origen, *that it was used* in immortali lavacro.

Bp. of Winch. *In* Constantine's *time it was used in Baptisme.*

His Majesty. If so, I see no reason but that we may continue it.

Mr. Knewst. *Put the case the Church hath power to adde significant signes, it may not adde them where Christ hath already ordained them, which is as derogatory to Christs Institution, as if one should adde to the great Seale of* England.

His Majesty. The case is not alike, seeing the Sacrament is fully finished, before any mention of the Crosse is made therein.

Mr. Knewst. *If the Church hath such a power, the greatest scruple is, how far the Ordinance of the Church bindeth, without impeaching Christian Liberty.*

His Majesty. I will not argue that point with you, but answer as Kings in Parliament *Le Roy s'avicera*. This is like M. *John Black*, a beardlesse Boy, who told me the last * Conference in *Scotland*, that he would hold conformity with his Majesty in matters of Doctrine; but every man for Ceremonies was to be left to his owne Liberty. But I will have none of that, I will have one Doctrine, one Discipline, one Religion, in Substance, and in Ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how farre you are bound to obey.

* December 1602.

Dr. Reyn. *Would that the Cross (being superstitiously abused in Popery) were abandoned, as the* Brazen Serpent *was stamped to powder by* Hezekias, *because abused to Idolatry.*

His Majesty. In as much as the Crosse was abused to Superstition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply that it was well used before. I detest their courses, who peremptorily disallow of all things, which have been abused in Popery, and know not how to answer the objections of the Papists, when they charge us with *Noveltie*, but by telling them, we retaine the primitive use of things, and onely forsake their Novell Corruptions. Secondly, no resemblance betwixt the *Brazen Serpent* (a materiall visible thing) and the signe of the *Cross*, made in the Aire. Thirdly, Papists (as I am informed) did never ascribe any spirituall Grace to the *Cross* in *Baptisme*. Lastly, *materiall Crosses*, to which people fell downe in time of Popery (as the *Idolatrous Jewes* to the *Brazen Serpent*) are already demolished, as you desire.

Mr. Knewst. *I take exception at the wearing of the* Surplice, *a kind of Garment used by the Priests of* Isis.

His Majesty. I did not think, till of late, it had been borrowed from the Heathen, because commonly called *a rag of Popery*. Seeing now we border not

not upon Heathens, neither are any of them conversant with, or commorant amongst us, thereby to be confirmed in Paganisme; I see no reason but for comlinesse sake, it may be continued.

Dr. Reyn. *I take exception at these words in the Marriage*, With my body I thee worship.

His Majesty. I was made believe, the phrase imported no lesse than Divine Adoration, but finde it an usuall English terme, as when we say, *A Gentleman of worship*, & it agreeth with the Scriptures, *giving Honour to the Wife.* As for you, Dr. *Reynolds, many men speak of* Robin Hood, *who never shot in his Bow.* If you had a good Wife your selfe, you would think all worship and honour you could doe her, were well bestowed on her.

This the King spake smiling.

D. of Sarum. *Some take exception at the* Ring in Marriage.

Dr. Reyn. *I approve it well enough.*

His Majesty. I was married with a Ring, and think others scarce well married without it.

Dr. Reyn. *Some take exceptions at the* Churching of Women, *by the name of* purification.

His Majesty. I allow it very well, Women being loath of themselves to come to Church, I like this, or any other occasion to draw them thither.

Dr. Reyn. *My last exception is against committing* Ecclesiasticall Censures *to* Lay-Chancellors, *the rather, because it was ordered,* Anno 1571. *that Lay-Chancellors, in* matters of Correction, *and* Anno 1589. *in* matters of Instance, *should not excommunicate any, but be done, onely by them who had power of the* Keyes, *though the contrary is commonly practised.*

His Majesty. I have conferred with my Bishops about this point, and such order shall be taken therein as is convenient. Mean time go on to some other matter.

Dr. Reyn. *I desire, that according to certaine Provinciall Constitutions, the Clergie may have meetings every* three weeks.

1. First in *Rural Deaneries*, therein to have *prophesying*, as Arch-bishop *Grindall*, and other Bishops, desired of her late Majesty.
2. That such things as could not be resolved on there, might be referred to the Arch-Deacons Visitations.
3. And so to the Episcopall Synod, to determine such points before not decided.

His Majesty. If you aime at a Scottish Presbytery, it agreeth as well with Monarchy, as *God* and the *Devill.* Then *Jack*, and *Tom*, and *Will*, and *Dick*, shall meet and censure me and my Councill. Therefore I reiterate my former speech, *Le Roy s'avisera*; Stay, I pray, for one seven yeares, before you demand, and then if you find me grow *purse* and *fat*, I may, perchance hearken unto you, for that Government will keep me *in breath*, and give me work enough. I shall speak of one matter more, somewhat out of order, but it skilleth not, D. *Reynolds*, you have often spoken for my *Supremacy*, and it is well: But know you any here, or elsewhere, who like of the present Government Ecclesiasticall, and dislike my *Supremacy*?

Dr. Reyn. *I know none.*

His Majesty. Why then I will tell you a tale: After that the Religion restored by King *Edward* the sixt, was soon overthrowne by Queen *Mary* here in England, we in *Scotland* felt the effect of it. For thereupon Mr. *Knox*, writes to the Queen *regent* (a vertuous and moderate Lady) telling her that she was the *supreme head of the Church*, and charged her, as she would answer it at Gods Tribunall, to take care of *Christ his Evangil*, in suppressing the Popish Prelates, who withstood the same; But how long trow did you this continue? Even till by her authority, the Popish Bishops were repressed, and *Knox*, with his adherents, being brought in, made strong enough. Then began they to make small account of her *supremacy*,

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premacy, when, according to that *more light*, wherewith they were illuminated, they made a farther reformation of themselves. How they used the poore Lady my Mother, is not unknowne, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it. My Lords, the Bishops, I may * thank you that these men plead thus for my *Supremacy*. They think they cannot make their Party good against you, but by appealing *unto it*; but if once you were out, and they in, I know what would become of my *Supremacy*, for *NO BISHOP, NO KING*. I have learned of *what cut* they have been, who, preaching before me, since my coming into *England*, passed over, with silence, my being *Supreme Governour in causes Ecclesiasticall*. Well Doctour, have you any thing else to say?

* This he said putting his hand to his hat.

Dr. Reyn. *No more, if it please your Majesty.*

His Majesty. If this be all your Party hath to say, I will make them conforme themselves, or else I will *harrie them* out of the Land, or else doe worse.

Jan. 18 *Thus ended the second dayes Conference, and the third began on the Wednesday following, many Knights Civilians, and Doctours of the Law, being admitted thereunto, because the* High Commission *was the principall matter in debate.*

His Majesty. I understand, that the parties named in the High Commission, are *too many*, and *too mean*, and the matters they deale with, base, such as *Ordinaries* at home in their Courts might censure.

Arch-b. of Cant. *It is requisite their number should be many, otherwise I should be forced often-times to sit alone, if in the absence of the Lords of the Council, Bishops, and Judges at Law, some Deanes and Doctours, were not put into that Commission, whose Attendance I might command with the more Authority: I have often complained of the meannesse of matters handled therein, but cannot remedy it. For though the Offence be small, that the* Ordinary *may, the Offender oft-times is so great, and contumacious, that the* Ordinary *dare not punish him, and so is forced to crave help at the* High Commission.

A nameless L^d^. *The Proceedings in that Court, are like the* Spanish Inquisition, *wherein men are urged to subscribe more than Law requireth, and by the Oath* ex officio, *forced to accuse themselves, being examined upon twenty, or twenty four Articles on a sudden, without deliberation, and for the most part against themselves.*

I dare not guess him, for fear of failing.

In proof hereof, he produced a Letter of an antient honourable Counsellour, *An.* 1584. verifying this usage to two Ministers in *Cambridge-shire*.

Arch-b. of Cant. *Your Lordship is deceived in the manner of proceeding; For, if the Article touch the Party, for* Life, Liberty, *or* Scandall, *he may refuse to answer; I can say nothing to the particulars of the Letter, because twenty yeares since, yet doubted not, but at leisure to give your Lordship satisfaction.*

L^d^. Chancel. *There is necessity, and use of the Oath* Ex officio, *in divers Courts, and Causes.*

Here we omit a discourse about Subscription, because not methodiz'd into the Speech of severall persons.

His Majesty. Indeed civil Proceedings onely punish Facts; but it is requisite that Fame and Scandals be looked unto in Courts Ecclesiasticall, and yet great moderation is to be used therein.

1. *In gravioribus criminibus.*

2. In such whereof there is a publique Fame, caused by the inordinate demeanour of the Offender.

And here he soundly described the Oath ex officio, *for the* ground thereof, *the Wisdome of the Law therein, the manner of proceeding thereby, and profitable effect from the same.*

Arch-b. of Cant. *Undoubtedly your* Majesty *speaks by the speciall assistance of Gods Spirit.*

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Bp. of Lond. *I protest my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, hath given us such a King, as, since Christs time, the like hath not beene.*

Then passed there much discourse between the King, the Bishops, and the Lords, about the quality of the Persons, and Causes in the High Commission, rectifying Excommunications in matters of lesse moment, punishing Recusants, providing Divines for *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the *Northern Borders*. Afterwards the four Preachers were called in, and such alterations in the Lyturgie were read unto them, which the Bishops, by the Kings advice, had made, and to which, by their silence, they seemed to consent.

His Majesty. I see the exceptions against the Communion-book, are matters of *weakness*, therefore if the persons reluctant be discreet, they will be won betimes, and by good perswasions: If indiscreet, better they were removed, for by their factions many are driven to be Papists. From you Dr. *Reynolds* and your Associates, I expect *obedience* and *humility* (*the marks of honest and good men*) and that you would perswade others abroad by your example.

Dr. Reyn. *We here do promise to performe all duties to Bishops, as Reverend Fathers, and to joyne with them against the common Adversary for the quiet of the Church.*

* This he spake kneeling.

Mr. Chader. *I request* * *the wearing of the Surplice, and the Crosse in Baptism may not be urged on some godly Ministers in* Lancashire, *fearing, if forced unto them, many won by their preaching of the Gospel will revolt to Popery, and I particularly instance in the Vicar of* Ratsdale.

* Who being there present, averred the same.

Ar-b. of Cant. *You could not have light upon a worse, for not many yeares agoe (as my* Lord * Chancellor *knowes) it was proved before me, that by his unreverent usage of the Eucharist (dealing the Bread out of a Basket, every man putting in his hand, and taking out a piece) he made many loath the Communion, and refuse to come to Church.*

His Majestie. It is not my purpose, and I dare say it is not the Bishops intent, *presently*, and *out of hand*, to enforce these things, without Fatherly Admonitions, Conferences, and Perswasions, premised, but I wish it were examined, whether such *Lancashire Ministers*, by their paines and preaching, have converted any from Popery, and withall be men of honest Life, and quiet Conversation. If so, let Letters be written to the Bishop of * *Chester*, (who is a grave and good man) to that purpose, that some favour may be afforded unto them, and let the Lord Arch-bishop write the Letters.

* This was *Rich: Vaughan*, afterwards Bishop of *Lond.*

Bp. of Lond. *If this be granted, the copie of these Letters will flie all over* England, *and then all non conformists will make the like request, and so no fruit follow of this Conference, but things will be worse than they were before. I desire therefore a time may be limited, within the compasse whereof they shall conforme.*

His Majesty. I assent thereunto, and let the Bishop of the Dioceese set downe the time.

* Here he fell down on his knees.

Mr. Knewst. *I request* * *the like favour of forbearance to some honest Ministers in* Suffolk. *For it will make much against their credits in the Country, to be now forced to the Surplice, and Crosse in Baptisme.*

Arch-b. of Cant. *Nay Sir.* ——

His Majesty. Let me alone to answer him. Sir, you shew your self an uncharitable man. We have here taken paines, and, in the end, have concluded on Unity and Uniformity, and you, forsooth, must prefer the credits of a few Private Men before the Peace of the Church. This is just the Scotch Argument, when any thing was concluded, which disliked some humours. Let them either conform themselves shortly, or they shall hear of it.

Lord

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L^d. Cecil. *The indecencie of* ambuling Communions, *is very offensive, and hath driven many from the Church.*

B^p. of Lond. *And Mr.* Chaderton, *I could tell you of* fitting Communions *in* Emanuel *Colledge.*

Mr. Chad. *It is so, because of* the seats *so placed as they be, and yet we have some* kneeling *also in our Chappell.*

His Majesty. No more hereof for the present, seeing they have joyntly promised hereafter to be quiet and obedient.

Whereat He rose up to depart into an inner Chamber.

B^p. of Lond. *Gods goodnesse be blessed for your Majesty, and give health and prosperity to Your Highnesse, your Gracious Queene, the young Prince, and all the Royall Issue.*

Thus ended the three dayes Conference, wherein how discreetly the King carried himself, Posterity (out of the reach of Flatterie) is the most competent Judg, such matters being most truly discerned at distance. It is generally said, that herein he went *above himselfe*; that the Bishop of *London* appeared *even with himselfe*; and Dr. *Reinolds* fell much *beneath himselfe*. Others observed that Archbishop *Whitgift* spake most gravely; *Bancroft* (when out of passion) most politickly; *Bilson*, most learnedly. And of the Divines, Mr. *Reynolds* most largely; *Knewstubs* most affectionately; *Chaderton* most sparingly. In this *Scene*, onely Dr. *Sparks* was *Lazarus redivivus*, making use of his hearing, not speech, converted (it seemes) to the truth of what was spoken, and soon after setting forth a Treatise of *Unity* and *Uniformity*. The generall censure of the Conferencers.

But the Nonconformists complained, that the King sent for their Divines, not to have their Scruples satisfied, but his Pleasure propounded; not that he might know, what they could say, but they, what he would do in the matter. Besides, no wonder if Dr. *Reynolds* a little lost himself, whose eyes were partly dazled with the light of the Kings Majesty, partly daunted with the heat of his displeasure. Others complaine, that this Conference is partially set forth onely by Dr. *Barlow*, Dean of *Chester*, their professed Adversary, to the great disadvantage of their Divines. And when the *Israelites* go down to the *Philistines*, to whet all their Iron Tooles, no wonder if they set a *sharp edge* on their owne, and *a blunt one* on their Enemies weapons. The Non-conformists Complaint.

This Conference produced some alterations in the *Lyturgie*, Womens baptising of Infants, formerly frequent, hereafter forbidden; in the Rubrick of *Absolution, Remission of Sinnes* inserted, *Confirmation* termed also an *Examination* of Children; and some words altered in the *Dominicall Gospels*, with a resolution for a *new Translation* of the *Bible*. But whereas it was hitherto disputable, whether the *North*, where he long lived, or the *South*, whither he lately came, should prevaile most, on the Kings judgement, in Church-government; this doubt was now clearly decided. Hence forward many *cripples* in *conformitie*, were cured of their former *halting* therein, and such, who knew not their *owne*, till they knew the *Kings* minde in this matter, for the future, quietly digested the Ceremonies of the Church. The Product of this Conference.

We have formerly made mention of the *Millenarius Petition* for Reformation, which about this time was solemnly presented to His Majesty, and which here we have truly exemplified; The Copy of the Milenary Petition.

The humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, *desiring Reformation of certaine Ceremonies, and abuses of the Church.*

To the most Christian, and excellent Prince, our Gracious and dread Soveraigne, James by the grace of God, &c. *We the Ministers of the Church of* England, *that desire Reformation, wish a long, prosperous, and happy Raigne over us in this Life, and in the next everlasting Salvation.*

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MOst gracious and dread Soveraigne, Seeing it hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great comfort of all good Christians, to advance Your Highnesse, according to Your just Title, to the peaceable Government of this Church and Common-wealth of *ENGLAND*: We the Ministers of the Gospel in this Land, neither as factious men, affecting a popular Parity in the Church, nor as Schismatikes aiming at the dissolution of the State Ecclesiasticall; but as the faithfull servants of Christ, and Loyall Subjects to Your Majesty, desiring, and longing for the redresse of divers abuses of the Church; could doe no lesse, in our obedience to God, service to Your Majesty, love to his Church, than acquaint Your Princely Majesty, with our particular griefs: For, as Your Princely Pen writeth, *The King, as a good Physitian, must first know what peccant humours his Patient naturally is most subject unto, before he can begin his cure.* And, although divers of us that sue for Reformation, have formerly, in respect of the times, subscribed to the Book, some upon Protestation, some upon Exposition given them, some with Condition, rather than the Church should have been deprived of their labour, and ministerie; Yet now, we, to the number of moe than a thousand, of Your Majesties Subjects and Ministers, all groaning, as under a common burden of Humane Rites and Ceremonies, doe, with one joynt consent, humble our selves at Your Majesties Feet, to be eased and relieved in this behalf. Our humble suit then unto Your Majesty is, that these offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified.

I. *In the Church-Service.* That the Crosse in Baptisme, Interrogatories ministred to Infants, Confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away. Baptisme not to be ministred by Women, and so explained. The Cap, and Surplice not urged. That Examination may goe before the Communion. That it be ministred with a Sermon. That divers termes of *Priests*, and *Absolution*, and some other used, with the *Ring in Marriage*, and other such like in the Book, may be corrected. The long-someness of Service abridged. Church-songs, and Musick moderated to better edification. That the Lords day be not profaned. The Rest upon Holy-dayes not so strictly urged. That there may be an Uniformity of Doctrine prescribed. No Popish Opinion to be any more taught, or defended. No Ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of *JESUS*. That the Canonicall Scriptures onely be read in the Church.

II. *Concerning Church-Ministers.* That none hereafter be admitted into the Ministerie, but able and sufficient men, and those to Preach diligently, and especially upon the Lords-day. That such as be already entred, and cannot Preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relefe; or else to be forced, according to the value of their Livings, to maintain Preachers. That Non-Residencie be not permitted. That King *Edward*'s Statute, for the lawfulnesse of Ministers Marriage be revived. That Ministers be not urged to subscribe, but, according to the Law, to the Articles of Religion, and the Kings Supremacie onely.

III. *For Church-Livings, and Maintenance.* That Bishops leave their Commendams; some holding Prebends, some Parsonages, some Vicarages with their Bishopricks. That double beneficed men be not suffered to hold, some two, some three Benefices with Cure: and some, two, three, or foure Dignities besides. That Impropriations annexed to Bishopricks and Colledges, be demised onely to the Preachers Incumbents, for the old rent. That the Impropriations of Lay-mens Fees may be charged with a fixt, or seventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of the Preaching Minister.

IV. *For Church-Discipline.* That the Discipline, and Excommunication may be administred according to Christs owne Institution: Or at the least, that enormities may be redressed. As namely, That Excommunication come not

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not forth under the name of Lay-persons, Chancellors, Officials, &c. That men be not excommunicated for trifles, and twelve-peny matters. That none be excommunicated without consent of his Pastour. That the Officers be not suffered to extort unreasonable Fees. That none, having Jurisdiction, or Registers places, put out the same to Farme. That divers Popish Canons (as for restraint of Marriage at certaine times) be reversed. That the longsomnesse of Suits in Ecclesiasticall Courts (which hang sometime two, three, foure, five, six, or seven yeers) may be restrained. That the Oath *Ex Officio*, whereby men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used. That Licenses for Marriage, without Banes asked, be more cautiously granted.

These, with such other abuses, yet remaining, and practised in the Church of *England*, we are able to shew, not to be agreeable to the Scriptures, if it shall please your Highnesse farther to heare us, or more at large by Writing to be informed, or by Conference among the Learned to be resolved. And yet we doubt not, but that, without any farther proceese, your Majesty (of whose Christian judgement, we have received so good a taste already) is able of Your selfe, to judge of the equity of this cause. God, we trust, hath appointed your Highnesse our Physician to heale these diseases. And we say with *Mordecai* to *Hester*, *who knoweth, whether you are come to the Kingdome for such a time?* Thus Your Majesty shall doe that, which we are perswaded, shall be acceptable to God, honourable to your Majesty in all succeeding ages, profitable to his Church, which shall be thereby encreased, comfortable to your Ministers, which shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, imprisoned for meere traditions: and prejudiciall to none, but to those that seek their owne quiet, credit, and profit in the world. Thus, with all dutifull submission, referring our selves to your Majesties pleasure, for your gracious answer, as God shall direct you: we most humbly recommend Your Highnesse to the Divine Majesty, whom we beseech for Christ his sake to dispose Your Royall heart to doe herein, what shall be to his glory, the good of his Church, and your endlesse comfort.

Your Majesties most humble Subjects,

the Ministers of the Gospel, that desire

not a disorderly innovation, but a due

and godly Reformation.

25. This calme, and stil, but deep Petition, being (as is aforesaid) presented to the King, it was given out that his Majesty lent it a favourable eare; that some great ones about him gave it a consenting entertainment; that some potent strangers (I understand of the Scottish nation) had undertaken the conduct, and managing thereof. Whether indeed it was so, God knows, or, whether these things were *made* to *make* the people, the Van pretending a victory, that the Rere might follow the more comfortably. Sure it is, this Petition ran the *Gantlop* throughout all the Prelaticall party, every one giving it a lash, some with their Pens, *most* with their Tongues: and the *dumb Ministers* (as they terme them) found their speech most vocall against it. The Universities (and justly) found themselves much agrieved, that the Petitioners should proportion a seaventh part onely out of an impropriation in a Lay-mans fee, whilst those belonging to Colleges and Cathedralls, should be demised to the Vicars at the *old rent*, without fine, without improvement. Whereas Scholars being *children of the Prophets*, counted themselves most proper for Church-revenues, and this motion, if effected, would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts of both Universities, in point of maintenance.

The issue of this Petition.

26. *Cambridge* therefore began, and passed a Grace in their Congregation, that whosoever in their Universty, should by Word or Writing, oppose the received

Universities justly nettled thereat.

received Doctrine, and Discipline of *England*, or any part thereof, should, *ipso facto*, be suspended from their former, & excluded from all future degrees. *Oxford* followed, recompencing the slowenesse of her pace, with the firmenesse of her footing, making a strong and sharp confutation of the Petition. But indeed King *James* made the most reall refutation thereof, not resenting it (whatsoever is pretended) according to the desires and hopes (not to say the reports) of such who presented it. And after his Majesty had discountenanced it, some *hot-spurs* of the opposite party began to maintaine (many copies thereof being scattered into vulgar hands) that now the property thereof was altered from a *Petition* into a *Libel*. And such papers defamatory of the present Government, punishable by the Statute, *Primo Elizabetha*.

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Other Millenary Petitions.

Under favour, I conceive this Petition, by us lately exemplified, the proper *Millenary Petition*. Otherwise I observe, that *Millenary Petition* is, *vox aquivoca*, and attributed to all Petitions, with numerous and indefinite subscriptions, which were started this year concerning Church-Reformation. Many there were of this kinde, moving for more, or lesse alteration, as the promoters of them stood affected. For all mens desires will then be of the same size, when their bodies shall be of the same stature. Of these, one, most remarkable, required a subscription in manner as followeth,

We whose names are under written, doe agree to make our humble Petition to the King's Majesty, that the present state of the Church, may be further reformed in all things needfull, according to the rule of Gods holy Word, and agreeable to the example of other reformed Churches, which have restored both the Doctrine and Discipline, as it was delivered by our Saviour Christ, and his holy Apostles.

Two things are remarkable therein. First, that this was no present Petition, but a preparative thereunto, which in due time might have proved one, if meeting with proportionable encouragement. Secondly, that it went farther than the former, as not being for the *καθαρσιν*, but for the *δεον*. Not for the paring, pruning, and purging, but for the extirpating and abolishing of Bishops, and conforming Church-government to forraigne Presbytery. Whether the Subscribers to this Petition, were, for the maine, a recruit of new persons, or a resumption of those who under-writ the former, I dare not define. Probably many, sensible that before they were *Petition-bound*, inlarged themselves now in their additionall desires. For, such who aske no more than what they would have, commonly receive lesse than what they aske; seeing Petitions of this nature are seldome granted in full latitude, without some abatement. They allowed therefore some over-measure in their requests, that the surplusage being defalked, the remainder might, in some manner, give them satisfaction.

Unfaire dealing in procuring of hands.

Sure I am, the Prelaticall party complained, that, to swell a number, the nonconformists did not chuse, but scrape Subscribers; not to speak of the *ubiquitarinesse* of some hands, the same being alwayes present at all *Petitions*. Indeed to the first, onely Ministers were admitted, but to the latter brood of Petitions, no hand, which had five fingers, was refused. Insomuch, that Master *George* (since *Lord*) *Gering*, who then knew little, and cared lesse for Church-government (as unable to governe himselfe) being then (fifty years since) rather a Youth than a Man; a Boy, than a Youth; set his hand thereunto (*in the right*, I believe of his Mother, a good Lady, much addicted to that party) and King *James* would in merriment make sport with him, to know, what reasons moved him at that age, to this Subscription. But enough of these Petitioners. Perchance we shall heare more of them the next Parliament.

SECTION

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SECTION II.

To Matthevv Gillye Esq.

SOlomon *saith,* And there is a * Friend that is nearer than a Brother. *Now, though I have read many* VVriters *on the Text, your practice is the best* Comment; *which hath most truly* Expounded *it unto me. Accept this therefore as the Return of the Thanks of your respectfull Friend.*

* Prov. 18. 24.

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CAuselesse jealousies attend old age, as appears by Arch-bishop *Whitgift*, who ended his Life, according to his owne desire, that he might not live to see the Parliament; being more scar'd than hurt, as fearing some strange opposition therein, & an assault of Un-conformists on Church-Discipline, fiercer than his age-feebled body should be able to resist. Born he was of ancient Parentage at great *Grimsby* in *Lincoln shire*, bred in *Cambridge*, admitted in *Queens Colledge*, removed Scholar to *Pembroke Hall* (where Mr. *Bradford* was his Tutor) translated Fellow to *Peter-house*, returned Master to *Pembroke*, thence advanced Master of *Trinity Colledge*, successively Parson of *Teversham*, Prebend of *Ely*, Dean of *Lincolne*, Bishop of *Worcester*, where the Queen forgave him his first fruits, a rare gift for her, who was so good an Huswife of Her Revenues. Yea, she constantly called him, *Her little black Husband*: which favour nothing elated his gravity, carrying himself as one unconcerned in all worldly honour. He survived the Queen not a full yeare, getting his bane by going in a cold morning by Barge to *Fulham*, there to consult with the Bishops about managing their matters in the ensuing Parliament. And no wonder if those few sparks of naturall heat, were quickly quenched with a small cold in him, who was then above seventy two yeares of age. He died of the Palsey, one of the worthiest men that ever the English Hierarchy did enjoy.

The death of Arch-bishop *Whitgift*. * See the Preface to Hampton Court conference.

2. But a modern writer in his voluminous book against the practices of English Prelates, bitterly inveigheth against him whom he termeth, *A Pontificall* (meaneth he Paganish, or Popish?) *Bishop*, and chargeth him with many misdemeanours. Give me leave a little without bitternesse, both to pass my censure on his book, and make this Archbishop his just defence, against his calumniation. First in generall, behold the complexion of his whole booke, and it is black and swarthie in the uncharitable Subject and Title thereof. *An Historicall collection of the severall execrable Treasons, Conspiracies, Rebellions, Seditions, State-schismes, Contumacies, Anti-monarchicall Practices, and oppressions of English Prelates* &c. Thus he weeds mens lives, and makes use onely to their disgrace, of their infirmities, meane time suppressing many eminent actions, which his owne conscience knows were performed by them. What a monster might be made out of the best beauties in the World, if a Limmer should leave what is lovely, and onely collect into one Picture, what he findeth amisse in them? I know there be white Teeth in the blackest Black-moore, and a black Bill in the whitest Swanne. Worst men have something to be commended, best men something in them to be condemned.

Mr. *Pryn* censuring *Whitgift*, censured.

Only to infiſt on mens faults, to render them odious, is no ingenious employment. God, we know, ſo uſeth his fanne, that he keepth the Corn, but driveth away the Chaffe. But who is he that winnoweth ſo, as to throw away the good graine, and retaine the Chaffe onely?

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His untruth of *Anſelme*.

3. Beſides it conteineth untruths, or at the beſt uncertainties, which he venteth with aſſurance to poſterity. For inſtance * ſpeaking of *Walter Tyrrill*, the French Knight, caſually killing King *William Rufus* in new Forreſt, with an arrow glancing from a tree, he ſaith, that in all likelihood, *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (our *Whitgifts* predeceſſor) with fore-plotted treaſon, hired *Tyrill* to murder the King in this manner. Now to condemne the memory of ſo pious and learned a man as *Anſelme* was (though I will not excuſe him in all things) five hundred yeares after the fact pretended on his owne ſingle bare ſurmiſe, contrary to the conſtant current of all authours (no one whiſpering the leaſt ſuſpition thereof) hath (I believe) but little of Law, and nothing of Goſpell therein. Let the glancing of *Tyrrels* arrow minde men how they * *bend their bowes to ſhoot arrowes, even bitter words* at the memory of the deceaſed, leſt it rebound back (not as his did to hit a ſtander by, but) juſtly to wound him, who unjuſtly delivered it.

* Pag. 10.

* Pſal. 64. 3.

His ſlander of *Whitgift*.

4. But to come to our reverend *Whitgift*. Firſt, he chargeth him for troubling the Judges, with his Conteſtations about *Prohibitions*, endeavouring to enlarge his Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction. This being the Accuſation but of a Common Lawyer, and that in favour of his owne Courts, I leave to ſome Doctour of the Civill or Canon Law, as moſt proper to make anſwer thereunto. Onely, whereas he ſaith, that *Whitgift* did it to the prejudice of the *Queenes* * *Prerogative*, ſurely She knew her owne Priviledges ſo well (beſides thoſe of her Councell to teach her) that ſhe would never have ſo favourably reflected on him, if ſenſible (wiſe Princes having a tender touch in that point) that he any way went about to abridge her Royall Authority.

* Pag. 149.

And ſilly taxing of his train.

5. Secondly, he taxeth him for his extraordinary traine, of above ſixty men-ſervants, (though not ſo extravagant a number, if his perſon and place be conſidered) *who were all trained up to martiall affaires, and muſtred almoſt every week, his Stable being well furniſhed with ſtore of great Horſes.* But was it a fault in thoſe martiall dayes, when the invaſion of a Forraign Foe was daily ſuſpected, to fit his Family for their own, and the Kingdomes defence? Did not * *Abraham*, that heavenly Prophet, and holy Patriarch, arme his *Trained Servants in his owne houſe*, in his victorious expedition againſt the King of *Sodome*? Yea, if Churchmen of an Anti-prelaticall ſpirit, had not ſince tampered more dangerouſly with *training* of Servants, (though none of their owne) both Learning and Religion had (perchance) looked, at this day, with a more cheerefull countenance.

* Gen. 14. 14.

Whitgifts care of, and love to Scholars.

6. Whereas it intimates, that this Arch-biſhop had been better imployed in *training up Scholars for the Pulpit, than Souldiers for the Field*, know, that as the Latter was performed, the former was not quitted by him. Witneſſe many worthy preachers bred under him in *Trinity Colledge*, and more elſewhere relieved by him. Yea, his Bounty was too large to be confined within the *narrow Seas*; *Beza*, *Druſius*, and other forraigne Proteſtant Divines, taſting freely thereof. Nor was his Liberality onely a *Ciſterne* for the preſent age, but a *running River* from a freſh Fountaine, to water Poſterity in that Schoole of *Croydon*, which he hath beautifully built, and bountifully endowed. More might be ſaid in the vindication of this worthy Prelate, from his reproachfull penne: But I purpoſely forbeare; the rather, becauſe it is poſſible, that the learned Gentleman ſince, upon a ſerious review of his own Work, and experimentall Obſervation of the paſſages of this Age, may be more offended with his owne writing herein, than others take juſt exception thereat.

His buriall, and Succeſſour.

7. Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* was buried at *Croydon*, *March* 27. The Earle of *Worceſter*, and Lord *Zouch*, his Pupills attending his Herſe, and Biſhop *Babington* (his Pupill alſo) made his Funerall Sermon, chuſing for his Text 2 *Chron.* 24. 15, 16. 1604. Mar. 27.

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16. and paralleling the Arch-bishops life with gracious *Jehoida*. *Richard Bancroft*, Bishop of *London*, brought up in *Jesus Colledge*, succeeded him in the Arch-bishoprick; whose actions, in our ensuing History, will sufficiently deliver his character without our description thereof.

8. Come we now to the Parliament assembled, & amongst the many Acts, which passed therein, none more beneficiall for the Church than that, which made the King himselfe, and his Successors incapable of any Church-land to be conveyed unto them, otherwise than for three lives, or twenty one years. Indeed a Statute had formerly been made the thirteenth of Queen *Eliz.* which to prevent finall Alienation of Church-land, did disable all subjects from accepting them: But in that Statute a Liberty was left unto the* Crown to receive the same. It was thought fit to allow to the Crown this favourable exception, as to the *Patron generall* of the whole English Church; and it was but reason for the Soveraign, who originally gave all the *Loafe* to the Church, on occasion to resume a good *Shiver* thereof.

A beneficiall Statute for the Church.

* Because it was not forbidden in the Statute in expresse words.

9. But he who shuts ninety nine gates of *Thebes*, and leaveth one open, shuts none in effect. Covetousnesse (shall I say, an apt Scholar to learne, or an able Master to teach, or both) quickly found out a way to invade the Lands of the Church, and evade the Penalty of the Law, which thus was contrived. Some Potent Courtier first covertly contracts with a Bishop (some whereof, though *spirituall* in Title, were too *temporall* in Truth, as more minding their Private Profit, than the Publique good of the Church) to passe over such a proportion of Land to the Crowne. This done, the said Courtier begs the Land of the Queen (even before her Highnesse had tasted thereof, or the lipps of her Exchequer ever touched the same) and so an Estate thereof is setled on him and his Heires for ever. And thus Covetousnesse came to her desired end, though forced to go a longer journey, and fain to fetch a farther compasse about.

A contrivance by the Crowne to wrong the Church.

10. For instance, Doctor *Coldwell*, Doctor of Physique, and Bishop of *Sarisbury*, gave his Sea a very strong Purge, when he consented to the Alienation of *Sherborn* Manour from his Bishoprick. Indeed, the good old man was *shot betweten Wind and Water*, and his consent was assaulted in a dangerous joincture of time to give any deniall. For, after he was elected Bishop of *Sarisbury*, and after all his Church-preferments were disposed of to other persons, yet before his election was confirmed, past a possibility of a legall reversing thereof, Sir *W. Rawleigh* is importunate with him, to passe *Sherborne* to the Crowne, and effected it, though indeed a good round rent was reserved to the Bishoprick. Presently Sir *Walter* beggeth the same of the Queen, and obtained it. Much after the same manner Sir --- *Killegrew* got the Mannour of *Crediton* (a bough almost as big as all the rest of the Body) for the Church of *Exeter*, by the consent of Doctor *Babington* the Bishop thereof.

Two eminent instances of former Alienation of Bishoprick-Lands.

11. To prevent future wrong to the Church in that kinde, it was now enacted, That the Crowne it selfe, henceforward, should be incapable of any such Church-land to be conveyed unto it. Yet some were so bold as to conceive this Law void in the very making of it, and that all the *obligation* thereof, consisted (not in the strength of the Law) but onely in the Kings and his *Successors* voluntary obedience thereunto. Accounting it injurious for any Prince in Parliament to tye his Successors, who neither can, nor will be concluded thereby, farther than it stands with their owne convenience. However, it was to stand in force, till the same power should be pleased to rescind it. But others beheld this Law, not with a Politick, but Religious Eye, conceiving the *King of Heaven*, and the *King of England*, the Parties concerned therein, and accounting it Sacriledge for any to alienate what is given to God in his Church.

Severall censures on this new Statute.

12. Thus was the King graciously pleased to binde himself for the liberty of the Church. He knew full well all Courtiers (and especially his owne Country-mens) importunity in asking, and perhaps was privy to his owne impotency in denying, and therefore, by this Statute, he eased himselfe of many troublesome Suitors. For hereafter no wise man would beg of the King, what was not in his

K. JAMES a great Church-lover.

power to grant, and what (if granted) could not legally be conveyed to any Petitioner. Thus his Majesty manifested his good will and affection to Religion, and, although this Law could not finally preserve Church-lands, to make them immortall, yet it prolonged their lives for many yeares together.

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The Acts of this Convocation, why as yet not recovered.

12. Passe we now into the Convocation, to see what was done there: But here the History thereof, as I may say, is shot betwixt the *joynts of the Armor*; in the intervall, after *Whitgift*'s death, and before *Bancroft*'s removall to *Canterbury*, so that I can finde the Originall thereof neither in the Office of the *Vicar-generall*, nor in the Registry of *London*; nor can I recover it, as yet, from the Office of the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, where most probably it is to be had, the Jurisdiction belonging to them in the Vacancy.

Many Canons made therein, Bishop *Bancroft* sitting President.

13. Take this as the result thereof. A Book of Canons was compiled, not onely being the summe of the Queens *Articles*, *Orders* of her *Commissioners*, *Advertisements*, *Canons* of 1571. and 1597. which were in use before, but also many more were added, the whole number amounting unto 141. Some wise and moderate men supposed so many Lawes were too heavy a burden to be long borne, and that it had been enough for the Episcopall party to have *triumphed*, not *insulted* over their adversaries in so numerous impositions. However, an Explanation was made in one of the Canons, of the use of the Crosse in Baptisme, to prevent Scandall; and learned *Thuanus* in his History taketh an especiall notice thereof.

Bishop *Rudd*, why opposing the oath against Simony.

14. Motion being made in this Convocation, about framing an Oath against *Simony*, to be taken by all, presented to Church-preferment. Bishop *Rudde* of St. *Davids* (as conscientious as any of his order, and free from that fault) opposed it; chiefly, because he thought it unequall, that the Patron should not be forced, as well as the Clerk, to take that Oath: Whereupon it was demanded of him, whether he would have the King to take that Oath when he presented a Bishop or Dean, and hereat the Bishop sate downe in silence.

The Petition of the Town of *Rippon* to Queen *Anne*.

15. About this time the Corporation of *Rippon* in *York-shire*, presented their Petition to Queen *Anne* on this occasion. They had a faire Collegiate Church, stately for the structure thereof, (formerly erected by the Nobility and Gentry of the Vicenage) the meanes whereof, at the dissolution of Abbies, were seized on by the King, so that small maintenance was left to the Minister of that populous Parish. Now, although *Edwin Sands*, Arch-bishop of *York*, with the Earle of *Huntinton*, Lord *Burgley* and *Sheaffield*, (successively *Presidents of the North*) had recommended their Petition to Qu. *Elizabeth*, they obtained nothing but faire unperformed Promises: whereupon, now the *Rippeneers* humbly addressed themselves to Queen *Anne*, and hear her answer unto them.

ANNA R.

ANNE, by the grace of God, Qu. of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. To all, to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas there hath been lately exhibited and recommended unto us, a frame and plat-forme of a Colledge Generall, to be planted and established at Rippon in the County of Yorke, for the manifold benefit of both the Borders of England and Scotland. Upon the due perusing of the plot aforesaid, hereunto annexed, and upon signification given of the good liking and approbation of the chief points contained therein, by sundry grave, learned, and religious parties, and some other of honourable Place and Estate. We have thought good, for the ample and perpetuall advancement of Learning and Religion, in both the borders of our aforesaid Realmes,

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Realmes, to condescend to yeild our favour and best furtherance thereunto: And for the better encouraging of other honourable and worthy Personages, to joyn with us in yeilding their bounty and benevolence thereunto: We have and do signifie and assure, and by the word of a sacred Princesse and Queen, do expresly promise, to procure, with all convenient speed, to and for the yearely better maintenance of the said Colledge All, and every of the Requests, specified and craved to that end, in a small Schedule hereunto annexed. In confirmation whereof, we have signed these Presents by our hand and name above mentioned, and have caused our privy Signet to be set unto the same: Dated at our Honour at Greenwich, July 4. An. Dom. 1604. and of our Reigne, &c.

July 4.

After the sealing thus subscribed,
Gulielmus Toulerius, Secretarius de mandato serenissima Annæ Reginæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ.

16. Such need never fear successe, who have so potent a person to solicite their suite, King *James* being forward of himselfe to advance Learning and Religion, and knowing Christs precept, *Let your Light shine before Men*; knew also that *Rippon* was an advantagious place for the fixing thereof; As which by its commodious position in the *North*, there would reflect lustre almost equally into *England* and *Scotland*. Whereupon he founded a *Dean* and Chapter of *seven Prebends*, allowing them two hundred forty seven pounds a yeare, out of his own Crowne-land, for their maintenance.

King *James* his bountifull grant.

17. I am informed, that, lately, the Lands of this Church, are, by mistake, twice sold to severall Purchasers, *viz.* Once under the notion of Dean and Chapters Lands; and againe, under the property of Kings Lands. I hope the Chap-men (when all is right stated betwixt them) will agree amongst themselves on their bargaine. Mean time, *Rippon* Church may the better comport with poverty, because onely remitted to its former condition.

These Lands since twice sold.

18. The *Family of Love* (or *Lust* rather) at this time, presented a tedious Petition to King *James*, so that it is questionable, whether His Majesty ever graced it with his perusall, wherein they endeavoured to cleare themselves from some misrepresentations, and by fawning expression, to insinuate themselves into his Majesty's good opinion: Which here we present.

The Petition of the *Family of Love* to King *James*.

To the King's most excellent MAJESTY, *JAMES* the first, by the grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

MOst gracious and Soveraigne Lord, whereas there is published in a Book written by your Highnesse, as an instruction to your most noble Sonne (whom Almighty God blesse with much Honour, Happinesse, and Long life) of a People that are of a vile Sect among the Anabaptists, called the* Family of Love, *who doe hold and maintaine many proud, uncharitable, unchristian, and most absurd Opinions, unto whom your Highnesse doth also give the name of Puritans, assuming in the said Book, that divers of them (as* Brown, Penry, *and others) doe accord with them in their foule Errours, heady and phantasticall Opinions, which are there set*

* In his *Basilicon Doron.*

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ſet downe at large by Your Majeſty, adviſing Your Royall Son (as it moſt meet) to puniſh them, if they refuſe to obey the Law, and will not ceaſe to ſtir up Rebellion.

Now moſt gracious Soveraigne, becauſe it is meet that your Highneſſe ſhould underſtand by their ſupplication, and declaration of the truth herein by themſelves (of whom Your Majeſty hath been thus informed) proſtrate at Your Princely Feet, as true, faithfull, loyall, and obedient Subjects, to all your Lawes and Ordinances, Civill, Politique, Spirituall, Temporall, They with humble hearts doe beſeech Your Princely Majeſty, to underſtand, and that the people of the Family of Love, or of God, doe utterly diſclaime, and deteſt all the ſaid abſurd, and ſelfe-conceited opinions, and diſobedient, and erroneous ſorts of the Anabaptiſts, Brown, Penry, Puritans, and all other proud-minded Sects and Hereſies whatſoever, proteſting upon paine of our lives, that we are not conſenting nor agreeing with any ſuch brain-ſick Preachers, nor their rebellious and diſobedient ſects whatſoever, but have been, and ever will be, truly obedient to your Highneſſe and your Lawes, to the effuſion of our Blood, and expences of our Goods and Lands in Your Majeſties ſervice. Highly landing Almighty God, who hath ſo graciouſly, and peaceably appointed unto us ſuch a Vertuous, Wiſe, Religious, and Noble King, and ſo carefull, and impartiall a Juſticiar to governe over us, beſeeching him daily to bleſſe Your Highneſſe with his godly wiſdome, and holy underſtanding, to the furtherance of his truth and godlineſſe, and with all honour, happineſſe, peace, and long life, and to judge rightly betweene Falſhood and Truth.

And becauſe Your Majeſty ſhall have a perfect view, or an aſſured perſwaſion of the truth of the ſame our Proteſtation, if therefore there be any indifferent man of the Kingdome, that can juſtly touch us with any ſuch diſobedient and wicked handling of our ſelves, as ſeemeth by Your Majeſties Book it hath been informed unto Your Highneſſe, unleſſe they be ſuch mortall enemies, the diſobedient Puritans, and thoſe of their beaſtly humours, before named, who are much more Zealous, religious, and preciſe, in the tything of Mint, Anniſe, and Cummin, and in the preferring of ſuch like Phariſaicall, and ſelfe-choſen outward traditions and grounds, or hypocriticall righteouſneſſe, than in the performing of Judgment, Mercy and Faith, and ſuch like true and inward righteouſneſs, which God doth moſt chiefly require, and regard, (Mat. 15. 15. &c.) and whoſe malice hath for twenty five yeeres paſt and upwards, and ever ſince with very many untrue ſuggeſtions, and moſt foule Errors, and odious Crimes, the which we could then, if need were, prove, ſought our utter overthrow & deſtruction. But that we have behaved our ſelves in all orderlineſſe and peaceableneſſe of life where we dwell, and with whom we had to deale, or if we doe vary or ſwerve from the eſtabliſhed Religion in this land, either in Service, Ceremonies, Sermons or Sacraments, or have publiquely ſpoken or inveighed, either by word or writing againſt our late Soveraign Princeſs government in cauſes ſpirituall or temporall, then let us be rejected for Sectaries, and never receive the benefit of Subjects.

* Henry Nicholas.

Only * Right Gracious Soveraigne, we have read certaine Books brought forth by a German Author under the Characters of H. N. who affirmeth therein, that he is prepared choſen and ſent of God to miniſter, and ſet forth the moſt holy ſervice of the love of God, and Chriſt, or of the Holy Ghoſt unto the children of men upon the Univerſall earth, out of which ſervice or writings we be taught all Dutifull Obedience towards God, and Magiſtrates, and to live a Godly and honeſt life, and to love God above all things, and our neighbours as our ſelves agreeing therein with all the Holy ſcriptures as we underſtand them. Againſt which Author, and his bookes we never yet heard or knew any Law eſtabliſhed in this Realme by our late Gracious Soveraigne, but that we might read them without offence, whoſe writings we ſuppoſe under your Highneſs correction, your Majeſty hath yet never ſeene or peruſed, heard of by any indifferent nor true information: For the ſaid H. N. in all his doctrine and writings (being as we are credibly informed, as much matter in volume, if they were all Compiled together as the whole Bible conteineth) doth neither take part with, nor write againſt any particular party or company whatſoever, as naming them by their names, nor yet praiſe, or diſpraiſe any of them by name. But doth only ſhew in particular in his ſaid writings, as ſaith he, the unpartiall ſervice of love, requireth what is good or evill for every one, wherein

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wherein the man hath right or wrong in any point, whether it be in the State of his Soul towards God, or in the State of his body towards the Magistrates of the world and towards one another, to the end that all people (when they heare or read his writing, and doe thereby perceive their sinne, and estranging from God and Christ) might endeavour them to bring forth the due fruits of Repentance, which is reformation and newnesse of life, according as all the Holy Scriptures doth likewise require the same of every one. And that they might in that sort become saved through Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of all the world.

Notwithstanding deare Soveraigne, yet hath the said Author, and his Doctrine a long time, and still is most shamefully and falsely slandered by our foresaid adversaries both in this land, and in divers others, as to be replenished with all manner of damnable Errors, and filthy liberty of the flesh.

And we his well willers, and favourers in the upright drift of his doctrine, as aforesaid have also been of them complained of, & accused unto our late Gracious Soveraign, and the Magistrates of this land, both long time past, and now lately againe as to be a people so infected and stained with all manner of detestable wickednesse and errors, that are not worthy to live upon the earth, but yet would never present any of his Bookes unto his Majesty to peruse; nor yet set them forth in any indifferent or true manner to the view of the world, lest their malicious, and slanderous reports, and accusations against the same, and us, should thereby be revealed and disproved to their great shame. Through which their most odious and false complaints against us, the Magistrates did then, and also have now lately cast divers of us into Prison, to our great hinderance & discredit. But yet have never proved against us, by sufficient and true testimony any one of their foule accusations, as the Records in such cases, and the Magistrates that have dealt therein can testifie, but are so utterly void of due and lawfull Proof thereof, that they have framed divers subtile Articles for us, being plain, and unlearned men to answer upon our Oath, whereby to urge and gather some things from our selves, so to prove their false and unchristian accusations to be true, or else will force us to renounce, recant, and condemne that which we doe not wilfully maintaine nor justifie, (much like as it was practized in the Primitive Church against the Christians) yea they are not ashamed to lay their owne and all other men disobedient and wicked acts (of what profession soever it be) upon our backs, to the end cunningly to purchase favour and credit to themselves, and to make us seeme monstrous and detestable before the Magistrates, and the common people every where, for that we, and the doctrine of H. N. might without any indifferent tryall, and lawfull or orderly proceedings, as heretofore hath been used in the Christian Church in such cases for confuting and condemning of Heresie, be utterly rooted out of the Land: with divers other most cruell practices, proceeding out of their bitter and envious hearts towards us, tending to the same unchristian and mercilesse purpose, the which we will here omit to speak of, because we have already been over-tedious to your Highnesse, and most humbly crave your most gracious pardon and patience therein, in respect we speak to cleare our selves of such matters as may touch our lives and liberties (which are two of the chiefest jewels that God hath given to Mankinde in this world) and also for that we have few friends, or any other meanes than this, to acquaint your Highnesse with the truth and state of our cause, whereof we think your Majesty is altogether ignorant, but have very many Enemies, whom we do greatly suspect will not be slack to prosecute their false and malitious purpose against us unto your Highnesse, even like as they have accustomed in times past to doe unto our late Soveraign Queen, through which prevailing in their slanderous defacing of us and our cause, divers of us for want of friends to make it rightly known unto her Majestie have sundry times been constrained to endure their injurious dealing towards us to our great vexation and hindrance.

Wherefore most gratious Soveraign, this is now our humble suit unto your Highness, that when your Kingly affairs of importance, which your Majestie hath now in hand, shall be well overpast (for the prosperous performance whereof we will (as duty bindeth us dail; pray unto Almighty God) that then your Highnesse will be pleased (because we have alwaies taken the same Authors work aforesaid to proceed out of the great

great grace and love of God and Christ extended towards all Kings, Princes, Rulers, and People upon the universal earth (as he in many of his works doth witness no lesse) to their salvation, unity, peace, and concord in the same Godly love) to grant us that favour, at your Majesties fit and convenient time to peruse the Books your self with an impartiall eye, conferring them with the holy Scriptures, wherein it seemeth by the Books that are set forth under your Highnesse name, that you have had great travell, and are therefore better able to judge between Truth and Falshood. And we will whensoever it shall please your Highnesse to appoint the time, and to command, and licence us thereto, doe our best endevours to procure so many of the Books, as we can out of Germany (where they be Printed) to be delivered unto your Majestie, or such Godly, Learned, and indifferent men, as it shall please your Majestie to appoint.

And we will also (under your Highnesse lawfull Licence, and commandement in that behalf) doe our like endevour to procure some of the Learned men in that Countrey (if there be any yet remaining alive that were well acquainted with the Authour and his Works in his life time, and which likewise have exercised his works ever since) to come over and attend upon your Majestie at your appointed time convenient, who can much more sufficiently instruct and resolve your Highnesse in any unusuall words, phrase, or matter, that may happily seem dark and doubtfull to your Majestie that any of us in this your Land are able to doe.

And so upon your Highnesse advised consultation and censure thereupon (finding the same Works hareticall or seditious, and not agreeable to Gods holy Word and testimonies of all the Scriptures) to leave them, to take them as your Majesties Laws shall therein appoint us, having no intent or meaning to contend or resist there-against, however it be, but dutifully to obey thereunto according to the Counsel of Scriptures, and also of the said Authors work.

And our further humble suit unto your Highnesse is, that of your gracious favour, and clemency you will grant and give order unto your Majesties Officers in that behalf, That all of us your faithfull loving Subjects, which are now in Prison in any part of this your Realme for the same cause, may be released upon such Bail, or Bond as we are able to give; and that neither we, nor any of that company (behaving our selves orderly and obediently under your Highnesse lawes) may be any further persecuted or troubled therein, untill such time as your Majestie and such Godly learned and indifferent men of your Clergie, as your Highnesse shall appoint thereto, shall have advisedly consulted and determined of the matter, whereby we may not be utterly wasted by the great Charge of Imprisonment, and Persecution, and by the hard dealing of our Adversaries, for we are but a People few in number, and yet most of us very poor in worldly wealth.

O sacred Prince! we humbly pray that the Almighty will move your Princely heart with true judgment to discerne between the right and the wrong of our cause, according to that most certain and Christian Rule set down by our Saviour Christ unto his Disciples, Matth: 7. 12. Ye shall know the tree by the fruit, and in our obedience, peaceable, and honest lives, and conversation to protect us; and in our disobedience and misdemeanour to punish us, as resisters of Gods Ordinance, of the Kingly Authority, and most high Office of Justice committed to your Majestie to that purpose towards your Subjects, Rom. 13.

And gracious Soveraigne, we humbly beseech your Highnesse with Princely Regard in equity and favour to ponder, and grant the humble suit contained in this most lowly supplication of your loyall, true-hearted, faithfull subjects, And to remember that your Majestie in your Book of Princely, grave, and fatherly advice, to the happy Prince, your Royall Son, doth conclude, Principis est parcere subjectis & debellare superbos, and then no doubt, God will blesse your Highnesse with all your Noble Offspring, with peace, long life, and all honours, and happinesse, long to continue over us; for which we will ever pray with incessant prayers to the Almighty.

I finde not what effect this their Petition produced; whether it was slighted, and the Petitioners looked upon as inconsiderable, or beheld as a few frantick folk

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folk out of their wits, which consideration alone often melted their Adversarie Anger into Pity unto them.

19. The main design driven on in the Petition is to separate themselves from the *Puritans* (as persons odious to King JAMES) that they might not fare the worse for their Vicinity unto them; though these Familists could not be so desirous to leave them as the others were glad to be left by them. For if their opinions were so senslesse, and the lives of these Familists so sensuall, as is reported, no *purity* at all belonged unto them.

The Familists will in no wise be accompted Puritans.

20. [b]Some take exceptions at their Prayer for King JAMES; wishing him, and his, *Peace, long life, all honour, and happinesse*, without mentioning of Life Eternall and the Blessings thereof, whilst others are so much of the *Family of Charity* to this *Family of Love*, as to excuse the omission as casual, or else extend *happinesse* as comprehensive of the World to come. Others are more justly offended to see Gold and Dung joyned together, Gods Word and the words of *H. Nicholas* equally yoaked by them as infallible alike. They confesse in this book *some unusuall words which are Dark and Doubtfull*, which at this day is affected by many Sectarists (whilst Truth is plain and easie) amusing People with mysticall expressions, which their Auditors understand not, and perchance not they themselves. So that as one saith very well of their high soring pretended spirituall language, *That it is a great deal too high for this world, and a great deal too low for the world to come.*

Phrases in their Petition censured.

b *Sam. Rutherford* in his Survey, *pag.* 353.

21. I find one in his Confutation of this Petition inveighing against our Bishops: That they were friends unto Familisme, and favoured the Promoters thereof, adding moreover, *That few of the Prelaticall way refuted them.* Now though the best friends of Bishops, yea, and the Bishops themselves will confesse they had too many faults; Yet I am confident this is a false and uncharitable aspersion upon them: No better is that when he saith, *That divers of the Court of Queen* Elizabeth, *and some Nobles, were Familists*; wherein I am sure Plenty of Instances hath put him to such a Penury that he cannot insist upon any one. But I am inclined the rather to Pardon his Errour herein, because the Authour reporting this, is a Forreigner then living in *Scotland*; And should I treat of the Character of the Court of King JAMES at *Edinburgh* at the same time, possibly my Pen at so great a distance might commit farre worse mistakes.

Mr. *Rutherford* causlesly asperseth the Bishops and Courtiers of Queen *Elizabeth*.

c In his Notes on his Petition of Survey, *pag.* 349.

22. Some will say, where are these Familists now adaies? are they utterly extinct, or are they lost in the heap of other Sects, or are they concealed under a new name? The last is most probable. This Family (which shut their Dores before) keeps open house now: Yea, *Family* is too narrow a name for them they are grown so numerous. Formerly by their own Confession in this Petition they had three Qualities, *Few, Poor, and Unlearned*; for the last *Bilia vera*, their Lack of Learning they still retain, being otherwise many, and some rich, but all under the name of RANTERS, and thus I fairly leave them, on condition they will fairly leave me, that I may hear no more of them for delivering Truth and my own Conscience in what I have written concerning their Opinions.

Familists turned into modern Ranters.

23. I find no Protestant tears dropt on the grave of any eminent Divine this year, but we light on two Romanists dying beyond Sea, much lamented: one, *Richard Hall*, bred in *Christs College* in *Cambridge*, whence he ran over to *Rome*, whence he returned into the *Low Countreys*, and died Canon, and Official of the Cathedral of S. *Omer*: The other, *Humphrey Eli*, an *Herefordshire* man by birth, Fellow of St. *John's* in *Oxford*, whence going beyond sea, at *Rome* he commenced Doctour of Law, and afterwards died Professour thereof in the University of *Ponta* Mousan*. He is charactred to be, *Furis peritus doctus, pauper, & pacificus*; *A Lawyer learned, poor, and peaceable.* And thus much my charity can easily believe of him: but the [b] Distich (the Epitaph I take it on his Tomb) is damnable hyperbolicall;

The death of *Hall*, and *Eli*.

* in the Duchy of *Lorraine*.

b *Pitseus de illustribus Angliæ scriptoribus*, pag. 804.

Albion hæreseos velatur nocte, viator
Desine mirari, sol suus hic latitat.

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Wonder not, England's dark with errours night,
For loe here buried lies her Sun so bright.

Or else the Poet lies who made the Verses. But his ashes shall not be disturbed by me.

The plotters in the Powder Treason.

24. The *Romish Catholicks*, now utterly despairing, either by flattery to wooe, or force to wrest, any free and publick exercise of their Religion, some of them entered into a damnable, and deviliſh conspiracie, to blow up the Parliament-House with gun-powder. In this plot were engaged,

1. *Robert Catesbie.*
2. *Thomas Percie.*
3. Sir *Everard Digbie.*
4. *Francis Tresham.*
5. *Robert Winter.*
6. *Thomas Winter.*
7. *John Wright.*
8. *Christopher Wright.*
9. *Ambrose Rookwood.*
10. *Robert Keys.*
11. *John Grant.*
12. *Thomas Bates*, *Catesbie's* man.
13. *Guido Fawx.*

Twelve, besides their *Foreman*, but, *being honest and true*, let their ensuing action declare. Surely all of resolute spirits, most of antient families, some of plentifull fortunes, and *Percie*, though weak in purse himself, pretended to command the wealthiest coffers of *number*.

Garnet his deciding a case of conscience.

25. But, a treason without a *Jesuit*, or one of *Jesuited principles* therein, is like a drie wall, without either lime, or morter: *Gerard* must be the cement, with the Sacrament of Secrecie, to joyn them together: *Garnet* and *Tesmond* (whelps of the same litter) commended, and encouraged the designe. But here an important scruple was injected, How to part their friends, from their foes in the Parliament, they having many in the House, of alliance, yea, of the same (in conscience a nearer kinred) Religion with themselves. *To slay the righteous with the wicked*, be it farre from God, and all good men. And yet, as such an unpartiall destruction, was uncharitable: so an exact Separation seemed as impossible. Here *Garnet*, instead of untying, cut this knot asunder, with this his sharp decision; That in such a case as this, *it was lawfull to kill friend, and foe together.* Indeed, the good husbandman in the [b] Gospel, permitted the *tares* to grow for the *corne's* sake; whereas here, by the contrary counsell of the *Jesuit*, the *corn* (so they reputed it) was to be roored up for the *tares* sake.

a Gen. 18. 25.

b Mat. 13. 29.

Two other difficulties removed.

26. This scruple in conscience, thus satisfied by *Garnet*, two other difficulties in point of performance, presented themselves. For, CHARLES, Duke of *York*, probably (by reason of His minority) would not be present, and the Lady ELIZABETH would certainly be absent from the Parliament-House. How then should these two (the next Heires to the Crown) be compassed within their power? But for the first, *Percie* profered his service, promising to possesse himself, by a fraudulent force, of the person of the Duke. *Catesbie* undertook the other difficulty, under a pretended Hunting-match (advantaged thereunto by the vicinitie of *Ashbie*, to the Lord *Harrington's*, where the Princesse had Her education) to train Her into their command. All rubs thus removed, their way was made as smooth as glasse, and as slippery too, as by the sequele may appeare.

The odium must be cast on the Puritan.

27. But first be it remembred, that, though these plotters intended at last with honour to own the action, when successe had made all things secure; yet they purposed, when the blow was first given, and whilest the act was certain, but the successe thereof doubtfull, to father the fact on the *Puritans*. They thought, their backs were broad enough, to bear both the sin, and shame; and, that this *faddle*, for the present, would finely fit their backs, whose discontent (as these plotters would pretend) unable otherwise to atchieve their desired alteration in Church-Government, had, by this damnable treason, effected the same. By transferring the fact on the then most innocent *Puritans*; they hoped, not onely to decline the *odium* of so hellish a designe, but also (by the strangenesse of the act, and unsuspectednesse of the actors) to amuze all men, and beget an universall distrust, that every man would grow jealous of himself. And, whilest such amazement

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amazement tied, in a manner, all mens hands behinde them, these plotters promised themselves the working out their own ends, part by their home-strength, and the rest by calling in the assistance of forraign Princes.

28. They fall a working in the Vault. Dark the place, in the depth of the earth; dark the time, in the dead of the night; dark the designe, all the actors therein concealed by oath from others, and thereby combined amongst themselves. Oh! how easie is any work, when high *merit* is conceived the wages thereof? In piercing thorough the wall [c] nine foot thick, they erroniously conceived, that they thereby hewed forth their own way to heaven. But they digged more with their *silver* in an hour, than with their *iron* in many daies; namely, when discovering a Cellar hard by, they hired the same, and these Pioneers saved much of their pains by the advantage thereof. And now all things were carried so secretly, no possibility of any detection, seeing the actors themselves had solemnly sworn that they would not, and all others might as safely swear, they could not make any discovery thereof.

Will-worship a painfull labour.

c *Speed's* Chron. in King *James*.

29. But, so it fell out, that the sitting of the Parliament was put off from time to time; namely, from the seventh of *February* (whereon it was first appointed to meet) it was adjourned till the fifth of *October*, and afterward from the fifth of *October*, put off till the fifth of *November*. and accordingly their working in the vault (which attended the motion of the Parliament) had severall distinct intermissions, and resumptions thereof. As if Divine Providence had given warning to these Traytors (by the slow proceeding, and oft adjourning of the Parliament) mean time seriously to consider, what they went about; and seasonably to desist from so damnable a designe, as suspitious, at last it would be ruined, which so long had been retarded. But, no *taking off their* [d] *wheels* will stay those *chariots* from drowning, which God hath decreed shall be swallowed in the *Red sea*.

God gives them warning to desist, but they will take none.

d Exod. 14. 25.

30. *Behold! here is fire, and wood, but where is the Lamb for the burnt offering?* Alas! a whole flock of *lambs* were not farre off, all appointed to the slaughter. The King, Prince *Henry*, Peers, Bishops, Judges, Knights, and Burgesses, all designed to destruction. *Let me smite him* (said *Abishai* of *Saul*) [e] *even at once, and I will not smite him the second time.* So here, a blow, so sound, secret, and sudden, was intended it would not need *iteration*: *once*, and *ever*, the first act would finish all in an instant. But, thanks be to God, nothing was *blown up* but the *Treason*, or *brought to execution* but the *Traytors*.

The latitude of their designe.

e 1 Sam. 26. 8.

31. Indeed, some few daies before the *fatall stroke* should bee given, Master *Keyes*, being at *Tichmersh* in *Northampton-shire*, at the house of Master *Gilbert Pickering*, his Brother in-law (but of a different Religion, as a true *Protestant*) suddenly whipped out his sword, and in merriment made many offers therewith, at the heads, necks, and sides of many Gentlemen and Gentlewomen then in his company. This then was taken as a *meer frolick*, and for the present passed accordingly; but afterwards (when the Treason was discovered) such as remembred his gestures, thought thereby he did *act*, what he intended to *doe* (if the plot had took effect) hack, and hew; kill, and slay all eminent persons, of a different Religion from themselves.

The spitish behaviour of Keies.

32. *Curse* [f] *not the King, no not in thy thought* —— *for a bird of the aire shall carry the voice.* As here such a discovery was made: with a Pen (fetched from the feather of a foul) a Letter was written to the Lord *Mounteagle*, in manner following:

The mysticall Letter.

f Eccles. 10. 20.

My Lord,

OUt of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: Therefore, I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament: For, God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your self into your Country, where you may expect the event in safety: For, though there be no appearance of any stirre, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsell is not to be

contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harm; for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt the Letter: And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it: To whose holy protection I commend you.

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A strange Letter, from a strange hand, by a strange Messenger: without date to it, name at it, and (I had almost said) sense in it. A Letter, which, even when it was opened, was still sealed, such the affected obscurity therein.

The first search proves ineffectuall.

33. The Lord *Mounteagle*, as loyalty advised him, communicates the Letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, he to the KING. His Majesty, on the second perusall, expounded the mysticall *Blow* meant therein must be by Gun-powder, and gives order for searching the Rooms under the *Parliament House*, under pretence to look for lost Hangings, which were conveyed away. The first search about evening, discovered nothing but *Percy*'s Cellar, full of Wood, and *Johnson* his man (under that name was *Faux* disguised) attending therein. However the name of *Percy*, and sight of *Faux* so quickned the jealousie of the Lord *Mounteagle*, that this first slight Search led to a second scrutinie, more strictly, and secretly performed.

The second search discovers all.

34. This was made at midnight by Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Gentleman of His Majesties Privie Chamber, and others, into the Vault under the Parliament House. There *the mysterie of iniquity* was quickly discovered; a Pile of Fewell, faced over with Billets, lined under with thirty six Barrels of Powder, besides Iron barres, to make the force of the fire more effectuall. *Guido Faux* was apprehended in the outward Room, with a Dark Lantern in his hand (the lively embleme of their designe, whose *dark side* was turned to *man*, whiles the light part was exposed to God) and three Matches, ready to give fire to the Train. This Caitiffe professed himself onely grieved, that he was not in the inner room, to blow himself, and them, all up together: affirming moreover, that, *not God, but the Devil made the discovery of the Plot.*

The Traytors flie, and are taken.

35. Mean time, *Catesbie*, *Percy*, *Rookwood*, both the *Wrights*, and *Thomas Winter*, were hovering about *London*, to attend the issue of the matter. Having sate so long abrood, and hatching nothing, they began to suspect, all their eggs had proved addle. Yet betwixt hope, and fear, they and their Servants post down into the Countrey, thorough *Warwick*, and *Worcester*, into *Stafford shire*. Of Traytors they turn Felons, breaking up Stables, and stealing Horses as they went. But many of their own men (by a farre more lawfull felonie) stole away from their Masters, leaving them to shift for themselves. The neighbouring Counties, and their own consciences, rise up against these riotous Roisters, as yet unknown for Traytors. At last Sir *Richard Walsh*, High Sheriffe of *Worcestershire*, overtook them at *Holbeck* in *Stafford shire* at the house of Mr. *Stephen Littleton*; where, upon their resistance, the two *Wrights* were killed; *Rookwood*, and *Thomas Winter* shrewdly wounded.

Catesbie, and *Percie*, fight desperately for their lives.

36. As for *Percy*, and *Catesbie*, they fought desperately for their lives (as knowing, no *quarter*, but *quartering*, would be given unto them) and, as if they scorned to *turn their backs* to any but themselves, setting back to back, they fought against all that assaulted them. Many swords were drawn upon them, but gun-powder must doe the deed, which discharged that bullet, which dispatched them both. Never were two bad mens deaths more generally lamented of all good men; onely on this account, that they lived no longer, to be forced to a farther discovery of their secret Associates.

The Lord is just.

37. It must not be forgotten, how some hours before their apprehension, as these Plotters were drying dank gun-powder in an Inne, a Miller casually coming in (haply not heeding the *black meal* on the hearth) by careless casting on of a billet, fired the gun-powder: Up flies the Chimney, with part of the house: all therein are frighted, most hurt, but especially *Catesbie* and *Rookwood* had their faces soundly scorched; so bearing in their bodies, not *stigmata*, *the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ*, but the print of their own impieties. Well might they guesse, how good that their *cup of cruelty* was, whose dregs they meant others should drink,

g Gal. 6. 17.

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drink, by this little *sip*, which they themselves had unwillingly tasted thereof.

38. The rest were all at *London* solemnly arraigned, convicted, condemned. So foule the fact, so fair the proof, they could say nothing for themselves. Master *Tresham* dying in the prison, prevented a more ignominious end. The rest are legally executed.

Jan. 30. 1. Sir *Everard Digbie*, *Robert Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates*, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the West end of S. *Paul's*. Three of them, but especially Sir *Everard Digbie*, died very penitently, and devoutly; onely *Grant* expressed most obstinacy at his end.

Jan. 31. 2. *Thomas Winter*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Keies*, and *Faux* were executed, as the former, in the Parliament-yard in *Westminster*, *Keies* followed *Grant* in his obstinacie; and [b] *Faux* shewed more penitencie than all the rest. [b] *Stow's* Chron. pag. 881.

3. *Garnet*, Provinciall of the English Jesuits, was arraigned some weeks after, by [i] four severall names, and executed on the Saturday, which, he said, was called *Institutio crucis*; of whom largely in the next year. [i] *Stow*, p. 883.

They all craved testimony, that they died *Roman Catholicks*; my pen shall grant them this their last, and so equall petition, and bears witnesse to all whom it may concern, *That they lived, and died in the Romish Religion*. And although the hainousnesse of their offence, might, with some colour of justice, have angred severity into cruelty against them; yet so favourably were they proceeded with, that most of their Sons, or Heirs (except since disinherited by their own prodigality) at this day enjoy their Paternall possessions.

39. Heaven having thus defeated Hell of its desired successe, Earth since hath endevoured to defraud Heaven of its deserved praise. A posthume report is brought forth into the world (nursed, as it is fit, by the mothers thereof) that King JAMES was privie to this Plot all along; and, that His observing ran parallel with the Traytors, acting therein, so that He could discover it, when He pleased, but was not pleased to discover it, untill the Eve of the fifth of *November*, A fancie inconsistent with that ordinary piety, which all charitable men must allow King JAMES as a Christian; and with that extraordinary policie, which His adversaries admire in Him as a Statesman. Was it probable, that He would tempt God so profanely, as solemnly to thank him, for revealing that to Him, which he knew before? Would King JAMES his wisdome, not to say, His warinesse, not to say, His fearfulnesse, dally so long with destruction, as to put it off to the last hour, when, *Uno actu, tactu, ictu, nictu*, all might have been confounded? Was it not hard for Him to equivocate before such a Master of equivocation, as *Garnet* the Jesuit was? who, certainly, if he had smelt any jugling of King JAMES therein; would, no doubt, have proclamed it to all the world at his execution. I deny not, but, that the King, both by intelligence from forain parts, and secret information from those secular Priests, that Bishop *Bancroft* secretly kept in his house, was advertised in generall of some great Plot which the Jesuited Papists were hatching against the ensuing Parliament: but, for the particulars, that ridd'ling Letter brought Him the first notice thereof, whatsoever is fancied to the contrary. But, if wilde conjectures in such cases from obscure Authors, shall be permitted to justle for credit against received Records, all former unquestionable history, will be quickly reduced to an universall uncertainty. But there is a generation of people, who, to inhanse the reputation of their knowledge, seem not only, like mothes, to have lurked under the *carpets of the Counsel Table*; but, even like fleas, to have leaped into the pillows of Princes bed-chambers, thence deriving their private knowledge of all things, which were, or were not ever done, or thought of. In defiance of whom I adde, *Give unto Cesar the things that are Cesars, and unto God the things that are Gods*. Let King JAMES by reading the Letter, have the credit of discovering this Plot to the world, and GOD the glory for discovering it unto King JAMES. The presumption of a posthume report justly censured. The memory of this treason perpetuated by Act of Parl:

The memory of this treason pe-rusted by Act of Parl: k Cambden Brit. in Middlesex.

40. A learned k Author, making mention of this Treason, breaketh forth into the following rapture:

Excidat illa dies ævo, ne postera credant
Secula; nos certè taceamus, & obruta multâ
Nocte tegi propria patiamur crimina gentis.

Oh let that day be quite dash'd out of time,
And not believ'd by the next generation;
In night of silence we'll conceal the crime,
Thereby to save the credit of our nation.

A wish, which, in my opinion, hath more of Poetrie, than of pietie therein, and from which, I must be forced to dissent. For, I conceive not the credit of our Countrey-men concerned in this Plot; not beholding this as a nationall act, whose actors were but *a partie of a partie*, a desperate handfull of discontented persons of the Papisticall faction. May the day indeed be ever forgotten, as to the point of *imitation*, but be ever remembred to the *detestation* thereof. May it be solemnly transmitted to all posterity, that they may know, how bad man can be to destroy, and how good God hath been to deliver. That especially we English-men may take notice, how wofull we might have been, how happy we are, and how thankfull we ought to be. In order whereunto the Parliament (first moved therein by Sir *Edward Mountague*, afterward Baron of *Boughton*) enacted an annuall, and constant memoriall of that day to be observed.

Just complaint that the day is no better observed.

41. Certainly, if this Plot had took effect, the Papists would have celebrated this day with all solemnity, and it should have taken the upper hand of all other Festivalls. The more therefore the shame, and pity, that amongst Protestants, the keeping of this day (not as yet full fifty years old) begins already to wax weak, and decay. So that the *red letters*, wherein it is written, seem daily to grow dimmer, and paler in our English *Kalender*. God forbid, that our thankfulnesse for this great deliverance, formerly so solemnly observed, should hereafter be like the *squibs*, which the *Apprentices* in *London* make on this day; and which give a great *flash*, and *crack* at the first, but soon after go out in a stink.

The death of Archbishop Hutton.

42. *Matthew Hutton* Archbishop of *Yorke* ended his *religious life*, descended from an *antient Family* of *Hutton Hall* (as I take it, in *Lancashire*) *Fellow* of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge* (to the enlarging whereof he gave an *hundred marks*) afterwards *Master* of *Pembroke Hall*, and *Margaret Professour*, then Bishop of *Durham*, and Archbishop of *Yorke*. One of the last times that ever he preached in his *Cathedrall* was on this occasion: The *Catholicks* in *Yorkeshire* were commanded by the *Queens* Authority to be present at *three Sermons*, and at the two first behaved themselves so obstreperously, that some of them were forced to be *gagged*, before they would be quiet. The *Archbishop* preached the last Sermon most gravely and solidly, taking for his Text, *Joh.* 8. 47. *He that is of God heareth Gods words, ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God.*

A foul mistake rectified.

43. Here I must clear the memory of this *worthy Prelate*, from a mistake committed, surely not wilfully, but through false intelligence, by a pen, otherwise more ingenuous, and professing respect to him, and some familiarity with him.

Sir *John Harrington* in his *Additional* to Bishop *Godwin*, page 192.

"This Archbishop his eldest Sonne is a Knight, lately Sheriffe of *Yorkeshire*, "and of good reputation. One other Son he had, *Luke Hutton* by name, so vali-"ant, that he feared not men, nor laws; and for a robbery done on Saint *Luke's* "day; for names sake, he died as sad a death (though I hope with a better minde) "as the Thief of whom Saint *Luke* writes. The Archbishop herein shewed that "constancy and severity worthy of his place, for he would not endevour to save "him, as the world thought he easily might.

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The Truth.

This worthy Prelate had but three Sonnes,

1. *Marke*, who died young,
2. Sir *Timothy Hutton*, Knighted *Anno* 1605. and Sheriffe of *Yorkeshire*.
3. Sir *Thomas Hutton*, Knight, who lived and died also respected in his own Countrey.

As for this *Luke Hutton*, he was not his, but Son to Doctor *Hutton*, Prebendarie of *Durham*.

This Archbishop was a learned man, excepted even by a *Jesuit*, (who wrote in disgrace of the *English*, as neglecting the reading of *Fathers*) and another *Matthew* more, *qui unus in paucis versare Patres dicitur*. He founded an Hospitall in the *North*, and endowed it with the yearly revenue of *thirty five pounds*.

44. Two other Bishops this year also ended their lives: In *March*, *John*[l] *Young* Doctour in Divinity, once Master of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, Bishop of *Rochester*, in which See he sate above twenty seven years. And *Anthony Watson*, Fellow of *Christs Colledge* in *Cambridge*, first Dean of *Bristol*, and afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Her Almoner, namely after Bishop *Fletcher*, at whose indiscreet second marriage the Queen took distaste. Bishop *Watson* died in *September*, and alwaies led a single life.

The death of the Bishops of *Rochester* and *Chichester*.

l See Bishop *Godwin* in his Catalogue.

45. Father *Henry Garnet* was now most solemnly, and ceremoniously brought to the scaffold: who, because he is cried up by the Papists for so pretious a piece of piety, we will be the larger in the delivery of his true character. For, although we will not cast dirt on the fouleſt face, it is fit we should wash off the paint of counterfeit holinesse from the hypocriticall pretenders thereunto. Bred he was in *Winchester* School, where, with some other Scholars, he conspired to cut off his School-Masters, *Bilson's*[m] right hand (early his enmitie against Authority retrenching his riot) but that his designe was discovered. Being Prepositour of the School (whose frown, or favour was considerable to those under his inspection) he sodomitically abused five[n], or six, of the handsomest youths therein. Hereupon his School-Master advised him, yea, he advised himself, rather silently to slink away, than to stand Candidate for a repulse in his preferment to *New Colledge*. Over he fled to *Rome*, where, after some years, he so improved himself, that, from a Prepositour over boyes, he was made Provincial over men, even the whole Order of English Jesuits.

Garnet's education & early viciousnesse.

m Attested by Bishop *Bilson* of *Winchester* alive at *Garnet's* death, and many years after.

n *Rob Abbot* in his *Antilogia*, Epistle to the Reader.

46. Hence he returned into *England*, and was not onely privie to, but a principall plotter of the *Gunpowder-Treason*. Being attached, and imprisoned in the Tower, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Doctour *Overall*, Dean of S. *Paul's*, with other Divines, repaired unto him, charging it on his conscience, for not revealing so dangerous a conspiracie; *Garnet* pleaded for himself, that it was concredited unto him under the solemn seal of Confession; the violation whereof he accounted the highest impiety. This they disproved, because he had discourſed thereof frequently, and publickly, with *Catesbie*, *Gerard*, and *Greenwood*, circumstances inconsistent with the essentiall secrecie of Confession. *Garnet* sought to salve himself with a fine distinction (so fine that it brake to pieces in the spinning) that it was told him *in viâ ad confessionem*, *in order to confession*; which, though wanting some formalities thereof, did equally oblige his conscience to conceal it.

Canvased in the Tower by the Protestant Divines.

47. Dean *Overall* rejoyned, that Confession was of *antefacts*, not *postfacts*; and, that it is not *confession*, but *menacing* to impart to a Priest intended villanies. He farther urged, that their most conscientious Casuists allowed, yea, injoyned Priests discovery in such case, when a greater good accrued by revealing, than concealing such secrecies. *I was minded* (quoth *Garnet*) *to discover the plot, but not the persons therein.*

Confession only of antefacts.

48. Here the Earl of *Salisbury* interposed; and, who (said he) hindred you from discovering the Plot? *Even you your self* (answered *Garnet*) *for I knew full well, should I have revealed the Plot, and not the Plotters, you would have racked this poor body of mine to pieces, to make me confesse.* And now we have mentioned the rack,

Earl of *Salisbury's* question answered.

Know,

Know, that never any *rack* was used on *Garnet*, except a *wit-rack*, wherewith he was worsted, and this cunning archer outshot in his own bow. For being in prison with Father *Oldcorne*, *alias Hall*, his Confessour, they were put into an [o] *equivocating room*, (as I may terme it) which pretended nothing but privacie, yet had a *reservation* of some invisible persons within it, ear-witnesses to all the passages betwixt them, whereby many secrecies of *Garnet*'s were discovered. Ann. Dom. 1606. Ann. Reg. Jac. 5

49. In *Guild-hall* he was arraigned before the Lord Major, and the Lords of the Privie Councell, Sir *Baptist Hicks* (afterwards Viscount *Camden*) being foreman of the Jury, consisting of Knights, Esquires, and the most substantiall Citizens, whose integrities and abilities were above exception. I see therefore no cause why the defender of *Garnet*, after his death accuseth those men as incompetent, or improper for their place, as if he would have had him tried *per pares* by a *Jury of Jesuits* (and, would he have them all *Provincials* too?) which I believe, though summoned, would unwillingly have appeared in that place. *Garnet*, pleading little against pregnant proofs, was condemned, and some daies after publickly executed in S. *Paul*'s Church-yard. May 3

50. The Secretary of the Spanish Ambassadour (for we charitably believe his Master honester, and wiser) writing into *Spain*, and *Italy*, what here he took upon hear-say, filled forain Countreys with many falshoods concerning *Garnet*'s death, as namely,

1. That he manifested much alacrity of minde, in the cheerfulnesse of his looks at his death.	Whereas	1. He betrayed much servile fear, and consternation of spirit, much beneath the erected resolution of a Martyr.
2. His zealous, and fervent prayers much moved the people.		2. His prayers were faint, cold, and perplexed, oft interrupted with his listening to, and answering of others.
3. The people hindered the hangman from cutting the rope, and quartering him while alive.		3. That favour by speciall order from His Majestie, was mercifully indulged unto him.
4. The people so clawed the Executioner, that he hardly escaped with life.		4. No violence was done unto him, able many years after to give a cast of his office, if need required.
5. When he held up *Garnet*'s head to the people, there was a Panick silence, none saying, *God save the King*.		5. Acclamations in that kinde were as loud, and generall, as heretofore on the same occasion.

Thus suffered Father *Garnet*, after whose death some subtile persons have impudently broached, and other silly people senslesly believed a certain miracle of his working, which we here relate as we finde it reported:

51. *John Wilkinson*, a thorough-paced Catholick, living at S. *Omers*, posted over into *England*, as having a great desire to get, and keep some of *Garnet*'s reliques. Great was his diligence in coming early before others to the place of his execution (which advantaged him neer to *Garnet*'s person) and greater his patience in staying till all was ended, and the rest of the people departed. When, behold a straw besprinkled with some drops of his blood (and having an ear of corn at the end thereof) *leaped* [p] *up* on this *Wilkinson*, not taking *the rise of its leap* from the ground, he was sure, but whether from the *scaffold*, or from the *basket* wherein *Garnet*'s head was, he was uncertain: Was not this *Wilkinson* made of *Feat*, that he drew this straw so wonderfully unto him? Well, however it came to passe, joyfully he departs with this treasure, and deposits the same with the Wife

[o] *Abbot* in *Antilogia*, cap. 1. fol. 5.

Garnet his arraignment, & condemnation.

Popish false relations disproved.

The solemn tale of *Garnet*'s Straw-miracle.

[p] *Abbot*, lib. ut prius, cap. 14. fol. 198. out of whom for the main, all this story is taken, with the confutation thereof.

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Wife of *Hugh Griffith*, a Tailor (a Zealot of his own Religion) who provided a Chrystall Case for the more chaitie keeping thereof.

52. Some weeks after, upon serious inspection of this straw, the face of a man (and we must believe it was *Garnet's*) was perceived therein, appearing on the outside of a leaf (which covered a grain within it) and where the *convexitie* thereof represented the prominencie of the face, with good advantage. *Wilkinson*, *Hugh Griffith*, and his wife, *Thomas Laithwaith*, and others beheld the same, though there be some difference in their depositions, whose eyes had the first happinesse to discover this portraicture. Soon after, all *England* was *belittered* with the news of this *straw*, and Catholicks cried it up for no lesse than a miracle.

Garnet's picture appears in a straw.

53. There are two infallible touch-stones of a true miracle, which alwaies is done *totum*, *presently*, and *totum*, *perfectly*. Neither of these on examination appeared here. For, when this *straw saliens* leaped first up into *Wilkinson's* lap, it is to be presumed, that he (having it so long in his possession) critically surveyed the same, the volume whereof might quickly be perused: and yet then no such *effigiation* was therein discovered, which some nineteen weeks after became visible, about the nineteenth of *September* following. Surely had this *pregnant straw* gone out its full time of *fourty weeks*, it would have been delivered of a perfect picture indeed, whereas now miscarrying before that time, wonder not if all things were not so complete therein.

Not presently done.

54. For the face therein was not so exact, as which might justly intitle heaven to the workmanship thereof. Say not it was done in too small a scantling to be accurate, for *Deus est maximus in minimis*, *Gods exquisitenesse appears the most in* [9] *models*. Whereas when Witnesses were examined about this mock-miracle before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Francis Bowes* deposed, that he believed that a good Artisan might have drawn one more curiously, and *Hugh Griffith* himself attested, that it was no more like *Garnet*, than to any other man who had a beard; and that it was so small, none could affirm it to resemble him; adding moreover, that there was no *glory*, or *streaming raies* about it, which some did impudently report.

Not perfectly done.

[9] Exod. 2. 18.

55. However, this *inspirited straw* was afterward copied out, and at *Rome* printed in pomp, with many superstitious *coparaments* about it (as a coronet, a crosse, and nails) more than ever were in the originall. Yea, this miracle (how silly, and simple soever) gave the ground-work to *Garnet's beatification* by the Pope some moneths after. Indeed *Garnet* complained before his death, That he could not expect that the Church should own him for a Martyr, and signified the same in his Letter to his dear Mistresse *Anne* (but for her surname call her *Garnet*, or *Vaux*, as you please) because nothing of religion, and onely practices against the State were laid to his charge. It seemed good therefore to his Holinesse, not to canonize *Garnet* for a solemn Saint, much lesse for a Martyr, but onely to beatificate him, which (if I mistake not in their heavenly heraldrie) is by Papists accounted the least, and lowest degree of celestiall dignity, and yet a step above the *Commonalitie*, or ordinary sort of such good men as are saved. This he did to qualifie the infamie of *Garnet's* death, and that the perfume of this new title might outsent the stench of his treason. But we leave this *Garnet* (loth longer to disturb his blessednesse) *in his own place*, and proceed to such Church-matters as were transacted in this present Parliament.

Garnet's beatification occasioned by this mock-miracle.

56. Evil manners prove often (though against their will) the parents of good laws, as here it came to passe. The Parliament begun, and holden at *Westminster* the fifth of *November*, and there continued till the 27 of *May* following, enacted many things for the discovering, and repressing of *Popish Recusants*, extant at large in the printed *Statutes*. Whereof none was more effectuall, than that *Oath of Obedience*, which every *Catholick* was commanded to take, the form whereof is here inserted. Therather, because this *Oath* may be termed like two of *Isaac's* wells, *Esek*, and *Sitnah*; *Contention*, and *Hatred*, the subject of a rough contro-

Acts against Papists in Parliament, but principally the Oath of Obedience.

[7] Gen. 26. 20, 21.

versie betwixt us and *Rome*, about the legall urging, and taking thereof; Protestants no lesse learnedly asserting, than Papists did zealously oppose the same.

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The form of which Oath is as followeth:

I A. B. *doe truly and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie, and declare in my conscience before God, and the world, That our Soveraigne Lord King* James *is lawfull, and rightfull King of this Realm, and of all other His Majesties Dominions, and Countreys; and that the Pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the Church, or See of* Rome, *or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power, or authority to depose the King, or to dispose any of His Majesties Kingdomes, or Dominions, or to authorize any forraign Prince to invade, or annoy Him, or His Countreys, or to discharge any of His subjects of their allegiance, and obedience to His Majestie, or to give licence, or leave to any of them to bear armes, raise tumults, or to offer any violence, or hurt to His Majesties Royall Person, State, or Government, or to any of His Majesties subjects, within His Majesties Dominions.*

Also I doe sweare from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of Excommunication, or deprivation, made, or granted, or to be made, or granted by the Pope, or his Successours, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his See, against the said King, His Heires, or Successours, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience: I will beare faith, and true allegiance to His Majestie, His Heires, and Successours, and Him, and Them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against His or Their Persons, Their Crown, and Dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence, or declaration, or otherwise, and will doe my best endevour to disclose, and make known unto His Majestie, His Heires and Successours, all treasons, and traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know, or heare of, to be against Him, or any of Them.

And I doe further sweare, That I doe from my heart abhorre, detest, and abjure, as impious, and hereticall, this damnable doctrine, and position, That Princes, which be excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed, or murthered by Their subjects, or any other whatsoever.

And I doe beleeve, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministred unto me, and doe renounce all Pardons, and Dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I doe plainly, and sincerely acknowledge, and sweare, according to these expresse words, by me spoken, and according to the plain, and common sense, and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mentall evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I doe make this recognition, and acknowledgement heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God.

This Oath was devised to discriminate the pernicious from the peaceable Papists. *Sure binde, sure finde.* And the makers of this were necessitated to be larger therein, because it is hard to strangle *equivocation*, which, if unable by might to break, will endevour by slight to slip the halter.

The Pope his two *Breve's* against this Oath. *See K. James his Works, pag. 250.*

57. No sooner did the newes thereof arrive at the east of his Holiness, but presently he dispatcheth his *Breve* into *England*, prohibiting all Catholicks to take this Oath, so destructive to their own soules, and the See of *Rome*, exhorting them patiently to suffer persecution, and manfully to endure martyrdome. And because report was raised, that the Pope wrote this *Breve*, *not of his own motive, and proper will, but rather for the respect, and at the instigation of others*, next by the same[1] second to give faith, and confirmation to the former. Notwithstanding all which, this Oath, being tendred to, was generally taken by Catholicks, without any scruple or regrete. And particularly *George Blackwell*, Archpriest of the English, being apprehended, and cast into prison, by taking this Oath, wrought his

[1] *Euan, ibid. pag. 258.*

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his own enlargement. Which made Cardinal *Bellarmine* (ſome fourty years agoe acquainted with him) in his Letters[u] kindly to reprove him for the ſame.

58. And now the allarme being given, *whether this Oath was lawfull, or no*; both parties of Proteſtants and Papiſts drew forth their forces into the field. King JAMES undertook the POPE himſelf; the wearer of Three, againſt the wearer of a Triple Crown (an even match) effectually confuting his *Breve*'s. Biſhop *Andrews* takes *Bellarmine* to task; Biſhop *Barlow* poures out upon *Parſons*; Doctor *Morton*, Doctor *Robert Abbot*, Doctor *Buckeridge*, Doctor *Collins*, Doctor *Burrel*, Maſter *Tomſon*, Doctor *Peter Moulin*, maintain the legality of the Oath, againſt *Suarez*, *Eudæmon*, *Becanus*, *Coſtetcus*, *Peleterius*, and others, to whoſe worthy Works the Reader is referred for his farther ſatisfaction. I may *call it*, not *go into* theſe controverſies, leſt, by ſtaying ſo long, I be benighted in my way, the rather, becauſe the nearer we approach our home, the longer the miles grow, I mean, matter multiplieth toward the concluſion of our work. And now it is not worth the while, to go into the *contemporary Convocation*, where we meet with nothing but *formality* and *continuations*.

[u] Extant, *ibid.* pag. 206. Pens tilting at pens about the lawfulneſſe of this Oath.

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SECTION III.

THOMÆ DACRES DE CHESTHUNT, Armig:

AVdisti sæpius de Rotundâ tabulâ, *quam* VVintonia jactitat: *Hanc Regem* Arthurum *instituisse ferunt; ne inter Milites ejus discumbentes aliquid discordiæ ob* πρωτοκαθεδρίαν *orireretur.*

Nôsti quales olim Libri *fuerunt cum in gyrum rotarentur. Hinc adhuc inter Latinos* volumen *à* volvendo *obtinet. Nihil igitur interest quo ordine Patroni mei collocentur, cum in circulari formâ inter* primum *&* imum *nihil sit discriminis.*

Sed quorsum hæc! Cum Genus tuum, licèt splendidum, (tanta est Comitas, quæ te illustrem reddidit) non fastuosè consulas: Tibi omnia prospera. Vale.

The names, places, and severall employments of the Translators of the Bible.

WEE May remember, that one of the best things produced by *Hampton-Court-Conference*, was a resolution in His Majesty for a new Translation of the Bible. Which religious designe was now effectually prosecuted, and the Translators, being seven and fourty in number, digested into six companies, and severall Books assigned them, in order as followeth, according unto the severall places wherein they were to meet, conferre, and consult together; so that nothing should passe without a generall consent.

Westmin-

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Weſtminſter 10.

The *Pentateuch*; the Story from *Joſhua*, to the firſt Book of the *Chronicles*, excluſively.

- Doctor *Andrews*, Fellow, and Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambr:* then Dean of *Weſtminſter*, after Biſhop of *Winchester*.
- Dr. *Overall*, Fellow of *Trin: Coll:* Maſter of *Kath: Hall* in *Cambr:* then Dean of S. *Pauls*, after Biſhop of *Norwich*.
- Dr. *Saravia*.
- Dr. *Clarke*, Fellow of *Chriſt-Coll:* in *Cambr:* Preacher in *Canterbury*.
- Dr. *Laifield*, Fellow of *Trin* in *Cambr:* Parſon of St. *Clement-Danes*. Being ſkill'd in Architecture, his judgment was much rely'd on for the fabrick of the Tabernacle and Temple.
- Dr. *Leigh*, Archdeacon of *Middleſex*, Parſon of *Allhallows-Barking*.
- Maſter *Burgley*.
- Mr. *King*.
- Mr. *Thompſon*.
- Mr. *Bedwell* of *Cambridge*, and (I think) of Saint *Johns*, Vicar of *Tottenham* nigh *London*.

Cambridge 8.

From the firſt of the *Chronicles* with the reſt of the Story, & the *Hagiographa*, viz: *Job*, *Pſalmes*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Eccleſiaſtes*.

- Maſter *Lively*.
- Mr. *Richardſon*, Fell: of *Emman:* after D.D. Maſter firſt of *Peter-Houſe*, then of *Trin: Coll:*
- Mr. *Chaderton*, after D.D. Fell: firſt of *Chriſt-Coll:* the Maſter of *Emmanuel*.
- Mr. *Dillingham*, Fell. of *Chriſt Coll:* beneficed at in *Bedford ſhire*, where he died a ſingle, and a wealthie-man.
- Mr. *Andrews*, after D. D. brother to the Biſhop of *Winchester*, and Maſter of *Jeſus-Coll:*
- Mr. *Harriſon*, the Reverend Vice Maſter of *Trinity-Coll:*
- Mr. *Spalding*, * Fell: of St. *Johns* in *Cambr:* and Hebrew-Profeſſor therein.
- Mr. *Bing*, Fell: of *Peter-Houſe* in *Cambr:* and Hebrew-Profeſſour therein.

* See our Catalogue of the Hebrew Profeſſors in *Cambridge* to marſhall their ſucceſſion.

Oxford 7.

The four greater *Prophets*, with the *Lamentations*, and the twelve leſſer *Prophets*.

- Doctor *Harding*, Preſident of *Magdalene-Colledge*.
- Dr. *Reynolds*, Preſident of *Corpus-Chriſti-Colledge*.
- Dr. *Holland*, Rectour of *Exceter-Colledge*, and Kings-Profeſſour.
- Dr. *Kilby*, Rectour of *Lincoln-Colledge*, and *Regius* Profeſſour.
- Maſter *Smith*, after D.D. and Biſhop of *Gloceſter*. He made the learned and religious Preface to the Tranſlation.
- Mr. *Brett*, of a worſhipfull family, beneficed at *Quainton* in *Buckingham ſhire*.
- Mr. *Faireclowe*.

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Cambridge 7.

The *Prayer of Manasseh*, and the rest of the *Apocrypha*.

- Doctor *Duport*, Prebend of *Elie*, and Master of *Iesus Colledge*.
- Dr. *Brainthwait*, first Fellow of *Emmanuel*, then Master of *Gonvel* and *Caius-Coll:*
- Dr. *Radclyffe*, one of the seniour Fellows of *Trin: Coll:*
- Master *Ward*, *Emman:* after D.D. Master of *Sidney-Coll:* and *Margaret-Professour*.
- Mr. *Downes*, Fellow of St. *Iohns-Coll:* and Greek-Professour.
- Mr. *Boyse*, Fellow of St. *Iohns-Coll:* Prebend of *Elie*, Parson of *Boxworth* in *Cambridge-shire*.
- Mr. *Ward*, Regal, after D. D. Prebend of *Chichester*, Rector of *Bishop-Waltham* in *Hampshire*.

Oxford 8.

The four *Gospels*, *Acts of the Apostles*, *Apocalyps*.

- Doctor *Ravis*, Dean of *Christ-Church*, afterwards Bishop of *London*.
- Dr. *Abbot*, Master of *University-Coll:* afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*.
- Dr. *Eedes*.
- Mr. *Thompson*.
- Mr. *Savill*.
- Dr. *Peryn*.
- Dr. *Ravens*.
- Mr. *Harmer*.

Westminster 7.

The *Epistles* of S. *Paul*, The Canonicall Epistles.

- Doctor *Barlowe*, of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, Dean of *Chester*, after Bishop of *Lincolne*.
- Dr. *Hutchenson*.
- Dr. *Spencer*.
- Mr. *Fenton*.
- Mr. *Rabbet*.
- Mr. *Sanderson*.
- Mr. *Dakins*.

Now, for the better ordering of their proceedings, His Majestie recommended the following Rules by them to be most carefully observed:

The Kings instructions to the Translators.

1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Bishops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered as the Originall will permit.
2. The names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as neer as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used.
3. The old Ecclesiasticall words to be kept, *viz:* as the word [Church] not to be translated Congregation, &c.
4. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used, by the most eminent Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogie of faith.
5. The division of the Chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.
6. No marginall notes at all to be affixed, but onely for the explanation of the Hebrew, or Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.
7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

8. Every

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8. Every particular man of each company to take the same Chapter, or Chapters; and, having translated, or amended them severally by himself where he thinks good, all to meet together, conferre what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand.

9. As any one company hath dispatched any one Book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously, and judiciously; for, His Majestie is very carefull in this point.

10. If any company, upon the review of the Book so sent, shall doubt, or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithall send their reasons: to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.

11. When any place of speciall obscurity is doubted of, Letters to be directed by Authority, to send to any learned in the Land for his judgment in such a place.

12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop, to the rest of his Clergie, admonishing them of this Translation in hand; and to move, and charge as many as, being skilfull in the Tongues, have taken pains in that kinde, to send his particular observations to the Company, either at *Westminster*, *Cambridge*, or *Oxford*.

13. The directours in each Company, to be the Deans of *Westminster*, and *Chester*, for that place; and the Kings Professours in the Hebrew, and Greek, in each Universitie.

14. These Translations to be used, when they agree better with the Text, than the Bishops Bible, viz: *Tindals*, *Matthews*, *Coverdals*, *Whitchurch*, *Geneva*.

Besides the said directions before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient, and grave Divines in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellour, upon conference with the rest of the Heads, to be Overseers of the Translations, as well Hebrew, as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth Rule above specified.

1. The untimely death of Mr. *Edward Lively*, much weight of the work lying on his skill in the Oriental Tongues, happening about this time (*happy that servant whom his Master, when he cometh, findeth so doing*) not a little retarded their proceedings. However the rest vigorously, though slowly, proceeded in this hard, heavie, and holy task, nothing offended with the censures of impatient people, condemning their delaies, though indeed but due deliberation, for haste. Our pen for the present takes its leave of them, not doubting but within two years to give a good account of them, or rather that they will give a good account of themselves.

Mr. *Lively* his death.

In the *translating of the Bible*, one of the eminent persons employed therein was *translated* into a better life, *viz.*:

The death of Dr. *Reynolds*.

May 21. Doctor *John Reynolds*, Kings Professour in *Oxford*, born in *Devonshire*, with Bishop *Jewell*, and Mr. *Hooker*; and all three bred in *Corpus Christi Colledge* in *Oxford*. No one *County* in *England* have three such men (* *contemporaries* at large) in what *Colledge* soever they were bred, no *Colledge* in *England* bred such three men, in what *County* soever they were born.

* He was Batchelor of Arts before Bishop *Jewels* death.

This *John Reynolds* at the first was a zealous Papist, whilst *William* his Brother was as earnest a Protestant, and afterwards Providence so ordered it that by their mutuall disputation *John Reynolds* turned an eminent Protestant, and *William* an inveterate Papist, in which perswasion he died.

A strange encounter.

This

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This gave the occasion to an excellent Copie of Verses, concluding with this *Distich*,

Quod genus hoc pugnæ est? ubi victus gaudet uterq́,
Et simul alteruter se superasse dolet.

What war is this? when conquered both are glad,
And either to have conquered when sad.

Chap. 11. ver. 4. *Daniel* saith, *Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.* But here indeed was a strange *transcursion*, and remarkable the effects thereof.

His admirable parts and piety. 5. His memory was little lesse than miraculous (he himself being the truest *Table* to the multitude of voluminous Books he had read over, whereby he could readily turn to all materiall passages in every *leaf, page, volume, paragraph*, not to descend lower, to *lines* and *letters*. As his Memory was a faithfull *Index*, so his Reason was a solid *Index* of what he read; his Humility set a lustre on all (admirable that the whole should be so *low*, whose *severall parts* were so *high*) communicative of which he knew to any that desired information herein, like a tree loaden with fruit, bowing down its branches to all that desired to ease it of the burden thereof, deserving this *Epitaph*:

Incertum est utrum Doctior an Melior.

Most conformable in his practice to the Church of England. 6. His disaffection to the discipline established in *England* was not so great, as some *Bishops* did *suspect*, or as more *Non-conformists* did *believe*. No doubt he desired the abolishing of some Ceremonies for the ease of the conscience of others, to which in his own practice he did willingly submit, constantly wearing Hood and Surplice, and kneeling at the Sacrament. On his death-bed he earnestly desired *absolution*, according to the form of the Church of *England*, and received it from Doctor *Holland*, whose hand he affectionately kissed, in expression of the joy he received thereby: Doctor *Featly* made his funerall Oration in the Colledge, Sir *Isaac Wake* in the University.

Dr. Cranmer in his Defence of the English against Spalato. Mr. Molle his birth and breeding. 7. About this time Mr. *John Molle*, Governour to the Lord *Ross* in his travails, began his unhappy journey beyond the Seas. This Mr. *Molle* was born in, or neer *South-Molton* in *Devon*. His youth was most spent in *France*, where both by sea and land he gained much dangerous experience. Once the ship he sailed in sprung a-leak, wherein he and all his company had perished, if an *Hollander* (bound for *Guernsey*) passing very neer, had not speedily taken them in; which done, their ship sunk immediately. Being Treasurer for Sir *Thomas Shirley* of the *English Army* in *Britanie*, he was in the defeat of *Cambray* wounded, taken prisoner, and ransomed; Providence designing him neither to be swallowed by the surges, nor slain by the sword, but in due time to remain a *Land-mark* of Christian patience to all posterity. At last he was appointed by *Thomas*, Earl of *Exeter*, (who formerly had made him Examiner in the Councell of the *North*) to be Governour in Travail to his Grand-childe, the Lord *Ross*, undertaking the charge with much reluctancie (as a presage of ill successe) and with a profession, and a resolution not to passe the *Alpes*.

His sad Dilemma. 8. But a *Vagari* took the Lord *Ross* to go to *Rome*, though some conceive this motion had its root in more mischievous brains. In vain doth Mr. *Molle* dissuade him, grown now so wilfull, he would in some sort govern his Governour. What should this good man doe? To leave him were to desert his trust, to goe along with him was to endanger his own life. At last his affections to his charge so prevailed against his judgment, that unwillingly willing he went with him. Now, at what rate soever they rode to *Rome*, the fame of their coming came thither before them; so that no sooner had they entred their Inne, but Officers asked for Mr. *Molle*, took and carried him to the Inquisition-House, where he remained a prisoner, whilest the Lord *Ross* was daily feasted, favoured, entertained: so that some

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some will not stick to say, That here he changed no Religion for a bad one.

His constancy in the Inquisition.

9. However, such Mr. *Molle*'s glorious constancy, that whilest he look'd forward on his cause, and upwards to his crown, neither frights nor flattery could make any impression on him. It is questionable, whether his friends did more pity his misery, or admire his patience. The pretence, and allegation of his so long and strict imprisonment, was, because he had translated *Du Plessis* his Book of *The Visibility of the Church*, out of *French* into *English*; but besides, there were other contrivances therein, not so fit for a publick relation. In vain did his friends in *England*, though great and many, endeavour his enlargement by exchange, for one or moe Jesuits, or Priests, who were prisoners here. Papists beholding this *Molle* as a *man of a thousand*, who, if discharged the Inquisition, might give an account of Romish cruelty to their great disadvantage.

His death in durance. * So am I informed by a Letter from Mr. Hen. Molle his Son.

10. In all the time of his durance, he never heard from any * friend, nor any from him, by word or letter: no English man being ever permitted to see him, save onely one, *viz.* Mr. *Walter Strickland* of *Bointon-house* in *York shire*. With very much desire, and industry, he procured leave to visit him, an *Irish Frier* being appointed to stand by, and be a witnesse of their discourse. Here he remained *thirty years* in restraint, and in the *eighty first year* of his age died a Prisoner, and constant Confessour of *Christ* his cause. *God be magnified in, and for the sufferings of his Saints.*

The death of Bishop *Vaughan*.

11. In this year *Richard Vaughan*, Doctor of Divinity, bred in S. *John*'s *Colledge* in *Cambridge*, successively Bishop of *Bangor*, *Chester*, and *London*, ended his life. A corpulent man, but spiritually minded, such his integrity, not to be bowed (though force was not wanting) to any base connivance, to wrong the Church he was placed in. His many virtues made his losse to be much bemoaned.

Mr. *Brightmans* birth, and breeding.

12. Greater was the grief, which the death of Master *Thomas Brightman* caused to the disaffectors of the Church-discipline of *England*. He was born in the Town of *Nottingham*, bred in *Queens-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where a constant opposition, in point of judgment about Ceremonies, was maintained between him, and Doctor *Meryton*, afterwards Dean of *Yorke*. Here he filled himselfe with abilities for the Ministerie, waiting a call to vent himselfe in the Countrey.

A Patron paramount.

13. It happened this very time, that Sir *John*, Son to Mr. *Peter Osborne* (both lovers of learned, and godly men) not onely bought, and restored the Rectorie of *Haunes* in *Bedford shire*, (formerly alienated) to the Church, but also built thereon from the ground a fair House, which he furnished with fitting utensils for the future Incumbent thereof. This done, at his desire of an able Minister, Doctor *Whitakers* recommended Master *Brightman* unto him, on whom Sir *John*, not onely freely conferred the Living, but also the profits of two former years, which the Knight inned at his own cost, and kept in his possession.

Exceptions against Master *Brightman*'s Book.

14. Here Mr. *Brightman* employed himself both by preaching, and writing, to advance Gods glory, and the good of the Church, witnesse his learned Comments in most pure Latine on the *Canticles*, and *Revelation*; though for the latter greatly grudged at on severall accounts:

1. For the Title thereof, conceived too insolent for any creature to affix, *A Revelation of The Revelation*; except immediate Inspiration, which made the *lock*, had given the *key* unto it.
2. For being over-positive in his interpretations: The rather, because the Reverend Mr. *Calvin* himself, being demanded his opinion of some passages in the *Revelation* (as a learned * man reporteth) answered ingenuously, *That he knew not at all what so obscure a writer meant.*

* *Bodin* in his Method of History, cap. 7.

3. For over-particularizing in personal expositions, applying severall An-

Chap. 14. v. 18 He maketh Arch-bp. Cranmer the Angel to have power over the fire: and Ch. 16. v. 5. He makes Will. Cecil L. d. Treas. of England the Angel of the waters (if Lord Admirall, it had been more proper) justifying the pouring out of the third viall.

gels mentioned therein, to the Lord *Cromwell*, Archbishop *Cranmer*, *Cecill* Lord *Burley*, &c. Such restrictiveness being unsuitable with the large concernment of Scripture; as if *England*, half an Island in the Western corner, were more considerable than all the world besides, and the theater whereon so much should be performed. Ann. Dom 1607. Ann. Reg. Jac. 5

4. In resembling the Church of *England* to luke-warm *Laodicea*, praising, and preferring the purity of forrain Protestant-Churches.

Indeed his daily discourse was against Episcopal Government, which he declared would shortly be pulled down. He spake also of great troubles, which would come upon the Land; of the destruction of *Rome*, and the Universall calling of the *Jewes*, affirming, That some then alive should see all these things effected.

His angelical life.

15. However, his life was most angelicall by the confession of such, who in judgment dissented from him. His manner was alwaies to carry about him a *Greek Testament*, which he read over every fortnight, reading the *Gospels*, and the *Acts*, the first; the *Epistles*, and the *Apocalyps*, the second week. He was little of stature, and (though such commonly cholerick) yet never known to be moved with anger; and therefore when his pen falls foul on Romish superstition, his friends account it zeal, and no passion.

His sudden death.

16. His desire was to die a sudden death, if God so pleased (surely not out of opposition to the *English Liturgie* praying against the same, but) for some reasons best known to himself. God granted him his desire, a death, sudden in respect of the shortnesse of the time, though premeditated on, and prepared for by him, who *waited for his change*; and, being a watchfull souldier, might be assaulted, not surprized. For, riding in a Coach with Sir *John Osborne*, and reading of a Book (for he would lose no time) he fainted, and, though instantly taken out in a servants armes, and set on his lap, on an hillock, all means affordable at that instant being used for his recovery, died on the place, on the twenty fourth of *August*, and is buried in the Chancell of *Hannes* (Reverend Doctor *Bulkley* preaching his funerall Sermon) after he had faithfully fed his flock therein for fifteen years. Aug. 24.

Whence we derive our intelligence.

17. He was a constant Student, much troubled before his death with obstructions, both of the liver, and gall; and is supposed by Physicians to have died of the later, about the fiftieth one year of his age. And now no doubt he is in the number of those * *Virgins*, who *were not defiled with women, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*. Who alwaies led a single life, as preferring a bed *unfilled*, before a bed *undefiled*. This my intelligence I have received by Letter, from my worthy friend lately gone to God, Master *William Buckly*, Bachelour of Divinity, and once Fellow of *Queens Colledge* in *Cambridge*, who living hard by *Hannes*, at *Clyston*, at my request diligently inquired, and returned this his character, from aged, credible persons, familiar with Master *Brightman*.

* Revel. 14. 4.

18. This *year* silently slipt away in *peace*, *plenty*, and *prosperity*, being *ended* before effectually *begun*, as to any memorable *Church-matter* therein. Indeed all the Reigne of King JAMES was better for one to *live under*, than to *write of*, consisting of a *Champian* of constant tranquility, without any tumours of trouble to entertain posterity with. 1608.

An Act for Chelsey-Colledge.

19. In the Parliament now sitting at *Westminster* (in whose parallel Convocation nothing of consequence) the most remarkable thing Enacted was, the Act made to enable the *Provost*, and *Fellowes of Chelsey-Colledge*, *to dig a trench* out of the river *Lee*, to erect *Engines*, *water-works*, &c. *to convey*, *and carry water in close-pipes under ground*, *unto the City of* London, *and the Suburbs thereof*, *for the perpetuall maintenance*, *and sustentation of the Provost*, *and Fellows of that Colledge*, *and their successours*, *by the rent to be made of the said waters so conveyed*. Where, first lighting on the mention of this Colledge, we will consider it in a fourfold capacity: 1. As intended, and designed. 2. As growing, and advanced. 3. As hindred, 1609.

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hindred, and obstructed. 4. As decaying, and almost, at the present, ruined. I shall crave the Reader pardon, if herein I make excursions into many years (but without discomposing of our Chronologie on the margin) because it is my desire (though the Colledge be left imperfect) to finish, and complete my description thereof, so farre as my best intelligence will extend; being herein beholding to Doctor *Samuel Wilkinson*, the fourth, and present Provost of that Colledge, courteously communicating unto me the considerable Records thereof.

20. It was intended for a *Spirituall Garrison*, with a *Magazine* of all Books for that purpose; where learned Divines should study, and write, in maintenance of all Controversies against the Papists. Indeed, the Romanists herein may rise up, and condemn those of the Protestant Confession. For, as [a] *Solomon* used not his military men for any servile work, in building the Temple (whereof the Texr assigneth this reason, (*For they were men of warre:*) so the Romish Church doth not burden their *Professours* with preaching, or any parochiall incumbrances, but reserves them onely for Polemical studies. Whereas in *England*, the same man reads, preacheth, catechizeth, disputes, delivers Sacraments, &c. So that, were it not for Gods marvellous blessing on our studies, and the infinite odds of *truth* on our side, it were impossible, in humane probability, that we should hold up the bucklers against them. Besides the study of Divinity, at the least two able Historians were to be maintained in this Colledge, faithfully, and learnedly to record, and publish to posterity all memorable passages in Church, and Commonwealth.

The glory of the designe.

[a] 2 Chron. 8. 9.

21. In pursuance of this designe, His Majesty incorporated the said foundation, by the name of *King JAMES his Colledge in Chelsey*; and bestowed on the same by his Letters Patents, the reversion of good land in *Chelsey* (then in possession of *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lease thereof not expiring till about thirty years hence) and also gave it a capacity to receive of His loving Subjects any lands, not exceeding in the whole the yearly value of three thousand pounds.

K. *James* His Mortmain, and personal benefaction;

22. Next King JAMES, let me place Doctor *Matthew Sutcliffe*, Dean of *Exeter*; who, though no Prince by *birth*, seems little lesse by his *bounty* to this Colledge. As *Araunah*, but a private Subject, gave things [b] *as a King* to Gods service, such the royall liberality of this Doctor, bestowing on this Colledge,

Dr. *Sutcliffe* his bounty.

[b] 2 Sam. 24. 23.

The Farms of	1. *Kingstone*	1. *Staverton*	All in the County of *Devon*, and put together, richly worth three hundred pounds *per annum*.
	2. *Hazzard*	2. *Harberton*	
	3. *Appleton*	3. *Cherchton*	
	4. *Kramerland*	4. *Stoke-rivers*	

in the Parish of

Besides these, by his Will, dated *November* 1. 1628. he bequeathed unto Doctor *John Prideaux*, and Doctor *Clifford* (as *Feoffees in trust*, to settle the same on the Colledge) the benefit of the *Extent* on a *Statute* of four thousand pounds, acknowledged by Sir *Lewis Stenklie*, &c. A bountifull benefaction, and the greater, because the said Doctour had a Daughter, and the Children of her own. And, although this endowment would scarce make the *Pot of pottage* [c] seethe for *the sons of the Prophets*, yet, what feasts would it have made in his private family, if continued therein? Seeing therefore so publick a minde in so private a man, the more the pity, that this good Doctour was deserted, *Uriah*-like, [d] ingaged in the forefront to fight alone against an army of difficulties; which he encountred in this designe, whilest such men basely retired from him, which should have seasonably succoured, and seconded him in this action.

[c] 2 Kings 4. 38, 39.

[d] 2 Sam. 11. 17.

23. The fabrick of this Colledge was begun on a piece of ground called *Thameshot*, containing about six acres, and then in possession of *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, who granted a Lease of his terme therein to the said Provost, at the yearly rent of seven pounds ten shillings. King JAMES laid the first

The Structure.

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stone thereof, and gave all the timber requisite thereunto, which was to be fetch'd out of *Windsor-Forrest*. And yet that long range of building, which alone is extant, scarce finished at this day (thus made, though not of free-stone, of free-timbet) as I am informed, cost (oh the dearnesse of Church and Colledge-work!) full three thousand pound. But alas! what is this piece (not an eighth part) to a double quadrant, besides wings on each side, which was intended? If the aged fathers, which remembred the magnificence of *Solomon's*, wept at the meanesse of the [a] second Temple; such must needs be sad, which consider the disproportion betwixt what was performed, and what was projected in this Colledge: Save that I confesse, that the destruction of beautifull buildings once really extant, leave greater impressions in mens mindes, than the miscarriages of onely intentional structures, and the faint *Ideas* of such future things, as are probably propounded, but never effected.

[a] Hag. 2. 3.

The first Provost and Fellows.

24. And here we will insert the number, and names of the Provost, and first Fellows (and some of them probable to be last Fellows, as still surviving) as they were appointed by the King Himself, *Anno* 1610. *May* 8.

Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of *Exeter*, Provost.

1. *John Overal*, Dean of S. *Pauls*.
2. *Thomas Morton*, Dean of *Winchester*.
3. *Richard Field*, Dean of *Gloucester*.
4. *Robert Abbot*,
5. *John Spenser*,
6. *Miles Smith*,
7. *William Covitt*,
8. *John Howson*,
9. *John Layfield*,
10. *Ben: Charrier*,
11. *Martin Fotherbie*,
12. *John Boys*,
13. *Richard Brett*,
14. *Peter Lilie*,
15. *Francis Burley*,

} Doctors of Divinity.

16. *William Hellier*, Arch-Deacon of *Barstable*.
17. *John White*, Fellow of *Manchester-Colledge*.

William Cambden, Clarenceaux, } Historians.
John Haywood, Doctor of Law, }

See here, none, who were actuall Bishops, were capable of places in this Colledge. And, when some of these were afterwards advanced to Bishopricks, others translated to heaven, King JAMES by His now Letters Patents, 1622. *Novemb:* 14. substituted others in their room. Amongst whom the Archbishop of *Spalato* (but no more than Dean of *Windsor* in *England*) was most remarkable.

The King his Letters to the Archbishop: and his to the Bishops.

25. To advance this work, His Majestie *Anno* 1616. sent His Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to stirre up all the Clergie in his Province to contribute to so pious a work, according to the tenour thereof here inserted:

WHereas the enemies of the Gospel have ever been forward to write, and publish Books for confirming of erroneous doctrine, and impugning the truth; and now of late seem more carefull than before, to send daily into Our Realms such their writings, whereby Our loving Subjects, though otherwise well-disposed, might be seduced, unless some remedy thereof should be provided. We, by the advice of Our Councel, have lately granted a Corporation, and given Our allowance for erecting a Colledge at Chelsey, *for learned Divines to be imployed to write, as occasion shall require, for maintaining the Religion professed in Our Kingdomes, and confuting the impugners thereof.*

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thereof. Whereupon, Doctour Sutcliffe, *designed Provost of the said Colledge, hath now humbly signified unto Us, that upon divers promises of help, and assistance, towards the erecting, and endowing the said Colledge, he hath at his own charge begun, and well proceeded in building, as doth sufficiently appear by a good part thereof already set up in the place appointed for the same. We therefore, being willing to favour and further so religious a work, will and require you to write your Letters to the Bishops of your Province, signifying unto them in Our name, that Our pleasure is, they deal with the Clergie, and others of their Diocesse, to give their charitable benevolence for the perfecting of this good work so well begun: And, for the better performance of Our desire, We have given order to the said Provost, and his Associates to attend you, and others whom it may appertain, and to certifie Us from time to time of their proceeding.*

A copie of this His Majesties Letter was sent to all the Bishops of *England*, with the Archbishops additionall Letter, in order as followeth:

NOw because it is so pious, and religious a work, conducing both to Gods glory, and the saving of many a soul within this Kingdome, I cannot but wish, that all devout, and well affected persons should by your self, and the Preachers in your Diocesse, as well publickly as otherwise, be excited to contribute in some measure to so holy an intendment now well begun. And, although these, and the like motions have been frequent in these later times, yet let not those, whom God hath blessed with any wealth, be weary of well-doing, that it may not be said, That the idolatrous and superstitious Papists be more forward to advance their falshoods, than we are to maintain Gods truth.

Whatsoever is collected, I pray your Lordship may be carefully brought unto me; partly that it passe not through any defrauding hand, and partly, that His Majestie may be acquainted what is done in this behalf.

Yet, for all these hopefull endevours, and collections in all the Parishes of *England*, slow, and small were the summes of money brought in to this work. Many of them were scattered out, in the gathering them up, the charges of the Collectours consuming the profit thereof. If (as it is vehemently suspected) any of these collections be but detained by private persons, I conceive it no trespasse against Christian charity to wish, that the *pockets*, which keep such money, may rot all their suites that wear them, till they make true restitution thereof.

26. Various are mens conjectures (as directed by their own interest) what obstructed so hopefull proceedings, and it is safer for me to recite all, than resolve on any of them.

Divers opinions touching the non-proceeding of the Colledge.

1. The common fatality which usually attends noble undertakings. As *partus octimestres, children born in the eighth moneth*, are alwaies not long liv'd: so good projects quickly expire.

2. The untimely death of Prince HENRY, *Our principal hope, and the chief author of this designe.* If so,

Erubuit Domino firmius esse suo.

The modest Colledge blushed to be stronger,
Than was its Lord, He dead, it liv'd no longer.

Same ascribe it to

But, upon my serious perusall of the Records of this Colledge, I finde not so much as mention of the name of Prince HENRY, as in any degree visibly contributive thereunto.

3. The large, loose, and lax nature thereof, no one prime person (*Sutcliffe*

†Continuation of *Stow's* Survey of *London*, pag. 533.

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cliffe excepted, whose shoulders sunk under the weight thereof, zealously engaging therein; King JAMES His *maintenance* amounting to little more than countenance of the work.) Those children will have thin chaps, and lean cheeks, who have every body (and yet no body) nurses unto them.

4. The originall means of the Colledge, principally founded on the fluid, and unconstant element, *unstable as water* (the Rent of a New River, when made) which at the best (thus imployed) was beheld but as a religious Monopoly. And, seeing that designe then took no effect (though afterwards in another notion, and nature, it was perfected) no wonder if the Colledge sunk with the means thereof.

5. Some of the * greatest Prelates (how much self is there in all men?) though seemingly forward, really remisse in the matter: Suspecting these *Controversiall Divines* would be lookt on, as the principall Champions of Religion, more serviceable in the Church than themselves, and haply might acquire priviledges prejudicial to their Episcopall Jurisdiction.

* This fift and fixt obstruction signifie nothing to discreet men, however they must passe for company-sake, and are alledged by some as very materiall.

6. The jealousie of the Universities, beholding this designe with suspitious eyes, as which in processe of time might prove detrimentall unto them. Two breasts, *Cambridge and Oxford*, being counted sufficient for *England*, to suckle all her children with.

7. The suspition of some Patriots, and Commoners in Parliament, such as carried the keyes of Countrey-mens coffers under their girdles (may, I safely report what I have heard from no mean mouthes) that this *Colledge* would be too much *Courtier*; and, that the Divinity (but especially the History thereof) would *Laudilize*, propend too much in favour of King JAMES, and report all things to the disadvantage of the Subject. Wherefore, though the said Patriots in Parliament countenanced the act, (as counting it no policy, publickly to crosse the project of King JAMES, especially as it was made popular with so pious a plausibility) yet, when returned home, by their suspitious *Items*, and private instructions, they beat off, and retarded peoples charities thereunto. The same conceived this foundation superfluous, to keep men to confute Popish opinions by writings, whilest the maintainers of them were every where connived at, and countenanced, and the penall Laws not put in any effectuall execution against them.

8. Its being begun in a bad time, when the world swarmed with proleing Projectours, and necessitous Courtiers, contriving all waies to get moneys. We know, that even honest persons, if strangers, and casually coming along with the company of those, who are bad, contract a suspition of guilt, in the opinions of those, to whom they are unknown. And it was the unhappinesse of this innocent, yea, usefull good designe, that it appeared in a time, when so many Monopolies were on foot.

9. Some great Church men, who were the more backward, because Doctor *Sutcliffe* was so forward therein. Such as had not freeness enough to go before him, had frowardness too much to come after him, in so good a designe: The rather because they disrasted his person, and opinions, Doctor *Sutcliffe* being a known rigid *Anti-Remonstrant*; and, when old, very morose, and teastie in his writings against them. An infirmity, which all ingenuous people will pardon in him, that hope, and desire to attain to old age themselves.

Thus

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Thus have I opened my wares, with ſundry ſorts of commodities therein, aſſigning thoſe Reaſons, which I have either read, or heard from prime men of ſeverall intereſts; and am confident, that in the variety, yea, contrariety of judgments now adaies, even thoſe very Reaſons, which are caſt away by ſome, as weak, and frivolous, will be taken up, yea, preferred by others, as moſt ſatisfactory, and ſubſtantiall.

27. At this preſent it hath but little of the *caſe*, and nothing of the *jewell*, for which it was intended. [1]Almoſt *rotten* before *ripe*, and *ruinous* before it was *finiſhed*. It ſtands bleak like a *Lodge in a garden of cucumbers*, having plenty of pleaſant *water* [the *Thames*] neer it, and ſtore of wholeſome *aire* about it, but very little of the neceſſary element of *earth* belonging unto it. Yea, ſince I am informed, that ſeeing the Colledge taketh not effect, according to the deſire, and intent of the firſt Founders, it hath been *decreed* in Chancerie, by the joynt conſent of Doctor *Daniel Featly*, the third Provoſt of this Colledge, and Doctor *John Prideaux*, the ſurviving Feoffee intruſted in Dr. *Sutcliffe's* Will, that the foreſaid Farms of *Kingſtone*, *Hazzard*, and *Appleton*, ſhould return again to the poſſeſſion of Mr. *Halſe*, as the Heir-generall to the ſaid Dr. *Sutcliffe*. On what conſideration, let others enquire; it is enough to perſwade me, it was done in equity, becauſe done by the Lord *Coventrie*, in the high Court of *Chancerie*. So that now, onely the Farm of *Kramerland*, in *Devonſhire*, of *Sutcliffe's* donation, remains to this Colledge. All I will adde is this, As this Colledge was intended for Controverſies: ſo now there is a controverſie about the Colledge, coſtly ſuits being lately commenced betwixt *William* Lord *Mounſton* (who married the Widow of the aforeſaid Earl of *Nottingham*) and the preſent Provoſt thereof, about the *title* of the very ground whereon it is ſituated.

The preſent ſad condition of it.

28. Three Biſhops, all *Oxford-men*, ended their lives this year: Firſt, *William Overton* (about the beginning of *April*) bred in *Magdalene Colledge*, one ſufficiently ſevere to ſuppreſſe ſuch, whom he ſuſpected of Non-conformity. The ſecond *Martin Heton*, firſt Dean of *Wincheſter*, and then Biſhop of *Elie*. I ſay of *Elie*, which See had ſtood empty almoſt twenty years in the Reigne of Queen ELIZABETH, after the death of Biſhop *Cox*. So long the *lantern* of that Church (ſo [g] artificial for the workmanſhip thereof) wanted a light to ſhine therein. Some ſuſpected, this place, ſo long empty, would never be filled again; ſeeing no Biſhoprick ſo large in revenues, was ſo little in juriſdiction, not having the ſmall County of *Cambridge* [b] wholly belonging unto it. Some cunning Courtiers, obſerving this *breach* in *Elie-Minſter*, as fiercely aſſaulted it, with hope to get gain to themſelves. During the vacancie, it was offered to many Churchmen, (or chapmen, ſhall I ſay?) but either their conſciences, or coffers, would not come up to the conditions thereof. Amongſt others, Mr. *Parker*, brought up in *Peter-Houſe* in *Cambridge*, and Arch-Deacon of *Elie* (ſaith my [i] Authour) *iniquis conditionibus Epiſcopatum oblatum reſpuit, tantam opum uſuram, niſi ſalvâ Eccleſiâ, negligens*. At laſt (but with the revenues much altered, and empaired) it was conferred on Doctor *Heton*, who, after ten years poſſeſſion thereof, died *July* 14. and ſeems the more obſcure, becauſe of the luſtre, and learning of Doctor *Lancelot Andrewes*, who immediately ſucceeded him. The third Biſhop deceaſing this year *December* 14, was *Thomas Ravis*, ſometime Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, and *London*, born at *Malden* in *Surrey*, of worthy parentage, *Claris parentibus*, ſaith the Epitaph on his tomb in St. *Pauls*, who left the memory of a grave, and good man behinde him. Nor muſt it be forgotten, that, as he firſt had his learning in *Weſtminſter*-School: ſo he alwaies continued, both by his counſell, and countenance, a moſt eſpeciall incourager of the ſtudies of all deſerving Scholars belonging to that Foundation.

The death of Biſhop *Overton*, *Heton*, & *Ravis*.

[g] *Camden Brit: Cambridge-ſhire*

[b] Part is of the Dioceſſe of *Norwich*.

[i] A Manuſcript of the Biſhops of *Elie*, lent me by Mr. *Wright*.

29. As Archbp. *Bancroft* was driving on *conformity* very fiercely throughout all his Province, He met with an unexpected *rub*, which notwithſtanding, he quickly removed; for, about this time, *Nich: Fuller*, a *Bencher* of *Greyes-Inne*, eminent

Nich. Fuller ingages for his Clients.

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minent in his profession, pleaded so boldly for the enlargement of his *Clients*, that he procured his own confinement: the Case thus, *Tho: Lad*, a Merchant of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolke*, was imprisoned a long time by the *High Commission*, and could not be bayled, because (having formerly answered upon his oath twice before the *Chancellour* of *Norwich*, to certain Articles touching a *Conventicle*) he refused to answer upon a new oath without sight of his former answers. *Richard Mansell*, a *Preacher*, charged to be a partaker in a Petition exhibited to the *House* of *Commons* in *Parliament*, and refusing the Oath *Ex Officio*, to answer to certain Articles to him propounded, was long imprisoned by the *Commissioners* at *Lambeth*, and could not be bayled.

30. Both *Prisoners* were brought to the *Barre* upon the Writ of *Habeas corpus*, where *Nich: Fuller* pleaded, they ought to be discharged, endeavouring by a large Argument (lately printed) to prove, that the *Ecclesiasticall Commissioners* have no power by virtue of their *Commission* to imprison, to put to the oath *Ex Officio*, or to fine any of His Majesties subjects.

To the losse of his own liberty and life.

Archbishop *Bancroft* got some legall advantage against Mr. *Fuller* in the managing thereof, and then let him alone to improve the same: *Fuller's friends* complained, that onely by the Colour of Right, and the Rigour of Might, he was cast into *Prison*. Here this *learned Counsellour* could give himself no better, nor other advice, but onely pure patience. Many were his Petitions to the *King* for his enlargement, whom the *Archbishop* had pre-acquainted with the Case, representing him to the *King* as the *Champion* of *Non-conformists*, so that there he lied and died in prison. However, he left behinde him the reputation of an *honest man*, and a *plentifull estate* to his *Family* (besides his *bountifull benefaction* to *Emmanuell-Colledge*, and other pious uses) at this day enjoyed by his *Grandchilde*, a *Gentleman* [k] deservedly beloved in his *Country*.

[k] Master Denis Fuller of Berk. Esq.

31. On the 26 of *October* began the fifth *Session* of this long-lasting *Parliament*, A *Session*, which may be found in the *Records*, though it be lost in our *Statute-book*, because nothing therein was enacted, as soon after dissolved by Proclamation.

The last Session of a long Parliament.

32. *Gervas Babington*, Bishop of *Worcester*, ended his pious life. He was born in *Nottingham-shire*, of *worshipfull extraction*. Now, although lately the *chief* of the *Family* abused by *Papists*, (otherwise in himself an *accomplished* [l] *Gentleman*) had tainted his blood with Treason against the *Queen*: the learning, loyalty, and Religion of this *worthy Prelate* may serve to rectifie the *Sirname*, and justly restore that *Family* to its former repute with all *posterity*. He was bred *Fellow* of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*; first *Chaplain* to *Henry*, Earl of *Pembroke*, whose *Countesse* made an *exact Translation* of the *Psalmes*, and they first procured him to be preferred *Treasurer* of *Landaffe*. May 17.

The death of *Gervas Babington*

[l] Anthony Babington of Dethick in Derbyshire.

33. He was soon after made *Bishop* of *Landaffe*, which in merriment he used to call *Affe*; the land thereof long since being alienated: thence was he translated to *Exeter*, thence to *Worcester*, thence to *Heaven*. He was an excellent *Pulpit-man*, happy in raising the affections of his *Auditory*; which, having got up, he would keep up till the close of his Sermon. An *industrious Writer*, witnesse his large *Comment* on the five books of *Moses*, the *Lords Prayer*, *Creed*, and *Commandements*, with other portions of *Scripture*. Nought else have I to observe of this *Bishop*, save that as a *Babington's Armes* were *Argent*, ten *Torteauxes*, four, three, two and one, *Gules*, the self-same being the *Armes* of the *Bishoprick* of *Worcester*. His *paternall Coat* being just the same with that of his *Episcopall See*, with which it is impaled.

His parts and praise.

34. The same year expired Bishop *Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He was brought up in *Jesus-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, preferred by degrees to the Bishoprick of *London*: Sir *Christopher Hatton* was his *Patron*, who made him his *Examiner*. His *Adversaries character* him a greater *States-man* than *Divine*, a better *Divine* than *Preacher*, though his printed Sermon sufficiently attesteth his abilities therein. Being a *Cambridge-man*, he was made *Chancellour* of *Oxford*, to hold Nov. 2.

The death of Archbishop *Bancroft*.

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hold the scales even with *Cardinal Poole*, an *Oxford-man*, made *Chancellour* of *Cambridge*.

Vindicated from cruelty.

44. I finde two faults charged on his memory, *Cruelty* and *Covetousneß*, *Un-Episcopall* qualities, seeing a *Bishop* ought to be *godly* and *hospitable*. To the first, it is confessed he was most stiffe and stern to presse *Conformity*. And, what more usuall than for Offenders to *nick-name* necessary severity to be cruelty? Now though he was a most stout *Champion* to assert *Church-Discipline*, let me passe this story to posterity from the mouth of a person therein concerned, An honest and able *Minister* privately protested unto him, That *it went against his conscience to conform*, being then ready to be deprived: *Which way*, saith the Archbishop, *will you live if put out of your Benefice?* The other answered, *He had no way but to goe a begging, and to put himselfe on Divine Providence. Not that* (saith the Archbishop) *you shall not need to doe; but, come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance.* What impression this made on the Ministers judgment, I am not able to report.

And the aspersion of Covetousnes\

45. As for his *Covetousneß*, a witty Writer[m] (but more *Satyrist* than *Historian*) of King JAMES his Life, reports this *Pasquin* of him:

Here lies his Grace, in cold clay clad;
Who dy'd for want of what he had.

[m] Mr. *Arthur Wilson.*

True it is, he maintained not the state of *Officers* like *Predecessour* or *Successour* in house-keeping, having a *Citizen-Tradesman* (more acquainted with *thrift*, than *bounty*) for his *Domesticall Steward*; yet was he never observed in his own person to aim at the enriching of his *Kindred*, but had intentions to make *pious uses* his *publick Heire*, bequeathing his *Library*, the confluence of his own collections with his Predecessours, *Whitgift*, *Grindall*, *Parkers*, to *Chelsey-Colledge*; and if that took not effect, to the publick *Library* in *Cambridge*, where at this day they remain; his clear estate at his death exceeded not six thousand pound, no summe to speak a single man *covetous* who had sate six years in the *See* of *Canterbury*, and somewhat longer in *London*.

Falsly traduced for Popish inclinations.

46. It is needlesse to clean his memory from the aspersion of *Popery*, two *eminent acts* of his own being his sufficient *Compurgatours*: One in setting the *secular Priests* against the *Jesuits* (as S. *Paul* did the *Pharisees* against the *Sadducees*) thereby so deriding their languages, as scarce they can understand one another, at this day. The other his forwardnesse in founding *Chelsey-Colledge*, which, as a two edged sword, was to cut on both sides to suppresse *Papists* and *Sectaries*.

A good Patron of Church-Revenues.

47. One passage more of this *Prelate*, and I have done; A company of young *Courtiers* appeared extraordinarily *gallant*, at a *Tilting*, farre above their *fortunes* and *estates*; *These* gave for a private *Motto* amongst themselves, *Solvat Ecclesia*, *Let the Church pay for all*: *Bancroft*, then *Bishop* of *London*, arriving at the notice thereof, findes on inquirie, that the *Queen* was passing a considerable parcell of *Church-land* unto them, the *Prelate* stops the business with his own and his *friends interest* leaving these *Gallants* to pay the shot of their *pride* and *prodigality* out of their own purses. Adde to this, that I am credibly informed from a good hand, how in the daies of King JAMES, a *Scotch-man*, and a prevalent Courtier had swallowed up the whole *Bishoprick* of *Durham*, had not this *Archbishop* seasonably interposed his power with the KING, and dashed the designe. *George Abbot* succeeded *Bancroft* in *Canterbury*, of whom largely hereafter.

The new Translation of the Bible finished by the Command of King *James*, and care of some chosen Divines.

48. And now after long expectation, and great desire came forth the new *Translation of the Bible* (most beautifully printed) by a *select* and *competent* number of *Divines*, appointed for that purpose, not being too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest in any things might haply escape them. Who neither coveting praise for expedition, nor fearing reproach for slackness

(seeing in a *business* of moment, none deserve *blame* for convenient slowness) had expended almost *three years* in the *work*, not onely examining the *channels* by the *fountain*, *Translations* with the *Originall*, which was absolutely necessary, but also comparing *channels* with *channels*, which was abundantly usefull, in the *Spanish*, *Italian*, *French* and *Dutch Languages*. So that their *industrie*, *skilfulnesse*, *pietie* and *discretion*, hath therein bound the *Church* unto them in a *debt* of *speciall remembrance* and *thankfulness*. These, with [a] *Jacob*, *rolled away the Stone from the mouth of the Well of Life*: So that now even *Rahel's*, weak women may freely *come*, both to *drink* themselves, and *water* the *flocks* of their *families* at the same.

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[a] Gen. 29. 10.

49. But day shall sooner lack a night to attend it, and the Sun-shine be unseconded with the sullen shade, than a glorious action shall want Detractors to defame it. The *Popish Romanists* much excepted hereat. *Was their Translation* (say they) *good before? Why doe they now mend it? Was it not good? Why then was it obtruded on the People?* These observe not, that whilst thus in their passion they seek to lash the *Protestants*, their *whips* flie in the *faces* of the most *learned* and *pious Fathers*, especially Saint *Jerome*, who, not content with the former *Translations* of the *Septuagints*, *Aquila*, *Symachus*, and others, did himself *translate* the *Old Testament* out of the *Hebrew*. Yea, their cavil recoils on themselves, and their own *Vulgar Translation*, whereof they have so many and different Editions [b]. *Isidorus Clarius* a famous *Papist*, (first a *Frier*, afterward a *Bishop*) observed and amended, as he said, *eight thousand faults in the vulgar Latine*. And since his time, how doth the *Paris Editions* differ from the *Lovaine*, and *Hentenius* his, from them both? How infinite are the differences (many of them weighty and materiall) of that which *Pope Clement* the eighth published from another, which *Sixtus Quintus*, his immediate Predecessour set forth. Thus we see to *better* and *refine Translations*, hath been ever counted a commendable practice even in our Adversaries.

The causelesse Cavil the Papists thereat.

[b] *Lucas ab Oleo millis emendata atque emendata à nobis sunt. Isid. Clarius in in Praef. Bibl. Sanctiall. Edit. Venetiis* 1542. but which in the following Edition is left out.

50. Besides this, the *Romanists* take exception, because in this our new Translation the *various senses* of *words* are set in the Margin. This they conceive a *shaking* of the *certainty* of the *Scriptures*, such *variations*, being as *succours* to be *pruned off*, because they rob the *stock* of the *Text* of its due *credite*, and *reputation*. Somewhat conformable whereto Pope [c] *Sixtus Quintus* expresly forbade that any *variety* of *Readings* of the *vulgar Edition* should be put in the Margin. But on serious thoughts it will appear, that these *Translators*, affixing the *diversity* of the meaning of words in the side Colume, deserve commendations for their modesty, and humility therein. For though, as [d] Saint *Chrysostome* observeth, *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα, all things that are necessary to salvation are plainly set down in the Scriptures*; yet seeing there is much difficulty and doubtfulnesse (not in Doctrinall, but) in matters of lesse importance, *fearfulness* did better beseem the Translators than *confidence*, entring in such cases a *caution*, where words are of different exceptions.

They take exceptions at the severall senses of words noted in the Margine.

[c] *Sixtus Quintus Praef. Bibl.*

[d] On the Second Thes. 2. cap.

51. Some of the *Brethren* were not well pleased with this Translation, suspecting it would abate the repute of that of *Geneva*, with their *Annotations* made by *English Exiles* in that City, in the daies of Qu. *Mary*, dedicated to Qu. *Elizabeth*, and Printed with the generall liking of the People above thirty times over. Yea, some complained, That they could not see into the sense of the Scripture for lack of the spectacles of those *Geneva Annotations*. For, although a good Translation is an excellent Comment on the *Bible*, wherein much darknesse is caused by false rendring of it, and wherein many seeming Riddles are read, if the words be but read, Expounded if but truly Rendred; Yet some short Exposition on the Text was much desired of the People. But to say nothing of the defects and defaults of the *Geneva Annotations* (though the best in those times, which are extant in *English*); those Notes were so tuned to that Translation alone, that they would jarre with any other, and could no way be fitted to this new Edition of the *Bible*. Leave we then these worthy men, now all of them gathered to their Fathers, and gone to God, (however they were requited on earth) well rewarded in Heaven for

Some Brethren complain for lack of the *Geneva* Annotations.

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for their worthy work. Of whom as alſo of that Gracious KING that employed them, we may ſay, *Whereſoever the Bible ſhall be preached or read in the whole world, there ſhall alſo this that they have done be told in memoriall of them.*

52. And as about this time ſome perchance overvalued the *Geneva* Notes, out of that eſpecial Love they bare to the Authors and Place whence it proceeded, ſo on the other ſide, ſome without cauſe did ſlight, or rather without charity did ſlander the ſame. For in this, or the next yeare, a Doctor in ſolemn aſſembly in the Univerſity of *Oxford* publickly in his Sermon at St. *Maries*, accuſed them as guilty of miſinterpretation touching the Divinity of Chriſt, and his Meſſiahſhip, as if Symbolizing with Arrians and Jewes againſt them both: For which he was afterwards ſuſpended by Doctor *Robert Abbot*, *Propter conciones publicas minùs orthodoxas, & offenſionis plenas.* But more properly hereof, God willing, hereafter in our particular Hiſtory of *Oxford*. We will proceed to Report a memorable Paſſage in the *Low-Countreys*, not fearing to loſe my way, or to be cenſured for a wanderer from the *Engliſhe Church-ſtory*, whilſt I have ſo good a Guide, as the Pen of King JAMES to lead me out, and bring me back again. Beſides I am affraid that this Alien Accident is already brought home to *England*, and though onely *Belgick* in the Occaſion, is too much *Britiſh* in the Influence thereof.

Doctor H. in *Oxford* cauſelſly inveigheth againſt the *Geneva* Notes.

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SECTION IV.

To EDWARD LLOYD, Esq.

* Eccles. 1. 7.

Rivers are not bountiful *in Giving, but* just *in Restoring their Waters unto the Sea.* * *However, they may seem* gratefull *also, because openly returning thither, what they Secretly received thence. This my Dedication unto you cannot amount to a* Present, *but a* Restitution, *wherein onely I tender a Publick acknowledgment of your Private courtesies conferred upon me.*

Dangerous Opinions broached by *Conradus Vorstius.*

KING *JAMES* took into His Princely care the seasonable suppression of the dangerous Doctrines of *Conradus Vorstius*. This Doctor, had lived about 15 years a Minister at *Steinford*, within the Territories of the Counts of TECKLENBOURG, BENTHEM, &c. the Counts whereof, (to observe by the way) were the first in *Germany*, not in dignity or Dominion, but in casting off the Yoke of Papacie, and ever since continuing Protestants. This *Vorstius* had both written and received severall Letters from certain Samosetenian Hereticks, in *Poland*, or thereabouts; and it hapned that he had handled Pitch so long, that at last it stuck to his Fingers, and became infected therewith. Hereupon, he set forth *two Books*, the one entitled, TRACTATUS THEOLOGICUS DE DEO, dedicated to the *Land-Grave* of *Hessen*; the other, EXEGESIS APOLOGETICA, printed in this year, and dedicated to the *States*; both of them farced with many dangerous Positions concerning the Deity. For whereas it hath been the labour of the Pious and Learned in all Ages to mount Man to God, (as much as might be) by a Sacred adoration, (which the more humble, the more high) of the Divine Incomprehensiblenesse, this Wretch did Seek to Stoop GOD to Man, by debasing his Purity, assigning him a materiall Body, confining his Immensity, as not being every where, shaking his Immutability, as if his will were subject to change, darkning his Omniscience, as uncertain in future Contingents, with many more monstrous Opinions, fitter to be remanded to Hell, than committed to writing. Notwithstanding all this, the said *Vorstius* was chosen, by the Curators of the University of *Leyden*, to be their Publick Divinity-Professour, in the Place of *Arminius* lately deceased: and, to that end, his *Excellency*, and the *States-Generall*, by their Letters sent, and sued

to

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to the *Count* of TECKLENBOURG, and obtained of him, that *Vorstius* should come from *Steinford*, and become Publick-Professour in *Leyden*.

2. It hapned that His Majesty of *Great Britain*, being this Autumne in His hunting Progresse, did light upon and perused the aforesaid Books of *Vorstius*. And whereas too many doe but Sport in their most serious Employment, He was so serious amidst His Sports and Recreations, that with Sorrow, and Horrour, He observed the Dangerous Positions therein, determining speedily to oppose them, moved thereunto with these Principall Considerations: First, the Glory of God; seeing this *ANTI-St. JOHN*, (as His Majesty terms him) mounting up to the Heavens, belched forth such Blasphemies against the Divine ineffable Essence; and was not a King on Earth concerned, when the King of Heaven was dethroned from his Infiniteness, so farre as it lay in the Power of the treacherous Positions of an Heretick? Secondly, charity to His next Neighbors, and Allies. And lastly, a just fear of the like Infection within His own Dominions, considering their Vicinity of Situation and Frequency of intercourse; many of the *English* Youth, travelling over to have their Education in *Leyden*. And indeed, as it hath been observed, that the Sin of Drunkenness, was first brought over[f] into *England* out of the *Low Countries*, about the midst of the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, (before which time, neither generall Practice, nor legall punishment of that vice in this Kingdome) so we must Sadly confesse, that since that time, in a Spiritual Sense, many *English* Souls have taken a *cup too much* of *Belgick wine*: Whereby their Heads have not onely grown dizie, in matters of lesse moment, but their whole Bodies stagger in the Fundamentals of their Religion.

Reasons moving K. *James* to Oppose him

[e] In His Declaration against *Vorstius*, p. 365.

[f] See *Camden's Elizabeth*, anno 1581.

3. Hereupon King JAMES presently dispatched a Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, his Ambassadour, resident with the *States*, willing and requiring him to let them understand *how Infinitely he should be displeased, if such a Monster as* Vorstius *should receive any advancement in their Church*. This was seconded with a large Letter of His Majesties to the *States*, dated *October* the 6, to the same effect: But neither found that Successe which the KING did earnestly desire, and might justly expect, considering the many Obligations of the Crown of *England* on the *States*: *the Foundation of whose Common-wealth*, (as the Ambassadour told them) *was first cemented with English blood*. Several Reasons are assigned of their non-concurrence with the KING's motion. The Curators of *Leyden*-University conceived it a disparagement to their Judgments, if so neer at hand, they could not so well examine the Soundnesse of *Vorstius* his Doctrine, as a forraign Prince at such a distance; It would cast an aspersion of Levity and Inconstancy on the *States*, solemnly to invite a Stranger unto them, and then so soon recede from their Resolution; An Indignity would redound to the Count of *Tecklenbourg*, to slight that which so lately they had sued from him. The Opposition of *Vorstius* was endevoured by a male-contented Party amongst themselves, disaffected to the Actions of Authority; who distrusting their own strength, had secretly solicited His Majesty of *Great Britain* to appear on their Side, That as King JAMES his motion herein, proceeded rather from the Instance of others, than His own Inclination, so they gave out, that He began to grow remisse in the matter, careless of the Successe thereof. That it would be injurious, yea, destructive to *Vorstius* and his Family, to be fetcht from his own home, where he lived with a sufficient Salarie, (promised better Provisions from the *Landgrave* of *Hessen* to be Divinity Professour in his Dominions) now to thrust him out with his Wife and Children, lately setled at *Leyden*; That if *Vorstius* had formerly been faulty in unwarie, and offensive Expressions, he had since cleared himself in a new Declaration.

The *States* entertain not the motion of K. *James* against *Vorstius*, according to just expectation.

4. For, lately he set forth a Book, entituled, *A Christian and modest Answer*, which notwithstanding by many was condemned, as no Revocation, but a Repetition of his former Opinions, not lesse pernitious, but more plausible, with sophistical Qualifications. So that he was accused to aime, neither at the Satis-

Vorstius gives no satisfaction in his new Declaration.

faction of the Learned, whom he had formerly offended; nor the Safety of the Ignorant, whom he might hereafter deceive, but meerly his own Security, for the present. His grand Evasion was this, That *what he had wrote before, was but probably propounded, not dogmatically delivered.* But, alas! how many silly Souls might easily be infected, mistaking his slenting Problemes for downright Positions. In a word, he took not out any Venome, but put in more Honey into his Opinions, which the corruption of Mans Nature would swallow with more greedinesse. And how dangerous it is for wit-wanton Men, to dance with their nice Distinctions, on such Mysticall Precipices, where Slips in jest may cause deadly Downfalls in earnest, the Roman Orator doth in part pronounce, *Mala est & impia consuetudo, contra Deum disputandi, sive serio id fit, sive simulate.*

K. James setteth forth a Declaration against *Vorstius*, first written in *French*, Since by His leave Translated into English, and amongst his other Works.

5. Now King JAMES being as little Satisfied in Judgment with the Writings of *Vorstius* in his own Defence, as ill pleased, in Point of Honour, with the doings of the *States*, in return to His Request, gave Instructions to His Ambassadour to make Publick Protestation against their Proceedings; which Sir *Ralph Winwood*, in Pursuance of his Masters Command, most solemnly performed. Nor did His Majesties Zeal stop here, with *Joash* King of *Israel*, (smiting onely but thrice, and then desisting) but after His Request, Letter, and Protestation had missed their Desired effect, He wrote in *French*, a Declaration against *Vorstius*. A Work well beseeming the DEFENDOR OF THE FAITH, by which Title (to use His Ambassadours Expression) He did more value Himself, than by the Style of KING OF GREAT BRITAIN. Once I intended to present the Reader with a Brief of His Majesties Declaration, till deterred with this Consideration, that although great Masses of Lead, Tinne, and meaner Metals, may by the extraction of Chymists be epitomized and abridged into a Smaller quantity of Silver, yet what is altogether Gold already, cannot without extraordinary damage, be reduced into a Smaller Proportion. And seeing each word in His Majesties Declaration is so pure and pretious, that it cannot be lessened without losse, we remit the Reader to the same in His Majesties Works; And so take our Leave of *Vorstius* for the present, whose Books, by the KING's Command, were publickly burnt at St. *Paul's* Crosse in *London*, and in both Universities.

The character of *Bartholomew Legate.*

6. But leaving this Outlandish, let us come to our English *Vorstius* (though of farre lesse Learning, of more Obstinacy, and dangerous Opinions) I mean that *Arrian*, who this year suffered in *Smithfield*: His name *Bartholomew Legate*, native County *Essex*, person *comely*, complexion *black*, age about *fourty years*: Of a bold spirit, confident carriage, fluent tongue, excellently skilled in the Scriptures; and well had it been for him, if he had known them lesse, or understood them better; whose ignorance abused the Word of God, therewith to oppose *God the Word*. His conversation (for ought I can learn to the contrary) very unblameable; And the poyson of Hereticall Doctrine is never more dangerous, than when served up in clean cups, and washed dishes.

Discourse betwixt K. *James*, and *Legate.*

7. King JAMES caused this *Legate* often to be brought to Him, and seriously dealt with him to endevour His conversion. One time the KING had a designe to surprize him into a Confession of *Christs Deity* (as His Majesty afterwards declared to a right reverend Prelate) by asking him, *Whether or no he did not daily pray to Jesus Christ?* Which, had he acknowledged, the KING would infallibly have inferred, that *Legate* tacitly consented to Christs Divinity, as a *searcher of the hearts.* But herein His Majesty failed of His expectation, *Legate* returning, *That indeed he had prayed to Christ in the daies of his ignorance, but not for these last seven years.* Hereupon the KING in choler spum'd at him with His foot; *Away base Fellow* (saith He) *it shall never be said, that one stayeth in My presence, that hath never prayed to our Saviour for seven years together.*

James Archbishop of *Armagh*, from whose mouth I had the Relation.

Bishop King gravelleth him with a place of Scripture.

8. Often was he convented before the Bishops in the Consistory of St. *Pauls*, where he persisted obstinate in his Opinions, flatly denying the Authority of that Court. And no wonder that he slighted the power of *earthly Bishops*, denying the

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the Divinity of Him, Who is [b] *The Shepheard and Bishop of our souls.* The disputation against him, was principally managed by *John King*, Bishop of *London*, who gravelled and utterly confuted him with that place of Scripture, *John* 17.5. *And now O Father, glorifie thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.* This Text, I say, was so seasonably alledged, so plainly expounded, so pathetically enforced by the eloquence, and gravity of that Bishop (qualities wherein, he excelled) that it gave marvellous satisfaction to a multitude of people there present, that it is conceived, it happily unproselyted some inclinable to his Opinions; though *Legate* himself remained pertinacious, both against the impressions of Arguments, and Scripture, daily multiplying his enormous Opinions. It is the happinesse nature indulgeth to *monsters*, that *they are all barren*; whereas on the contrary, *monstrous positions* are most procreative of the like, or worse than themselves.

[b] 1 P. 2. 25.

9. Before we set down his pestilent Opinions; may Writer, and Reader fence themselves with prayer to God, against the infection thereof; lest otherwise, *touching such pitch* (though but with the bare mention) *defile us*, casually tempting a temptation in us, and awaking some corruption, which otherwise would sleep silently in our souls. And, if notwithstanding this our caution, any shall reap an accidental evil to themselves, by reading his damnable Opinions, my pen is no more accessary to their harm, than that Apothecarie is guilty of murder, if others, out of a licourish curiosity, kill themselves with that poyson, which he kept in his shop for soveraigne use to make Antidotes thereof. His damnable *Tenets* were as followeth:

Wholsome caution premised before the naming of *Legate*'s blasphemies.

1. *That the Creed called the* Nicene Creed, *and* Athanasius Creed, *contain not a Profession of the true Christian Faith.*
2. *That Christ is not God of God begotten, not made; but begotten, and made.*
3. *That there are no Persons in the Godhead.*
4. *That Christ was not God from everlasting, but began to be God, when he took flesh of the Virgin* Mary.
5. *That the world was not made by Christ.*
6. *That the Apostles teach, Christ to be Man onely.*
7. *That there is no generation in God, but of creatures.*
8. *That this assertion, God to be made Man, is contrary to the rule of Faith, and monstrous blasphemy.*
9. *That Christ was not before the fulnesse of time, except by promise.*
10. *That Christ was not God, otherwise than an anointed God.*
11. *That Christ was not in the form of God equal with God, that is, in substance of God, but in righteousnesse, and giving salvation.*
12. *That Christ by his Godhead wrought no miracle.*
13. *That Christ is not to be prayed unto.*

For maintaining these Opinions, *Legate* had long been in prison in *Newgate*, yet with liberty allowed him to go abroad; not contented wherewith, he openly boasted, and often threatned to sue the Court, which committed him, for reparations for false imprisonment; so that his own indiscretion in this kinde, hastened his execution.

10. For hereupon Bishop *King* finally convented him in the Consistory of S. *Paul*'s. And that worthy Prelate, foreseeing that his proceedings herein would meet with many listening eares, prying eyes, and prating tongues, chose many reverend *Bishops*, able *Divines*, and learned *Lawyers* to assist him. So that the Consistory, so repleniſhed for the time being, seemed not so much a large Court, as a little Convocation. By the counsell and consent of these, by his definitive sentence, he *pronounced, decreed, and declared the foresaid* Bartholomew Legate *an obdurate, contumacious, and incorrigible Heretick.* And by an Instrument called

Condemned for an obstinate Heretick.

Mar. 3.

called a *SIGNIFICAVIT*, certified the same into the *Chancery*, delivering him up unto the *Secular power*, the *Church-Keyes*, in such cases craving the help of the *Civil Sword*. Whereupon, King JAMES, with His Letters, dated *March* 11, under the *Privy-Seal*, gave order to the *Broad-Seal* to direct the *Writ de Haretico comburendo*, to the *Sheriffs* of *London*, for the *burning* of the foresaid *Legat*... Ann. Dom 1611. *Mar.* 11. Ann. Regis Jac. 9

Quæres left to Lawyers to decide.

11. Now as the *Bishop* herein surrendred *Legate* to the *Secular Power*, my *Ecclesiasticall History* in like manner resignes him to the *Civil Historian*, together with all the doubts, difficulties, and legall scruples attending on, or resulting from his Condemnation. Let the Learned in the Law consider on what *Statute* the *Writ* for his Burning was grounded, whether on those old Statutes enacted in the Reignes of RICHARD the II, and HENRY the IV; or on the branch of some other new Statute to that effect. Let them satisfie us, how farre those Lawes were repealed in 1^mo *ELIZABETHÆ*, and how farre they still stand in force; as, though not to [pretended] *Lollardisme*, yet to *Blasphemy*. Let them examine the Judgment of the Learned [i] *Fitz-Herbert*, whether sound in his assertion, *That Hereticks, before the* Writ *of their burning be issued out against them, must first be convicted of Heresie before a Provinciall Convocation*; whilst others affirm, That they being convicted before their *Ordinary*, sufficeth: provided it be for such Opinions, which *Convocations* have formerly condemned for Hereticall.

[i] *De natura brevium*, fol. 269. a.

Legate burnt in *Smithfield*.

12. To *Smithfield* he was brought to be burned. See here, it is neither the *pain*, nor the *place*, but only the *cause* makes a *Martyr*. In this very *Smithfield* how many Saints in the *Marian daies*, suffered for the testimony of *Jesus Christ*? Whereas now one therein dyeth in his own blood for denying him. Vast was the Conflux of people about him. Never did a *scare-fire* at midnight summon more hands to quench it, than this at noon-day did eyes to behold it. At last, refusing all mercy, he was burned to ashes. And so we leave him, the first that for a long time suffered death in that manner: And, oh that he might be the last to deserve it! *Mar.* 18.

Wightman worse than *Legate*.

13. In the next moneth *Edward Wightman* of *Burton upon Trent*, convicted before *Richard Neile* Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield*, was burned at *Litchfield* for farre worse Opinions (if worse might be) than *Legate* maintained. *Mary Magdalene* indeed was once possessed with seven Devils, but ten severall Heresies were laid to *Wightman*'s charge; namely, those of [k] *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, *Manes*, *Manichæus*, *Photinus*, and of *the Anabaptists*. Lord! What are we when God leaves us? Did ever man maintain one Heresie, and but one Heresie? [l] *Chains of darkness*, we see, have their links, and errors are complicated together. April 11.

[k] So reckned up in the Warrant for his burning.

[l] Jude 6.

The successe of this severity.

14. God may seem well-pleased with this seasonable Severity. For the fire thus kindled, quickly went out for want of fewell. I mean, there was none ever after that openly avowed these Hereticall Doctrines. Onely a *Spanish Arrian*, who, condemned to die, was notwithstanding suffered to linger out his life in *Newgate*, where he ended the same. Indeed, such burning of Hereticks much startled common people, pitying all in pain, and prone to asperse *justice* it self with *cruelty*, because of the novelty and hideousnesse of the punishment. And the purblinde eyes of vulgar judgments looked onely on what was next to them, (the suffering it self) which they beheld with compassion, not minding the demerit of the guilt, which deserved the same. Besides, such being unable to distinguish betwixt *constancy* and *obstinacy* were ready to entertain good thoughts even of the Opinions of those Hereticks, who sealed them so manfully with their blood. Wherefore King JAMES politickly preferred, that Hereticks hereafter, though condemned, should silently, and privately waste themselves away in the Prison, rather than to grace them and amuze others with the solemnity of a *publick Execution*, which in popular judgments usurped the honour of a *persecution*.

The death of Master *Sutton* Founder of that famous Hospitall.

15. I finde no eminent Divine or Scholar deceased in this year: Onely one, whose bounty made many of both kindes, ended his life; namely, *Richard Sutton*, the

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the Phœnix of our Age, and sole Founder of *Charter-house-Hospitall*, Esquire; born of Gentile Parentage at *Knaith* in *Lincolnshire*: In his youth bred a Souldier, gaining both wealth and credit by his valour; but afterwards embracing a more peaceable Profession of a Merchant. This his Foundation he called, *The Hospitall of King* JAMES: all discreet Subjects having learned this lesson from politick *Joab* (calling [m] *Rabbah* after the name of *King David*) to entitle their Soveraigne to the honour of their Atchievements, which are of extraordinary proportion. Children not yet come to, and Old men already past helping of themselves, have in this Hospitall their souls and bodies provided for. The latter must be *decayed Gentlemen*, the most proper Objects of Charity, as whose ingenious spirits are most sensible of want, and most unable to provide for themselves.

[m] 2 Sam. 12. 28.

16. It is utterly improbable that it will ever come within the compasse of my power to found any place for pious uses. All, wherein my weak ability can expresse its forwardnesse, is to honour the Charity of others, and for the present Alphabetically to methodize the Manours which Master *Sutton* in several Counties setled for the maintenance of this his Hospitall:

The severall Manours belonging thereunto.

1. *Balsham*-Manour, in *Cambridge-shire*.
2. *Bastingthorpe*-Manour, in *Lincoln-shire*.
3. *Blacke-grove*-Manour, in *Wilt-shire*.
4. *Broad-Hinton* Land, in *Wilt shire*.
5. *Castle-Camps*-Manour, in *Cambridge-shire*.
6. *Chilton*-Manour, in *Wilt-shire*.
7. *Danby*-Manour, in *Lincoln-shire*.
8. *Elcombe*-Manour and Parke, in *Wilt-shire*.
9. *Hackney* Land, *Middlesex*.
10. *Hallingbury-Bouchers*-Manour, in *Essex*.
11. *Missenden*-Manour, in *Wiltshire*.
12. *Much-Stanbridge*-Manour, in *Essex*.
13. *Norton*-Manour, in *Essex*.
14. *Salthrope*-Manour, in *Wilt-shire*.
15. *South-Minster*-Manour, in *Essex*.
16. *Totenham* Land, in *Middlesex*.
17. *Ufford*-Manour, in *Wilt shire*.
18. *Watelescote*-Manour, in *Wilt-shire*.
19. *Wetter*-Manour, in *Wilt-shire*.
20. *Wroughton*-Manour, in *Wilt-shire*.

See here the most liberall Endowment made by one man. May it most truly be said of our *London-Merchants*, as of those of *Tyre*, [n] *whose Merchants are Princes?*

[n] Isa. 23. 8.

17. But no work so vertuous, which some malicious spirits will not endevour to disgrace. One who writeth himselfe *J. H.* but generally conceived to be Mr. *Knott* the Jesuit, in his Answer to Doctor *Potter*'s Book of [o] *Charity mistaken*, lets flie as followeth:

The Iesuits carping at his good work.

[o] 2 part. 1. ch. 2. parag.

Doe your Hospitals deserve so much as to be named? Have you any thing of that kinde in effect of particular Note, saving the few mean Nurseries of idle Beggars, and debauched People? Except (perhaps) Sutton's Hospitall, which [as I have been informed] *was to take no profit till he was dead. He, who* [as I have also understood] *died so without any Children, or Brothers, or Sisters, or known Kindred, as that* [peradventure] *it might have escheated to the King. He, who lived a wretched and penurious life, and drew that Masse of Wealth together by Usury, in which case, according to good conscience, his Estate, without asking him leave, was by the Law of God, obnoxious to Restitution, and ought to have been applied to Pious Uses. Whereas antiently in this Country, and at all times, and specially in this last Age, men see abundance of Heroicall Actions of this kinde performed in forreigne*

parts. And if it were not for fear of noting many of her great Cities, as if there were any want of most magnificent Hospitals in them, wherein they abound; I could tell you of one called the Annunciata, *in the City of* Naples, *which spends three hundred thousand Crowns* per Annum, *which counts to above fourscore thousand pounds sterling by the year: Which ever feeds and cures a thousand sick persons, and pays for the nursing and entertaining of three thousand sucking Children of poor people, and hath fourteen other distinct Hospitals under it, where the persons of those Poor creatures are kept, and where they are defrayed of all their necessary charges every week. I could also tell you of an Hospitall in* Rome *called* S. Spirito, *of huge Revenues, but it is not my meaning to enter into particulars, which would prove endlesse.*

His politick modesty in his accusation.

18. Before we come to the particular Examination of this his Accusation, it is observable how many Qualificatives, Correctives, and Restrictives (*Perhaps, as I have been informed, As I have also understood, peradventure*) he inserteth in this his Relation. Indeed such Qualifications are better than Equivocations, yet, what some may impute to Modesty, is his Policy, if well considered. For if any Protestant confute what he hath written, this Accuser will take Sanctuary under the protection of those Restrictions, defending himself that he delivered nothing positively, whilst ignorant Papists of his own profession (not heeding his doubting limitations) swallow all down for dogmaticall truth.

Answers to Jesuits Cavils.

19. More particularly the reformed Religion in *England* hath been the Mother of many brave Foundations: Many famous Hospitals (as that at *Warwick* built by the *Earl of Leicester*: *Croydon* by Archbishop *Whitgift*: *Guildford* by Archbishop *Abbot*: (not to speak of *Christ-Church*, and St. *Thomas* Hospitall, built by King EDWARD the VI.) though none of them have thrived and battled so fast and so fairly as this of *Sutton*'s foundation. Whereas he chargeth him to have *had no Children*, it is confessed, seeing he *died a Batchelour*: Whose *life* (had he been of *their Opinion*) had been *cried up* for a *precious piece* of *Virginity*. That he had *no known Kindred*, is false. Some of them afterwards, but in vain, endevouring to overthrow his *Will*: though he made the Poor to be *his Mother, and Sister, and Brother*. As for his *getting wealth* by *unlawfull waies*, I am not to justifie the particular circumstances of any mans actions. Should a secret Scrutiny be made, how all Founders of Monasteries first came by their wealth, many would be found justly obnoxious to censure.

M. Suttons constant prayer.

20. Indeed our *Sutton* began with a good Stock, had no Charge to burden him, lived to be very aged, 79 years; and by Gods blessing on his Providence, Industry and Thrift, advanced the maine of his Estate. This I can confidently report from the mouth of a credible Witnesse, who heard it himself, and told it to me, that Master *Sutton* used often to repair into a private Garden, where he poured forth his prayers to God, and amongst other passages, was frequently over-heard to use this Expression, *Lord, thou hast given me a large and liberal Estate, give me also a heart to make use thereof*; which at last was granted to him accordingly.

Sutton's Hospitall how exceeding the Annunziata.

21. As for the over-grown Hospitall of the *Annunziata at Naples*, we envy not the wealth thereof; (though reports at such distance lose nothing in the relation.) Nor doe we wonder that it *cureth yearly a thousand sick persons*, considering what disease first came from *Naples*, and was thence denominated. As for the *three thousand Children nursed therein*, it is to be feared many wanted Fathers to own them; and this not so much the fruit of *charity* as of *wantonnesse*. However, that Hospitall hath at severall times been advanced by a Colledge of Benefactors, Whereas *Sutton*'s may stand peerlesse in this respect, that it was founded, finished, and endowed by himself alone; Disbursing 13000 li. (payed down before the ensealing of the Conveyance) for the ground whereon it stood, with some other appurtenances, besides 6000 li. expended in the building thereof; and that vast yearly Endowment, whereof heretofore. We mention not the large Summes bequeathed by him to Poor, to Prisons, to Colledges, to mending High-

waies,

p Stow's Survey of London, p. 43.

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waies, to the *Chamber of London*, besides Twenty thousand pounds left to the discretion of his Executors. What remaineth but that we pray, that according to his pious intentions the same may be continued to the Glory of God, Credit of the Protestant Religion, Comfort to the Poor, good Example to the Rich, and perpetual Memory of King JAMES the Honorary, and Mr. *Sutton* the effectual Founder thereof: That this Sun, amongst the lesser Lights of Protestant-Charities, may shine on Earth, as long as the Sun (that faithful Witness) endureth in Heaven. Being more confident that my desire herein will take effect, considering the Honourable Governous of this Hospital are Persons so Good, they will not abuse it themselves, and so Great, they will not suffer it to be abused by others.

Nov. 6. 22. *England* at this time enjoying abundance of Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity, in full speed of her Happiness, was checkt on a soddain with the sad News of the death of Prince HENRY, in the *rage* of a malitious extraordinary *burning-Feaver*. He was generally lamented of the whole Land, both *Universities* publishing their Verses in print: and give me leave to remember four made by *Giles Fletcher* of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge* on this PRINCES plain Grave, because wanting an *Inscription*: and it will be Honour enough to me if I can make thereof a Translation:

The death and prayer of Pr. HENRY.

Si sapis, attonitus sacro decede Sepulchro,
Nec cineri quæ sunt nomina, quære novo,
Prudens celavit Sculptor, nam quisq; rescivit,
Protinus in lachrymas solvitur, & moritur.

If wise, amaz'd depart this holy Grave;
Nor these New-ashes *ask, what* Names *they have?*
The Graver, *in concealing them, was* wise;
For, who so knows, strait melts in tears, and dies.

Give me leave to adde one more, untranslatable for its Elegancy, and Expressiveneesse:

g Made by Mr. *George Herbert.*

Ulteriora timens cum morte paciscitur Orbis.

And thus we take our leave of the Memory of so Worthy a PRINCE, never heard by any alive to swear an Oath; for which, Archbishop *Abbot* commended Him in his *Funerall Sermon*, the PRINCE being wont to say, That *He knew no Game or Value to be won or lost, that could be worth an Oath.*

Feb. 14. 23. *One generation goeth and another generation cometh, but the earth remaineth for ever*: the Stage stands, the Actors alter. Prince HENRY's *Funerals* are followed with the Prince PALATINE's *Nuptials*, solemnized with great State, in hopes of happiness to both Persons, though sad in the event thereof, and occasioning great revolutions in Christendome.

The Marriage of the *Palatine.*

11. 1613. 24. Expect not of me an account of the *Divorce* of the Lady *Fra: Howard* from the Earl of *Essex*; and of her *re-marriage* to *Robert Carre* Earl of *Somerset*; which Divorce divided the Bishops of the Land in their judgments:

Essex his Divorce discussed.

Against it,	For it,
George Abbot, Archbishop of *Canterbury.*	*Thomas Bilson*, Bishop of *Winchester.*
John King, Bishop of *London.*	*Lancelot Andrews*, Bishop of *Elie.*
Alledging the common fame of Incontinency betwixt Her and the Earl of *Somerset.*	*Rich: Neale*, Bp. of *Coventry* and *Litchfield.*
	These proceeded, *secundum allegata, & probata*, of the Earls inability, *quoad hanc*: and the Ladies untainted Virginity.

25. Onely I will insert one passage, Bishop *Overall* discoursing with Bishop *King* about the Divorce, the later expressed himself to this effect, *I should never have*

A memorable Speech of Bishop *King.*

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have been so earnest against the Divorce, save that because perswaded in my conscience of falshood in some of the depositions of the Witnesses on the Ladies behalf. This sure I am from her second Marriage is extracted as chaste and virtuous * a Lady as any of the English Nation.

* Anne Countess of Bedford.

29. Nicholas Wadham, Esquire, of Merryfield in the County of Somerset, did by his last Will bequeath Four hundred pounds per annum, and Six thousand pounds in money to the building of a Colledge in Oxford, leaving the care and trust of the whole to Dorothy his Wife. One of no lesse learned and liberall than Noble extraction. A Sister to John Lord Peters, and Daughter to Sir William Peters, Secretary to four Kings, and a worthy Benefactour to All-Souls Colledge. In her life-time she added almost double to what her Husband bequeathed, whereby at this day it is become one of the most Uniform buildings in England, as no additionall result at severall times of sundry fancies and Founders, but the entire product all at once of the same Architect.

Wadham-Colledge founded.

Where formerly a Monastery of Augustine's.

30. This year the same was finished, built in a place where formerly stood a Monastery of the Augustine Friers, who were so eminent for their abilities in disputing, that the University did by a particular Statute impose it as an Exercise upon all those that were to proceed Masters of Art, that they should first be disputed upon by the Augustine Fryers, which old Statute is still in force, produced at this day for an Equivalent exercise, yet styled, Answering Augustines. The Colledge hath from its beginning still retained something of its old Genius, having been continually eminent for some that were acute Philosophers and good Disputants.

Wardens,	Bishops,	Benefactors,	Learned Writers,
Doctor Wright admitted 1613.	Robert Wright, Bishop of Bristoll, then Coventrie and Lichfield.	Philip Bisse, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of Wells, and Arch-deacon of Taunton, gave 1849 Books for their Librarie, valued at 1100 pounds.	Humphrey Sydenham, a very eloquent Preacher.
Dr. Flemming admitted 1613.			
Dr. Smith, 1616.			
Dr. Escott, 1635.			
Dr. Pitt, 1644.			
Dr. Joh. Wilkins, 1648.			

So that very lately * there were in this Colledge, one Warden, fifteen Fellows, fifteen Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, besides Officers and Servants of the Foundation, with many other Students, the whole number 120. As for Dr. John Wilkins, the present Warden thereof, my worthily respected friend, he hath courteously furnished me with my best intelligence from that University.

* viz. An. 1634.

31. A Parliament was called, wherein many things were transacted, nothing concluded. In this Parlament, Dr. Harsenet, Bishop of Chichester, gave offence in a Sermon preacht at Court, pressing the word Reddite Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, as if all that was leavied by Subsidies, or paid by Custome to the Crown, was but a redditum of what was the Kings before. Likewise Doctor Neale, Bishop of Rochester, uttered words in the House of the Lords, interpreted to the disparagement of some reputed Zealous Patriot in the House of Commons: both these Bishops were questioned upon it, and to save them from the storm, this was the occasion chiefly (as was supposed) of the abrupt breaking up of the Parliament.

A Parliament suddenly called, soon dissolved.

32. Anthony Rudde, Bishop of S. David's, ended his life. He was born in Yorkshire, bred in Trinity-Colledge in Cambridge, where he became Fellow. A most excellent Preacher, whose Sermons were very acceptable to Qu. ELIZABETH. Hereon dependeth a memorable Story, which, because but defectively delivered by Sir John Harrington, I request the Readers Patience, and require his Belief, to this large and true Relation thereof.

The death of Bishop Rudde.

33. Bishop

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33. Bishop *Rudde* preaching in his course before Queen *ELIZABETH* at *White-hall*, Her Majesty was highly affected with his Sermon; insomuch that She commanded Archbishop *Whitgift* to signifie unto him, That he should be his Successour in case the Archbishoprick ever fell in the Queens disposall.

A remarkable passage.

34. Not long after the Archbishop meeting Bishop *Rudde*, *Brother*, said he, *I bring good tydings to you, though bad to my self, for they cannot take full effect till after my death: Her Grace is so pleased with your last Sermon, She enjoyned me to signifie to you Her pleasure, That you shall be my Successour in* Canterbury *if surviving me.* The Bishop modestly declined his words, desiring the long life of his Grace, and in case of his advancement to Heaven, confessed many other in *England* farre fitter for the Place than his own unworthinesse, adding after some other exchange of words, *Good my Lord, might I be my own Judge, I conceive I have preached better Sermons at Court, surely such as cost me more time and pains in composing them. I tell you,* (replied the Archbishop) *the truth is this, the Queen now is grown weary of the vanities of wit and eloquence, wherewith Her youth was formerly affected,* and *plain Sermons, which come home to Her heart, please Her the best.* Surely his Grace was too mortified a man (though none naturally love their Successours whilst themselves are alive) intentionally to lay a train to blow up this Archbishop designed, though by the others unadvised practise of his words it proved so in the event.

The Bishop by plain preaching, gains the Queens favour.

35. For, next time when it came to the Bishop's Course to preach at Court, then lying at *Richmond*, *Anno* 1596. he took for his Text, *Psalm* 90. 12. *O teach us to number our daies, that we may incline our hearts unto wisdome:* and in the close of his Sermon, touched on the Infirmities of Age, *Ecclesiastes* 12. *When the grinders shall be few in number, and they wax dark that look out at the windows:* personally applying it to the QUEEN, how Age had furrowed Her face, and besprinkled her hair with its meal. Whereat Her MAJESTY (to whom *ingratissimum acroama* to hear of death) was highly displeased. Thus, he not onely lost his Reversion of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* (which indeed never fell in the QUEENS daies) but also the present possession of Her MAJESTIES favour.

And by too personal preaching, loseth it again.

36. Yet he justly retained the repute of a *Reverend* and *godly Prelate*, and carried the same to the grave: He wrought much on the *Welsh* by his *wisdome*, and won their affections; and by moderate thrift, and long staying in the same *See*, left to his Son, Sir *Rise Rudde* Baroner, a fair estate at *Aberglasney* in *Carmarthenshire*.

Yet died generally beloved and lamented.

37. Some three years since, (on the death of King HENRY the fourth) *Isaac Causabon*, that learned Critick was fetcht out of *France* by King JAMES, and preferred Prebendary of *Canterbury*. Thus *desert* will never be a *drug*, but be vented at a *good rate* in one Countrey or another, as long as the world affordeth any truly to value it. King HENRY is not dead to *Causabon*, as long as King JAMES is alive: He who formerly flourished under the *Bayes*, now thriveth altogether as well under the *Olive*. Nor is *Causabon* sensible that *England* is the *colder Climate*, whilst he findes the *beams* of His Majesty so bright and warm unto him, to whom also the *lesser lights* of *Prelates* and *Peers* contributed their assistance.

Causabon invited into *England*.

38. Presently he falls a writing, as naturall (and almost as necessary) as breathing unto him: First, to *Fronto-Duraus* his learned Friend. Then to Cardinal *Peron*, in the just Vindication of our *English Church*. After these, he began his Exercitations on *Baronius* his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, which more truly may be termed, the *Annals of the Church of* Rome. But alas! Death here stopped him in his full speed, and he lieth entombed in the South-Ile of *Westminster*-Abbey. Not on the East, or Poetical Side thereof, (where *Chaucer*, *Spencer*, *Draiton*, are interred) but on the West or Historical Side of the Ile, next the Monument of M^r *Camden*. Both whose plain Tombs, made of white Marble, shew the simplicity of their intentions, the candidnesse of their natures, and perpetuity of their memories.

Where he dyeth, and is buried.

Mr. *Casaubon*'s was erected at the cost of *Thomas Morton* Bishop of *Durham*, that great lover of Learned men, dead or alive.

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The supposed occasion of Mr. Selden's writing against the Divine Right of Tithes.

39. The KING comes to *Cambridge* in a sharp Winter, when all the world was nothing but Aire and Snow. Yet the Scholers Wits did not Freez with the Weather, witness the pleasant *Play* of *IGNORAMUS*, which they presented to *His Majesty*. Yet whilst many laughed aloud at the *mirth* thereof, some of the graver sort were sad to see the *Common Lawyers* made ridiculous therein. If *Gowns* begin once to abase *Gowns*, *Cloaks* will carry away all. Besides, of all *wood*, the *Pleaders Bar* is the worst to make a *Stage* of. For, once in an *Age*, all Professions must be beholding to their patronage. Some [a] conceive that in revenge Master *John Selden* soon after set forth his *Books of Tithes*, wherein he historically proveth, That they were payable *jure humano*, and not otherwise.

a Aubour of Dr. Preston's Life.

Many write in Answer to his Book.

40. I cannot suspect so high a Soul, guilty of so low reflections, that his Book related at all to this occasion, but only that the latitude of his minde, *tracing* all *pathes* of learning, did casually light on the *rode* of this Subject. His Book is divided into two parts, whereof the first is a *meer Jew*, of the practise of *Tithing* amongst the *Hebrews*; the second a *Christian*, (and chiefly an *English-man*) of their customes in the same. And although many Divines undertook the Answer of this Book, as Mr. *Stephen Nettles* Fellow of *Queens-Coll:* in *Cambridge*, (applying himself to the *Judaical part*) Dr. *Tillesly*, and Mr. *Montague*, (all writing sharply, if strongly enough) yet sure it is, never a *fiercer storm* fell on all *Parsonage Barns* since the Reformation, than what this *Treatise* raised up. 1615. 13.

Melvin freed from the Tower.

41. By this time Mr. *Andrew Melvin*, a *Scotchman*, got to be enlarged out of the *Tower*, whither he had been committed for writing some *satyrical Verses* against the *Ornaments* on the *Altar* (or *Communion-Table*) in the *Kings Chappell*. When first brought into the *Tower*, he found Sir *William Seymour* (now the Right Honorable, most truly Noble, and religious Marquis of *Hertford*) there imprisoned for marrying the Lady *ARABELLA*, so nearly allyed to the Crown without the KING's consent. To whom, *Melvin* being an excellent Poet (but inferiour to *Buchanan* his Master) sent this *Distick*:

Causa mihi tecum communis Carceris, ARA
Regia, BELLA *tibi*, Regia SACRA *mihi*.

As for his *invective Verses* against the *Chappel-Ornaments*, I conceive the following *Copie* most authentick, though there be *various Lections* of them, but all in the main agreeing together:

Quod duo stent Libri clausi Anglis *Regiâ in* ARA,
Lumina cæca duo, Pollubra sicca duo.
An clausum cæcúmq; Dei tenet Anglia *cultum*
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta suâ?
Romano *& ritu dum Regalem instruit* ARAM,
Purpuream pingit * *Luxuriosa Lupam.*

* alias Religiosa.

42. Mr. *George Herbert* of *Trinity-Coll:* in *Cambridge*, made a most ingenious retortion of this *Hexastick*, which as yet all my industry cannot recover. Yet it much contenteth me, that I am certainly informed, that *the posthume Remains* (shavings of Gold are carefully to be kept) of that not lesse pious, than witty *writer*, are shortly to be put forth into Print, when this his *Anti—pelvi—Melvi—*

But

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But now at last *Melvin* his liberty was procured by the *intercession* of the *chief* of the *Reformed* in *France*, and being released, he afterwards became *Professour* at *Sedan* in the *Duke* of *Bovillion* his *Country*. Here he ceased not to traduce the *Church of England*, against which he wrote a *scroule* of *Sophicks*, entituled *TAMI-CHAMI-CATEGERIA*.

43. This year *Thomas Bilson*, Bishop of *Winchester*, (who carried *Prelature* in his very aspect) ended his life: first *School-Master*, then *Warden* of *Winchester*, afterwards *Bishop* of *Worcester*, and lastly, of *Winchester*. A *deep* and *profound Scholar*, excellently well read in the *Fathers*, principally shewed in his *Defence of Christ his descent into Hell*. — The death of Bishop *Bilson*.

44. By the way, it is a falshood what *Campian* writes confidently, that *Cheney*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, had affirmed unto him, Namely, that concerning this *Article*, it was moved in a *Convocation* at *London*. *Quemadmodum sine tumultu penitus eximatur de Symbolo*, *How it might without any noise be wholly taken out of the Creed*. For no such debate appeareth upon *Record* in our *Convocations*, and as for *Campian*, his single affirmation is of no validity. — *Campian* his falshood.

1616. Da. 6. — 45. *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato*, came over into *England*, was here courteously welcomed, and plentifully preferred, of whose *hypocrisie* and *ingratitude* largely [b] hereafter. — Archbishop of *Spalato*.

[b] viz anno 1622.

Mar. 14. — 46. King JAMES went into *Scotland* to visit His *native Country*, with a *Princely train*. In his passage thither He was much affected with a Sermon which one of his *Chaplains* preached upon this *Text*, [c] *Gen.* 13. 2, 3. *And* Abraham *was very rich in cattell, in silver, and in gold. And he went on his journeys from the South even to* Bethell, *to the place where his Tent had been at the beginning*. As for His entertainment in *Scotland*, we leave it to their *Historians* to relate. For may my pen be plundered by the *Borderers*, or *Mosse-Troopers*, if offering to excise *Tweed* into another *Country*. — The King goes into *Scotland*.

[c] Gen. 13. 2, 3.

47. This year died Doctor *William James*, born in *Cheshire*, *Master* first of the *University-Colledge*, then *Dean* of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, *Chaplain* to *Robert Dudley* Earle of *Leicester*, and *Confessour* to him at his death, and at last made *Bishop* of *Durham*. He expended much on the repairing of the *Chappel* of *Durham-house* in the *Strand*, and in his younger daies was much commended for his *hospitality*. — The death of Bishop *James*.

48. Two other *prime Prelates* accompanied him to the other world, Dr. *Henry Robinson*, *Provost* of *Queens-Colledge* in *Oxford*, *Bishop* of *Carlisle*, of great temperance, milde in speech, but weak in constitution. The other, *Robert Bennet*, *Fellow* of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, *Chaplain* to the Lord *Burleigh*, termed by a great Divine, *Eruditus Benedictus*, Bishop of *Hereford*, well-deserving of his See, whose Houses he repaired. — Bishop *Robinson* and Bishop *Bennet*.

49. Doctor *Mocket*, *Warden* of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, *Chaplain* to *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, set forth a Book in pure Latine, containing — Doctor *Mocket* his Translation of our English Liturgie.

The *Apologie* of the *Church* of *England*.
The greater and lesser *Catechisme*.
The nine and thirty *Articles*.
The *Common Prayer*.
The *Ordination* of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*.
The *Politie*, or Government of the *Church* of *England*.

As for the *Homilies*, too tedious to be translated at large, he epitomized them into certain *Propositions*, by him faithfully extracted.

50. No sooner appeared this *Book* in print, but many faults were found therein. Indeed it fared the worse for the *Author*, the *Author* for his *Patron* the *Archbishop*, against whom many *Bishops* began then to combine. Some accused him of presumption for undertaking such a task without [d] Commission from the KING, it being almost as fatall for Private persons to tamper with such Publick — Cavilled at by many.

[d] Yet cum Privilegio, is prefixt on the first page.

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blick matters, as for a Subject to match into the blood-Royal without leave of his Soveraigne. Others complained, that he enlarged the liberty of a *Translatour* into the licence of a *Commenter*, and the *Propositions* out of the *Homilies* by him *collected* were made to lean to the judgment of the *Collectour*. *James Montague*, Bishop of *Winchester*, a potent Courtier, took exceptions that his *Bishoprick* in the marshalling of them was wronged in the method, as put [e] after any, whose Bishop is a Privie Counsellour.

[e] In his *Politica Ecclesiæ Angl.* cap 5. p. 314. The pinching accusation.

50. But the main matter objected against it, was, That this *Doctor* was a better *Chaplain* than a *Subject*, contracting the Power of his PRINCE to enlarge the Priviledge of his *Patron*, allowing the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s power to confirm the *Election* of *Bishops* in his *Provinces*, citing [f] for the same the 6. *Canon* of the first *Nicene Councell* established by *Imperiall authority*. *If any be made a Bishop without the consent of his Metropolitan, he ought not to be a Bishop.*

[f] *Ibid.* pag. 309. Imperiall Decrees command not in *England*.

51. This was counted an high offence to attribute an obliging authority either to *Canon* or *Civil Law*, both which if crossing the *Common Law* of the Land, are drowned in their passage as they saile over from *Callis* to *Dover*, and K. JAMES justly jealous of his own *Prerogative* approved not such a confirming power in the *Archbishop*, wich might imply a *Negative Voice* in case he disliked such *Elects* as the KING should recommend unto him.

On the burning of his Book Dr. Mocket dyeth.

52. Hereupon, Doctor *Mocket* his Book was censured to be burned, which was done accordingly. Now although the imperfections and indiscretions of this *Translatour* might be consumed as *dross* in the fire, yet the undoubted truth of the *Articles of the English Church* therein contained as *Flame-free* and perfectly refined will endure to all eternity. The *Doctor* took this *censure* so tenderly, especially so much defeated in his expectation to finde *punishment* where he looked for *preferment*, as if his life were bound up by *sympathy* in his *Book* he ended his daies soon after.

The death of Robert Abbot Bishop of Salisbury.

53. Though his death much affected his *friends* in *Oxford*, yet farre greater the grief of that *University* for the decease of *Robert Abbot* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who died this year. One of the honours, not onely of that *See*, but of the *Church* of *England*, born at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, of religious Parents, as persevering in the Truth though [g] persecuted for the same in the Reign of Queen MARY: Whose two younger Brothers *George* and *Maurice*, the one came to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the other was Lord Mayor of *London*, and the first Knight of King CHARLES his *dubbing*. This good Bishop his deserts, without any other Friend or Spokesman preferred him to all his Promotions. For

[g] *Abel Redivivum*, pag. 540.

Mar. 2.

Upon his *Oration* made on Queen ELIZABETH her *Inauguration*, he was chosen *Scholar* (and afterwards *Fellow* and *Master*) of *Baliol*-Colledge.

Upon a Sermon preached
- At *Worcester* he was made *Lecturer* of that City.
- At *Paul's* Crosse Master *John Stanhoppe* preferr'd him to the rich Benefice of *Bingham* in *Nottingham-shire*.
- Before King JAMES he was nominated Successour to Doctor *Holland* in the *Kings Professour* his place in *Oxford*.

Upon the fame of his incomparable *Lectures de potestate Regiâ*, and other labours he was made Bishop of *Salisbury*.

In conferring which Place, the KING conquered all opposition, which some envious persons raised against him, witnesse His MAJESTIES pleasant speech: Abbot, *I have had much to doe to make thee a Bishop, but I know no reason for it, unless it were because thou hast written a Booke against a Popish Prelate*, meaning *William Bishop*, entituled by the *Pope*, the *Nominall Bishop of the Aereall Diocesse of* Calcedon, which enraged the *Court Papists* against him to obstruct his

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his preferment. *The hour-glaſs of his life* (ſaith my [h] *Authour*) *ran out the ſooner for having the ſand or gravel thereof ſtopt*; ſo great his grief of the *ſtone*, though even whilſt his *body* was on the *rack*, his *ſoule* found eaſe in the aſſurance of ſalvation.

[h] Dr. Fenly in the Life of Bp. Abbot, p. 549.

54. About this time, a *Boy* dwelling at *Bilſon* in *Stafford-ſhire*, *William Perry* by name, not full fifteen years in age, (but above forty in cunning) was practiſed on by ſome *Jeſuits* (repairing to the houſe of Mr. *Gifford* in that County) to diſſemble himſelf *Poſſeſſed*. This was done on deſigne that the *Prieſts* might have the credit to caſt out that *Devil* (which never was in) ſo to grace their *Religion* with the reputation of a *Miracle*.

The Impoſture of the Boy of *Bilſon*.

55. But now the *beſt of the jeſt* (or rather the *worſt of the earneſt*, was) the *Boy* having gotten a habit of counterfeiting, leading a lazie life thereby, to his own eaſe and *Parents* profit (to whom he was more worth than the beſt *Plough-land* in the *ſhire*) would not be *undeviled* by all their *Exorciſms*, ſo that the *Prieſts* raiſed up a *ſpirit* which they could not allay. At laſt, by the induſtry of Dr. *Moreton* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, the jugling was laid open to the world by the *Boyes* own confeſſion and repentance: who being bound an *Apprentice* at the *Biſhops* coſt, verified the Proverb, That *an untoward Boy may make a good Man*.

Found out by Biſhop *Moreton*.

56. Indeed all this KING's Reign was ſcattered over with Cheaters in this kinde. Some Papiſts, ſome Sectaries, ſome neither, as who diſſembled ſuch *poſſeſſion*, either out of malice to be revenged on thoſe whom they accuſed of *Witchcraft*, or covetouſneſſe to enrich themſelves, ſeeing ſuch, who out of charity, or curioſity repaired unto them, were bountifull in their relief. But take a few of many.

Cheaters of ſeveral kindes.

Papiſts.	*No Papiſts.*
[i] *Sarah Williams* lying paſt all ſenſe in a Trance, had a Devil, ſay the Romaniſts, ſlipt up into her leg.	*Rich: Haydok* Fellow of *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, preached in his *dreams Latine Sermons* againſt the *Hierarchie*. He afterwards recanted, lived in good eſteem to a great age in *Salisbury*, practiſing Phyſick, being alſo an *excellent* Poet, Limner, and Ingraver.
[k] *Grace Sowthuts* of *Salmisbury* in the County of *Lancaſter* was perſwaded by *Southworth* a Prieſt, to diſſemble *poſſeſſion* to gain himſelf credit by Exorciſing her.	
[l] *Mary* and *Amie* two Maids of *Weſtminſter*, pretended themſelves in raptures from the Virgin *Mary* and *Michael* the Arch-Angel.	*Anne Gunter* a Maid of *Windſor*, gave it out ſhe was *poſſeſſed of a Devil*, & was tranſported with ſtrange *Extaticall Phrenſies*.
[m] *Edward Hance* a Popiſh Prieſt (born at *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſter-ſhire*) gave it out that he was poſſeſſed of the Bleſſed Trinity.	A Maid at *Standon* in *Hartford-ſhire*, which perſonated a *Demoniack* ſo lively, that many judicious perſons were deceived by her.

i See Bp. Harſnet his Book on this ſubject, pag. 81.

k John Ga's Foot out of the ſnare, pag. 53.

l *Idem* pag. 54.

m *Idem* p. 55.

See we this Catalogue conſiſts moſt of the weaker ſex, either becauſe Satan would plant his Battery where eaſieſt to make a Breach, or becauſe he found ſuch moſt advantaged for diſſembling, and his Cloven-foot beſt concealed under Long coats. Indeed, ſome Feminine weakneſſes made them more ſtrong to delude the ruines of the Diſeaſe of the Mother being the beſt Foundation to build ſuch Impoſtourie thereon.

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57. K. *James* remembring what *Solomon* [n] saith, *It is the honour of a King to search out a matter*, was no lesse dexterous than desirous to make discovery of these Deceits. Various were His waies in detecting them, awing some into confession with His presence, perswading others by promise of pardon and fair usage. He ordered it so, that a Proper Courtier made love to one of these bewitched Maids, and quickly *Cupid* his Arrows drave out the pretended Darts of the Devil. Another there was, the Tides of whose Possession did so Ebbe and Flow, that punctually they observed one hour till the KING came to visit her. The Maid loath to be so unmannerly as to make His MAJESTY attend her time, antedated her Fits many houres, and instantly ran through the whole Zodiack of tricks which she used to play. A third, strangely-affected when the first verse of S. *John's* Gospel was read unto her in our Translation, was tame and quiet whilst the same was pronounced in Greek, her English Devil belike understanding no other language. The frequency of such forged Possessions wrought such an alteration upon the judgement of King JAMES, that he receding from what he had written in his *Demonologie* grew first diffident of, and then flatly to deny the workings of *Witches* and *Devils*, as but Falshoods and Delusions.

n Prov. 25. 2. King *James* his dexterity in detecting them.

58. K. *James* having last year in His progress passed through *Lancashire*, took notice, That *by the precisenes of some Magistrates, and Ministers, in severall places of this Kingdome, in hindring people from their recreations on the Sunday, the Papists in this Realm being thereby perswaded, that no honest mirth or recreation was tolerable in our Religion.* Whereupon, the Court being then at *Greenwich*, He set forth a Declaration to this effect, That *for His good peoples lawfull recreations, His pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull recreations; Such as dancing either of men, or women; archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations: Ner from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, or Morice-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment, or let of Divine Service: and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the Church for the decering of it, according to their old custome; withall prohibiting all unlawfull games to be used on the Sundaies onely, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and (at all times in the meaner sort of people by Law prohibited) bowling.*

The Kings Declaration for liberty on the Lords day.

May 24.

59. But when this Declaration was brought abroad, it is not so hard to believe, as sad to recount what grief and distraction thereby was occasioned in many honest mens hearts, who looked on it, not as locall for *Lancashire*, but what in processe of time would enlarge it self all over [a] *England*. Some conceived the recreations specified, *impeditive* to the observation of the Lords day; yea, unsuitable and unbeseeming the essentiall duties thereof. But others maintained, that if private mens speeches must not be pressed to an odious construction, much more men were bound, candidly to interpret the Acts of Authority; and in charity must presume, and be perswaded, that religious Princes will command nothing, what they conceive either to be unjust, or not expedient, all things considered. They considered moreover (which was mainly material) that this Declaration was not dogmatical, or doctrinall, to say, or averre these things to be Theologically lawfull, but it was *Edictum Civile*, what the King thought fit upon just reasons to permit, without restraint, or punishment. The hardnesse of mens hearts on one side, which will break loose though restrained, and the hope of gaining others on the other side, by a favourable allowance, might be just motives in Authority, to give way to things *civiliter*, that they may be done *impunè*, and yet not prejudice any point of Religion, and not be done *licitè*, as in Divorces *extra casum adulterii*, Usurie, &c.

The various effects thereof.

[a] So it was in the Reign of King *Charles*, Anno 1633.

60. But the difficulty was encreased, when Ministers daily feared to be urged upon their Canonicall obedience, to promulgate, and publish the said Declaration in their Parish Churches, which some resolved flatly to refuse, especially such, who formerly had strictly preached, and pressed the observation of the Lords

Reasons of the refusers to publish this Declaration.

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Lords-day, alledging for, and applying to themſelves that place of Saint *Paul* [b], *For, if I build again the things which I have deſtroyed, I make my ſelf a tranſgreſſour.* Beſides this, they enforced the Reaſons following for their Recuſancie: Yea, though the KING Himſelf ſhould enjoyn them on their Alleageance.

b Gal. 2. 18.

1. That the publiſhing of this Declaration would be *interpretativè* an approbation thereof, whereas on the contrary they are [c] commanded, *to have no fellowſhip with the unfruitfull works of darkneſs, but rather to reprove them.*

c Ephes. 5. 11.

2. That hereby they ſhould draw a juſt woe upon them pronounced by the Prophet [d], *Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievouſneſs which they have preſcribed.* Where (as the [e] Learned interpret) even publick Notaries, which are but inſtrumental, are threatned with a curſe.

d Iſa. 10. 1.

e *Junius* & *Piſcator* on the place.

3. That the promulgation of a Law is *de eſſentia Legis*, ſo that people would neither take notice of this Declaration, nor liberty by it, till it were publiſhed, and ſo the Publiſher ſhould *per ſe* be a Promoter of a ſin.

4. That Obedience to Authority obligeth onely in *licitis & honeſtis*; and the [f] Apoſtle confeſſeth, That he himſelf had power *to edification, and not to deſtruction*; whereunto the publiſhing thereof did manifeſtly tend.

f 2 Cor. 13. 10.

61. On the other ſide, ſome learned and pious Miniſters, who in their judgments were convinced, that ſome of the *aforeſaid recreations* were incompatible with the *ſanctification of the Sabbath*; notwithſtanding, in caſe His MAJESTY ſhould *enjoyn* it, on ſerious *deliberation* reſolved in *obedience* to the KING, publickly to read, or cauſe the reading of the *Declaration*, not looking at the contents therein, but at the Authority commanding the publication thereof; the rather, becauſe no Subſcription was required, or Vocall aſſent to approve, what therein was contained, to be juſt, or affirm it to be true; but a bare miniſterial declaring of the KING's will and pleaſure therein, which they conceived themſelves bound in conſcience to perform, for the Reaſons enſuing:

The Arguments for the lawful publiſhing of the Declaration.

1. The refuſal, well obſerved, doth reſolve into a principle, which would take away the neceſſity of Obedience univerſally, when the Partie commanded can pretend, the Magiſtrate ought not to command him any ſuch thing; and, if the PRINCE muſt ſuſpend His Edicts upon each Subjects doubt, He ſhould never ſet forth any, conſidering the variety of judgments, and the diſtractions which are in His Subjects.

2. A Sheriffe may, yea muſt, diſperſe the KING his Proclamations, which he liketh not; and a Clerk, at the command of his Maſter, a Juſtice of Peace, may lawfully write the *Mittimus* of that perſon to Priſon, whom in his parricular judgment he conceiveth to be innocent: and (what is moſt proper to our purpoſe, becauſe a religious inſtance) a Miniſter, without any ſin, may ſafely pronounce an Excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conſcience he be convinced, that the Partie is unjuſtly excommunicated.

3. There are many precedents hereof in antiquity. A Father [g] gives this cenſure, that when the *Jewes*, commanded by *Antiochus*, gave up the Divine Books to His Officers, to be deſtroyed, it was, *Peccatum imperantis, & minantis; non populi, cum dolore & tremore tradentis, A ſinne of Him that commanded, and threatned it; not of the people, who ſurrendred up thoſe Volumes with fear, and ſorrow.* And Saint

g *Optatus Milevitanus*, lib. 7.

h *Contra Faustum*, lib. 22. cap. 75.

h *Augustine* resolveth it in the case of a Christian Souldier, fighting under a sacrilegious Emperour; that, though he be not satisfied in the lawfulnesse of the commands, he may notwithstanding lawfully obey. *Ita ut fortasse reum faciat Regem iniquitas imperandi, innocentem militem ostendat ordo serviendi.* And, what is most apposite to the matter in hand (because the Edict of a godly Emperour, seriously distasted by a godly Bishop) *Mauritius* set forth a command, That *no Souldier should be admitted into a Monasterie*, and though *Gregory the great* was perswaded, the prohibition was in it self injurious and unlawfull, yet he did, *In*[i] *diversas terrarum partes transmittere legem, quia erat subjectus Ejus justionibus.*

i *Lib. 2. Ep. 61.*

Convinced with these Reasons, some Ministers (not with any delight in the Message, but in Duty to the Authority which sent) intended (if put to the trial) sadly and unwillingly to publish the *Declaration*.

A third sort resolve on a strange expedient.

A third sort took up a resolution to *read* the *Declaration*, or suffer it to be read, and presently after to *preach against* the *contents* of what they had *published*; hoping so, warily to avoid the *danger* of *disobedience*, in *refusing* to *promulgate* it, and of *profanenesse* in seeming to *approve* it. But, whether by this *middle way*, setting *God* and the *King* as openly *opposite*, they would have declined, or contracted more *odium*, it is hard to determine.

Lancashire Ministers more scared than hurt.

62. But now, after so long, and many diversities of Opinions and Arguments on severall sides, their own *fear* proved at last their onely *foe*: The KING's *goodnesse* taking away the *subject* of their *jealousie*; so that no Minister in the County was enjoyned to *read* the Book in his Parish, wherewith they had so affrighted themselves. However, their Arguments may be *kept cold*, and laid up provisionally against the time they had use thereof, especially for such, who survived till the *seventh of King CHARLES*, when the *Declaration* for *Liberty on the Lords-day* was injoyned (though not by the KING) the *Ministers to publish* clean through the *Land*.

A third sort read it with approbation of the contents therein.

63. However, there wanted not many, both in *Lancashire*, and elsewhere, who conceived the *Declaration* came forth seasonably, to suppresse the dangerous endeavour of such, who now began in their Pulpits, to *broach* the *dregs* of *Judaisme*, and force *Christians* to *drink them*. So that those *legal Ceremonies*, long since dead, buried, and rotten in the grave of our *Saviour*, had now their ghosts, as it were, walking; frighting such people with their terrible apparitions, who were perswaded by some Preachers to so rigorous observation of the Sabbath, that therein it was *unlawful to dresse meat, sweep their houses, kindle the fire*, or the like. Yea, and the Papists, in *Lancashire* especially (a *frontier Country*, as I may term it, of Papists and Protestants, where the Reformed Religion had rather a truce, than a peace, standing on *its guard*, and *posture of defence*) I say, in *Lancashire* the Romanists made advantage of this *strictnesse*, to pervert many to *Popery*, perswading them, That *the Protestant Religion was the School of* Tyrannus, *where no lawful liberty was allowed*. And no wonder, if many common people were hereby fetcht off unto them, *starting aside as a broken bow*, chiefly because *overbent* for lack of lawfull recreation. But enough hereof, and too much (if not pressed thereunto in pursuance of our History) and yet ere long we must have more on the same sad subject.

The Heretical Opinions of *John Thrake*.

64. Now of the Broakers of Judaisme, *John Thrake* was a principall. Whether ever he sucked on the breasts of either University, or onely was brought up by hand in some petty-School, I know not. This I know, that seeking to be made Deacon, or Minister, by *James* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Doctor *Samuel Ward* then Poser, and the Bishops Chaplain, refused him as altogether insufficient. However, afterwards he got Orders, and then began to vent his Opinions; That *the Lords-day was to be observed with the same strictnesse by Christians, as it*

was

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was by Jewes; and, That *all Meats and Drinks forbidden in the Leviticall Law bound Christians to the same observance*, thereby opening a dore to let in the rabble of all Ceremonies. Thus he brought in a constant *Lent* of his own making. And, whereas Divines can forbid no meat as unlawfull (though Politicians may as *unthrifty* for the State, and Physicians as *unhealthfull* for the body) because CHRIST hath given us that *Licence*, *To the clean all things are clean*, yet he seduced many souls with his Tenets, and his own Wife amongst many others. For these he was censured in the *Star-Chamber*, but afterwards recanted his Opinions, and lived (as unfetled in judgment, as place) in several parts of the Kingdome. I have heard him preach a Sermon, nothing relating to the aforesaid Doctrine, and when his Auditors have *forgotten* the matter, they will *remember* the *loudness* of his stentorious voice, which indeed had more strength, than any thing else he delivered. He afterwards relapsed, not into the same, but other Opinions, rather humerous, than hurtfull, and died obscurely at *Lambeth* in the Reign of *King* CHARLES. Nor must we forget, that his Wife could never be unperverted again, but perished in her Judaism; because, as our *Saviour* [k] observeth, *Proselytes* in generall are *twofold worse* than their *Leader*: and her Sex (as *pliable* to *receive*, as *tenacious* to *retain*) had *weaknesse* enough to *embrace* an *error*, and *obstinacy* too much to *forsake* it.

[k] Mat. 23. 15.

63. At this time began the troubles in the *Low-Countreys*, about matters of Religion, heightned between two opposite parties, *Remonstrants*, and *Contra-Remonstrants*; their Controversies being chiefly reducible to five points; *Of Predestination, and Reprobation*; *Of the Latitude of Christ's death*; *Of the power of mans Free will, both before, and after his conversion*; *and*, *Of the Elects perseverance in grace*. To decide these difficulties, the *States* of the *United Provinces*, resolved to call a *National Synod* at *Dort*; And, to give the more lustre, and weight to the determinations thereof, desired some forreign Princes to send them the assistance of Their Divines for so pious a work: Especially, they requested our KING of *Great Britain*, to contribute His aid thereunto (being Himself as forward to doe, as they desire any thing conducible to GOD's *glory*, and the Churches *good*) Who, out of His own Princely wisdome, and free favour, made choice of

George Carleton, Doctor of Divinity, then Bishop of *Landaff*, and afterward Bishop of *Chichester*.

Joseph Hall, Doctor of Divinity, then Dean of *Worcester*, and afterward Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Norwich*.

John Davenant, Doctor of Divinity, then *Margaret*-Professour, and Master of *Queens-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*.

Samuel Ward, Doctor of Divinity, then Master of *Sidney-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and Arch-Deacon of *Taunton*.

These, according to their summons, repairing to His MAJESTY at *Newmarket*, received from Him there these following Instructions, concerning their behaviour in the Synod:

These Instructions I saw transcribed out of Dr. *Davenant* his own Manuscript.

1. OUr will, and pleasure is, That from this time forward, upon all occasions, you inure your selves to the practice of the *Latine* Tongue; that, when there is cause, you may deliver your mindes with more readinesse, and facility.
2. You shall in all points to be debated, and disputed, resolve amongst your selves before-hand, what is the true State of the *Question*, and jointly, and uniformly agree thereupon.
3. If in debating of the cause by the Learned men there, any thing be emergent, whereof you thought not before; you shall meet, and consult

consult thereupon again, and so resolve among your selves joyntly, what is fit to be maintained. And this to be done agreeable to the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Church of *England*. Ann. Dom. 1618. Ann. Regis Ja. 16

4. Your advise shall be to those Churches, that their Ministers doe not deliver in the Pulpit to the people, those things for ordinary Doctrins, which are the highest points of Schools, and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.
5. That they use no Innovation in Doctrine, but teach the same things which were taught twenty or thirty years past, in their own Churches: and especially, that which contradicteth not their own Confessions, so long since published, and known unto the world.
6. That they conforme themselves to the publick Confessions of the neighbour-reformed Churches, with whom to hold good correspondency, shall be no dishonour to them.
7. That, if there be main opposition between any, who are overmuch addicted to their own opinions, your endevour shall be, that certain Positions be moderately laid down, which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides.
8. That, as you principally look to God's glory, and the peace of those distracted Churches: so you have an eye to Our honour, Who send and employ you thither; and consequently, at all times consult with Our Ambassadour there residing, who is best acquainted with the form of those Countreys, understandeth well the Questions, and differences among them, and shall from time to time receive Our Princely directions, as occasion shall require.
9. Finally, in all other things which We cannot foresee, you shall carry your selves with that advise, moderation, and discretion, as to persons of your quality, and gravity shall appertain.

Doctor *Davenant*, and Doctor *Ward*, presented themselves again to His MAJESTY at *Royston*, *October* the 8. Where His MAJESTY vouchsafed His familiar discourse unto them, for two hours together, commanding them to sit down by Him, and at last dismissed them with His solemn prayer, That *God would blesse their endevours*; which made them cheerfully to depart His presence. Oct. 8.

66. Addressing themselves now with all possible speed to the Sea-side, they casually missed that *Man of Warre*, which the *States* had sent to conduct them over (though they saw him on Sea at some distance) and safely went over in a small Vessel, landing *October* 20 at *Middleburgh*. On the 27 of the same Moneth they came to *Hague*, where they kissed the hand of His Excellency *GRAVE MAURICE*, to Whom the Bishop made a short Speech, and by Whom they were all courteously entertained. Hence they removed to *Dort*, where *November* the 3, the *Synod* began, and where we leave them with the rest of their fellow-Divines, when first every one of them had taken this Admission-Oath, at their entrance into the *Synod*: 20. 27. Nov. 3.

I *Acta Synodi Dordracena pag.* 64.

I Promise before God[1], *whom I believe, and adore, the present searcher of the heart, and reins, that in all this Synodal action, wherein shall be appointed the examination, judgment, and decision, as well of the known* five Articles, *and difficulties thence arising, as of all other Doctrinals; that I will not make use of any Humane Writing, but onely of God's Word, for the certain, and undoubted Rule of Faith: And, that I shall propound nothing to my self in this whole cause, besides the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and especially the preservation of the purity of Doctrine therein. So may my Saviour Jesus Christ be mercifull unto me, whom I earnestly pray, that in this my purpose, He would alwaies be present with me with the grace of his Spirit.*

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I say, we leave them here with their fellow-Divines. For, should my pen presume to sail over the Sea, it would certainly meet with a *storm* in the passage, the censure of such, who wil justly condemn it for medling with transmarine matters, especially Doctrinall points, utterly aliene from my present subject. Onely a touch of an Historical passage therein, confining our selves to our own Countreymen.

67. These four Divines had allowed them by the STATES *Ten pounds sterling* a day, *Threescore and ten pounds* by the week; an entertainment farr larger than what was appointed to any other forreign Theologues; and politickly proportioned, in gratefull consideration of the Greatnesse of His MAJESTY who employed them. And, these *English* Divines, knowing themselves sent over, not to gain wealth to themselves, but glory to God, and reputation to their Sovereign, freely gave what they had freely received, keeping a *Table general*, where any fashionable Forreigner was courteously and plentifully entertained. The States liberall allowance to the English Divines.

68. They were commanded by the KING to give Him a weekly account (each one in his several Week, according to their seniority) of all memorable passages transacted in the *Synod*. Yet it happened, that, for a moneth, or more, the KING received from them no particulars of their proceedings, whereat His Majesty was most highly offended. But afterwards, understanding, that this defect was caused by the countermands of an higher King, even of him *who* [m] *gathereth the winde in his fists*, stopping all passages by contrary weather; no wonder if He, who was so great a *peace-maker*, was himself so quickly pacified: yea, afterwards highly pleased, when four weekly dispatches (not neglected to be orderly sent, but delayed, to be accordingly brought) came all together to His Majesties hands. Weekly intelligence to the King from his Divines.

m Prov. 30. 4.

Dec. 10. 69. On the 10 of *December*, *Gualter Balcanquall*, Bachelour of Divinity, and Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, came into the Synod, where his *Credential Letters* from King JAMES were publickly read; Whose pleasure it was, that he should be added to the four *English* Collegues, *in the name of the Church of* Scotland. The President of the Synod welcomed him with a short Oration, which by Mr. *Balcanquall* was returned with another, and so was he conducted to his place; A place built for him particularly, as one coming after all the rest, so that his seat discomposed the uniformity of the building, exactly regular before. But it matters not how the seats were ordered, so that the judgments of such as sate therein, were conformed to the truth of the Scriptures. Mr. *Balcanquall* admitted into the Synod.

17. 1619. 70. Doctor *Joseph Hall* being at the Synod of *Dort*, and finding much indisposition in himself, the aire not agreeing with his health, on his humble request obtained *His Majesties* leave to return. Whereupon, composing his countenance with a becoming gravity, he publickly took his solemn farewell of the Synod, with this Speech following: Dr. *Hall* his return thence.

NOn facilè verò mecum in gratiam redierit cadaverosa hæc moles, quam ægrè usque circumgesto, quæ mihi hujus Conventus celebritatem tòties inviderit, jamque prorsus invitissimum à vobis importunè avocat, & divellit. Neque enim ullus est profectò sub cælo locus æquè cæli æmulus, & in quo tentorium mihi figi maluerim, cujusque adeo gestiet mihi animus meminisse. Beatos verò vos, quibus hoc frui datum! non dignus eram ego (ut fidelissimi Romani querimoniam imitari liceat) qui & Christi, & Ecclesiæ suæ nomine, sanctam hanc provinciam diutius sustinerem. Illud vero Θεῦ δὲ χάρις. *Nempe audito, quod res erat, non aliâ me quàm adversissimâ hic usum valetudine, Serenissimus Rex meus misertus miselli famuli sui, revocat me domum, quippe quòd cineres meos, aut sandapilam vobis nihil quicquam prodesse posse nôrit, succenturiavitque mihi virum è suis selectissimum, quantum Theologum! De me profectò (mero jam silicernio) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus, cujus ego totus sum. Vobis quidem ita feliciter prospectum est, ut sit cur infirmitati meæ haud parùm gratulemini, quum hujusmodi*

modi instructissimo succedaneo cœtum hunc vestrum beaverit. Neque tamen committam (si Deus mihi vitam, & vires indulserit) ut & corpore simul, & animo abesse videar. Interea sanè huic Synodo, ubicunque terrarum sum, & vobis, consiliis conatibusq; meis quibuscunq;, res vestras me, pro virili, sedulò, ac seriò prometurum, sanctè voveo. Interim vobis omnibus, ac singulis, Honoratissimi Domini Delegati, Reverendissime Præses, Gravissimi Assessores, Scribæ doctissimi, Symmystæ colendissimi, Tibique Venerandissima Synodus universa, agro animo ac corpore æternùm valedico. Rogo vos omnes obnixiùs, ut precibus vestris imbecillem reducem facere, comitari, prosequi velitis.

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Thus returned Dr. *Hall* into his own Country; Since so recovered (not to say revived) therein, that he hath gone over the graves of all his *English* Collegues there, and (what cannot God, and good aire doe?) surviving in health at this day, three and thirty years after, may well with [n] *Jesse, go amongst men for an old man in these daies.* And living privately, having passed thorough the Bishopricks of *Exeter*, and *Norwich*, hath now the opportunity in these troublesome times, effectually to practice those his precepts of *patience*, and *contentment*, which his pen hath so eloquently recommended to others.

n 1 Sam. 17. 12.

Doctor *Goad* in the room of Dr. *Hall.*

71. On the seventh of *January*, *Thomas Goad* Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to *George* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, came into the Synod, sent thither by His MAJESTY of *Great Britain*. The President entertained him with a solemn Oration, highly commending King JAMES's care, not recalling one Divine, till he had substituted another. The Doctor requited him with a pithie Oration, promising the utmost of his assistance to the general good. A promise by him well performed, giving afterwards ample testimony of his general learning and solid judgement in Divinity; nothing being wanting in him, but that he came hither so late to this imployment. Jan. 7.

SECTION

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SECTION V.

TO
Master PETER MOROLOYS,
AND
Master THOMAS ROWSE,
OF
LONDON, Merchants.

THE NETHERLANDS *are the* Scene *whereon the beginning of this* Section *was transacted. They were also the* Native Countreys *of your* Ancestors, *flying hither from persecution. Since as your* Fathers *then found Safety amongst the* ENGLISH; *some of the* ENGLISH, *to my knowledge, have felt Bounty from their* Children. *God increase your Store, and make you like the good Merchant in the Gospel*, who, to purchase the* GREAT PEARL, sold all that he had, *that is, undervalued all Worldly wealth, coming in competition with* God, *or* Grace, *or* Glory.

* Mat. 13. 46.

BEfore the end of the hundred fourty fifth Session, *April* the 20th, in the forenoon, the *Belgick Confession* was brought into the Synod, containing matter both of Doctrine, and Discipline, and the publick consent thereunto was required. Here the Bishop of *Landaffe, in the name of all the rest*, approved all the points of Doctrine. But as for matter of *Discipline*, that his *Mother Church*, and his own *Order* might not suffer therein, and he seem by silence to betray the cause thereof, a *Protest* was entred by him, as Mouth for the rest, to preserve the same, as by the perusing the following passage will appear.

The Belgick Confession presented in the Synod.

Interea tamen de Disciplina paucis monet. Nunquam in Ecclesia obtinuisse Ministrorum paritatem non tempore Christi ipsius, tunc enim duodecim Apostolos fuisse Discipulis superiores, non Apostolorum ætate, non subsecutis seculis. Nec valere rationem in hac Confessione usurpatam, Nempè quia omnes sunt æquè Ministri Christi. *Nam & septuaginta Discipuli erant Ministri Christi, æquè ac Apostoli, non tamen inde Apostolis æquales: & omnes omnino homines sunt æquè homines, non inde tamen homo homini non debet subesse. Hæc, non ad harum Ecclesiarum offensionem, sed ad nostræ Anglicanæ defensionem sese monuisse professus est.*—— Britannorum *interpellationi responsum ne grn quidem.*

Notwithstanding, in the mean time, he briefly gave his advice concerning Discipline. That the parity of Ministers never prevailed in the Church, no, not in the time of Christ himself; for, then the twelve Apostles were superiour to the Disciples; not in the time of the Apostles, nor in the ages after them. Nor is that reason of any force alledged in their Confession, namely, *Because all are equally the Ministers of Christ.* For, even the seventy Disciples were equally Ministers of Christ with the Apostles, and yet it follows not thence, they were *equal* with the Apostles: and all men altogether are *equally* men, yet thence it cannot be inferred, that one man ought not to be subject to another. These things he professed himself to have hinted, not to offend these Churches therewith, but to defend their own Church of *England*—— To this interpellation of the *British* Divines nothing at all was answered.

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Hereby the equal Reader may judge how candidly Master *Montague* in his *Appeal*, dealeth with our *English Divines*, charging [o] them, *That the Discipline of the Church of* England *is in this Synod held unlawfull.* And again, [p] *The Synod of* Dort *in some points condemneth upon the by, even the Discipline of the Church of* England. But, let such as desire farther satisfaction herein, peruse the *joynt Attestation*, which those *English* Divines set forth, *Anno* 1626. to justifie their proceedings herein.

o Appeal, p. 70.
p Appeal, p. 108.

The States bounty to the British Divines.

2. On the 29 of *April* the Synod ended. The *States* to expresse their gratitude, bestowed on the *English* Divines at their departure, *Two hundred pounds*, to bear their charges in their return: besides, a *golden Medall* of good value was given to every one of them, wherein the sitting of the Synod was artificially represented. And now, these Divines, who for many moneths had, in a manner, been fast'ned to their chairs, and desks, thought it a right due to themselves, that when their work was ended, they might begin their recreation. Wherefore they viewed the most eminent Cities in the *Low-Countreys*, and at all places were bountifully received, *Leiden* onely excepted. Wonder not, that they, who had most learning, should shew least civility, especially having Professours of Humanity amongst them, seeing generally the great ones of that University at this time, being Remonstrants, were disaffected to the decisions of this Synod. This gave occasion to that passage in the speech of Sir *Dudlie Carleton*, the *English* Ambassadour, when in the name of his Master he tendred the *States* publick thanks, for their great respects to the *English* Divines, using words to this effect, That *they had been entertained at* Amsterdam, *welcomed at the* Hague, *cheerfully received at* Roterdam, *kindly embraced at* Utreich, *&c. and that they had seen* Leiden.

April 29.

Their Letter to K. James.

3. But, how high an esteem, the STATES-GENERAL had of these our *English-mens* service, will best appear by Their *Letter*, which They sent to King JAMES, as followeth:

Serenissime

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Sereniſsime Rex,

QUemadmodum hoc unicè propoſitum Nobis fuit, ut, quæ in Civitatibus, Provinciiſq; noſtris, ante annos aliquot, exortæ erant, infelices de Religione contentiones, eruditorum, ac piorum hominum judicio, legitimè tolli, ac componi poſſent; ut, & conſcientiis eorum, quibus Nos præeſſe Deus Immortalis voluit, ipſiq; pariter Reipublicæ, ſuâ in Religione, ac pietate ſimul, ratio conſtaret, & tranquillitas; ita nos benignè is reſpexit, cui hactenus curæ fuimus, Qui Conventui noſtro Nationali, quem ex omnibus idem ſentientibus Eccleſiis convocavimus, ita benedixit, ut, re tantâ ad felicem, atq; optatum exitum perductâ, domum, & ad ſuos ſe conferant. Quibus, benedictionem Domini, ſtudium noſtrum in promovendo pietatis negotio, conſenſum planè cum aliis Eccleſiis unanimem, indicabunt. Inter quos, cum præcipui & conſilio, & loco, fuerint Magnæ Britanniæ Theologi, quos, pro ſingulari, & divino, in Nos, & Eccleſias noſtras affectu, ad Nos mittere dignata eſt Majeſtas Tua; curæ Nobis fuit, ut, quantopere hujus beneficii magnitudinem æſtimemus, ex nobis intelligeret Majeſtas Tua. Eſt verò illud, Rex Sereniſsime, etiamſi cum reliquis, quæ infinita ſunt, conferatur, tantò majus, quantò uberiores ſunt fructus, quos ex Dei cauſa expectamus, quantóq; id Majeſtatis Tuæ nomini eſt convenientius; Qui, cùm nullâ re externâ, atq; humanâ, quæ potiſsimùm aliis Principibus conciliant dignitatem, quoquam Rege ſit inferior, Fidei Defenſionem, tanquam Dei, Eccleſiæq; Patronus in his terris, ſibi meritò aſſumit. Neque dubitare poſſumus, quin, & Majeſtatis Tuæ Regna tot, & tanta; reliquæque, quæ in hoc negotio Nobis operam navârunt, Eccleſiæ, magnam utilitatem ex hoc inſtituto noſtro percepturæ ſint, quæ exemplo noſtro diſcent, quanto periculo conjunctum ſit, quæ bene in Religione conſtituta ſunt temerè movere, quùm ſint felices, atque fortunatæ, quamdiu ſimili remedio opus non habebunt: cui hactenus abundè, Majeſtatis Tuæ curâ, atque vigilantiâ, proſpectum fuit. In Theologis porrò utriuſq; Regni Veſtri omnibus, & ſingulis, quorum agmen ducit verè Reverendiſsimus

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Dominus Georgius, *Landavensis Episcopus, imago, atque expressa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis studium, eumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cum ipsius beneficii causâ Majestati Tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipsius beneficii Nobis videatur, quod ipsi ad Nos missi sint.*

Deus immortalis Majestati Tuæ, Rex Serenissime, ita benedicat, ut illius benedictionis partem, Orbis Christianus, ex diuturnitate Regni Tui, & Ecclesiæ defensione, diu percipiat.

The British Divines return into *England*.

4. With these *Testimonial Letters*, over they came into *England*, and first presented themselves to King JAMES. Who, seeing them out of a window, when first entring the Court; *Here comes*, said He, *my good Mourners*, alluding to their black habit, and late death of Queen ANNE. Then, after courteous entertaining of them, He favourably dismissed them, and afterward on three of them [q] bestowed preferment. So returned they all to their severall professions; Bishop *Carleton* to the carefull governing of his Diocesse; Doctor *Davenant*, besides his Collegiate Cure, to his constant Lectures in the Schools; Dr. *Ward* to his discreet ordering of his own Colledge; Dr. *Goad* to his diligent discharging of Domestical duties in the family of his Lord, and Patron; and Mr. *Balcanquall* to his Fellowship in *Pembroke-Hall*.

[q] Removing *Carleton* to *Chichester*, preferring *Davenant* to *Salisbury*, and bestowing the Mastership of the *Savoy* on *Balcanquall* - - - - - - - - - -

This Synod diversly censured.

5. Since it hath been the successe of this Synod, to have the decisions thereof to be approved, applauded, magnified by some: vilified, contemned, condemned by others. If men were divided in their censures [r] about Christ, *some saying, He is a good man: others, nay, but he deceiveth the people*; no wonder, if ever since, all Conventions of Christians be subject to variety of mens verdicts upon them. Of such as dislike the Synod, none falls heavier upon it than a *London* Divine, charging the Synodians to have taken a previous Oath, to condemn the opposite party on what termes soever. But take him in his own words, *Farre be it from me to subscribe the report, or information of those, who charge the respective Members of this Synod, with suffering themselves to be bound with an Oath, at, or before their admission thereunto, to vote down the Remonstrants, and their Doctrines (howsoever;) Yet, when I read, and consider, 1. How learnedly, solidly, and substantially they quit themselves, and argue, whilst they goe along with the Remonstrants, and declare wherein they agree with them, in the points controverted betwixt them. 2. How feebly, and unlike themselves they reason, when they come to the quick of the difference. 3. and lastly, How neer, at very many turns, even in those things wherein they pretend to differ, they come unto them, as if they had a very good minde, to be no more two, but one with them, when (I say) I consider all these things, methinks I see the interest and obligation of an oath, working much after the same manner, as sometimes it did in* Herod, *when for his oath sake, contrary to his minde, and desire otherwise, he caused*, John the Baptist's *head to be given to* Herodias *in a* [t] *platter*. See here, how this *Suggester*, though at the first *he takes water, and washeth his hands*, with a *Farre be it from me to subscribe the report &c.* yet afterwards he crucifies the credit of a whole Synod, and makes them all guilty of no lesse than damnable perjury.

[r] 1 John 7. 12.

[s] Mr. *John Goodwin* in his *Redemption Redeem'd*, cap. 15. parag. 24. pag. 395.

[t] Mat. 14. 9.

The Suggesters surmise most improbable.

6. I could have wished, that he had mentioned in the margin, the Authors of this suggestion; whereas now the omission thereof will give occasion to some, to suspect him for the first raiser of the report; an heavy accusation, charging a whole

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whole Synod of injustice. When *Festus*, the heathen Magistrate, was so much Christian, as not to condemn an accused man [u] *before he hath licence to answer for himself*: could any Assembly of Christian Ministers be so heathen, as to binde themselves by an oath, right or wrong, with blinde obedience, to beat down the opposite party? Wherein they were all actually forsworn, having publickly taken so solemn an oath, to proceed impartially, according to Gods Word, and their own conscience. What said *Laban* to [w] *Jacob*? *If thou shalt take other wives besides my daughters, no man is with us, see, God is witnesse between thee, and me*: So, if these Divines, having betroathed their faith to God, and the world, in so open and publick a manner; besides this Oath, did binde themselves with any other, taken before, or after, in a clandestine way, contrary to their publick promise: would not God the sole judge herein, sensible of this affront offered to him, and his truth, heavily punish so hainous an offence? And, can any charitable-minded man believe, that learned men would, that godly men could be guilty of so deep, and damnable dissimulation?

u Acts 25. 26.

w Gen. 31. 50.

7. Musing with my self on this matter, and occasionally exchanging Letters with the Sons of Bishop *Hall*, it came into my minde to ask them *Joseph's* [x] question to his brethren, *Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake, is he yet alive?* And, being informed of his life and health, I addressed my self in a Letter unto him, for satisfaction in this particular, who was pleased to honour me with this return herein inserted:

Bishop *Hall* his Letter to the Author.

x Gen. 43. 27.

WHereas you desire from me a just relation of the carriage of the businesse at the Synod of Dort, *and the conditions required of our Divines there, at, or before their admission to that grave, and learned Assembly: I, whom God was pleased to imploy, as an unworthy agent in that great work, and, to reserve still upon earth, after all my reverend, and worthy Associates, doe, as in the presence of that God, to whom I am now daily expecting to yeild up my account, testifie to you, and (if you will) to the world, that I cannot, without just indignation, read that slanderous imputation, which Mr.* Goodwin, *in his* Redemption Redeem'd, *reports to have been raised, and cast upon those Divines, eminent both for learning, and piety,* That they suffered themselves to be bound with an Oath, at, or before their admission into that Synod, to vote down the Remonstrants howsoever; *so as they came deeply preingaged to the decision of those unhappy differences.*

Truly, Sir, as I hope to be saved, all the Oath that was required of us was this; After that the Moderater, Assistents, and Scribes were chosen, and the Synod formed, and the several Members allowed, there was a solemn Oath required to be taken by every one of that Assembly, which was publickly done in a grave manner, by every person in their order, standing up, and laying his hand upon his heart, calling the great God of heaven to witnesse, that he would unpartially proceed in the judgment of these controversies, which should be laid before him, onely out of, and according to the written Word of God, and no otherwise, so determining of them, as he should finde in his conscience most agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, which Oath was punctually agreed to be thus taken by the Articles of the States, *concerning the indiction, and ordering of the Synod, as appears plainly in their tenth Article; and, this was all the Oath that was either taken, or required. And farre was it from those holy soules, which are now glorious in heaven, or mine (who still for some short time survive, to give this just witnesse of our sincere integrity) to entertain the least thought of any so foul corruption, as by any over-ruling power to be swayed to a prejudgment in the points controverted.*

It grieves my soul therefore to see, that any learned Divine should raise imaginary conjectures to himself, of an interest and obligation of a fancied Oath (working upon them, and drawing them contrary to the dictation of their own conscience, as it did Herod's *in the case of* John Baptist's *beheading) meerly out of his own comparative construction of the different forms of expressing themselves in managing those Controversies. Wherein if at any time they seemed to speak neerer to the Tenet of the*

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Remonstrants, it must be imputed to their holy ingenuity, and gracious disposition to peace, and to no other sinister respect.

Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent Divines, I blesse God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured attestation; which I am ready to second with the solemnest Oath, if I shall be thereto required.

Higham, August 30. 1651.

Your much devoted friend, precessor, and fellow-labourer,
Jos: Hall, B. N.

Let the Reader consider with himself, how the Suggester speaks by hear-say, of things done at distance, whereat himself not present, whose disaffection to the decisions of that Synod, inclines him to credit ill reports against it. And yet, as afraid, though willing to speak out, in his *me-thinks I see*, vents but his own conjecturall surmises. Let him also weigh in the ballance of his judgment, how this purgation of this Synod is positive, and punctual, from one an ear- and eye-witnesse thereof, being such an one as Doctor *Hall*, and now aged; so that his *testimonium* herein, may seem *testamentum*; his *witnesse*, his *will*, and the truth therein delivered, a Legacie by him bequeathed to posterity. I say, the premises seriously considered, let the Reader proceed to sentence, as God and his conscience shall direct him; and, either condemn a private person of slander, and falsity; or a whole Synod of injustice, and perjury.

The death of Bp. *Montague.*

8. My desire to make this History of the Synod intire, hath made me omit the death of *James Montague*, the worthy Bishop of *Winchester*, who left this life the last year: Son to Sir *Ed: Montague* of *Boughton* in *Northampton-shire*, bred in *Christs*, afterwards Master of *Sidney-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, highly favoured by King JAMES, (whose *Works* he set forth) preferring him to the Bishoprick first of *Bath* and *Wells*, then to *Winchester*: in *Bath* he lies buried under a fair Tomb, though the whole Church be his Monument, which his bounty repaired, or rather raised out of the ruins thereof. One passage at his buriall I must not forget, having received it from the mouth of his younger Brother Sir *Sidney Montague*, present at his Funeral-solemnities.

A strange accident at his buriall.

9. A certain Officer of *Bath Church*, being a very corpulent man, was upon the day of the Bishop's burial appointed to keep the *dores*: He entred on this his imployment in the Morning whereon the Funeral was kept, but was buried himself before night, and before the Bishops body was put into the ground, because being bruised to death by the pressing in of people, his Corps required speedy interment; so needfull it is for those to *watch for their own change*, who wait on the graves of others.

The death of Bp. *Overall.*

10. I cannot attain the exact date of the death of *John Overall*, carrying *Superintendency* in his Surname, the Bishop of *Norwich*; first, Fellow of *Trinity-Coll:* then Master of *Katherine-Hall*, and King's Professour of Divinity in *Cambridge*. One of a strong brain to improve his great reading, and accounted one of the most Learned Controversial Divines of those daies.

A great abuse of the King's favour.

11. A grand Grievance was now much complained of, but little redressed: some great Courtiers there were, to whom the KING had passed His Grants to compound with Papists for their Recusancie. Some of these *Grantees* abused the KING's favour, and Compounded with such persons for *light summes*, even before their legall *Conviction*, whereby the Offenders in that kinde became the more backward to Conform themselves to the *King*'s Lawes, *His Majesty* not aiming at their *punishment*, but *reformation*. And although this indirect course was flatly forbidden by His Royal *Declaration*, set forth 1610: yet was this corruption connived at, and is conceived a main cause of the great and speedy increase of Popery. 1620. 18.

12. About

Ann. Reg. Jac. 14. Ann. Dom. 1621.

12. About this time, a ſad miſchange befell *George Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in this manner, He was invited by the Lord *Zouch* to *Bramſhill* in *Hampſhire* to hunt and kill a Buck; The Keeper ran amongſt the Herd of Deer to bring them up to the fairer mark, whileſt the Archbiſhop ſitting on his Horſe back, let looſe a barbed-Arrow from a Crosbow, and unhappily hit the Keeper: He was ſhot through the Enmontery of the left Arm, and the Arrow dividing thoſe grand auxiliary veſſels, he died of the flux of blood immediatly. Nature having provided, that all the large Veſſels are defended externally by bones: He never ſpake after, as the perſon ſtill alive at *Croydon*, who brought off his body, informed me, and died not of the ill-dreſſing of the Wound, as ſome have printed it. This preſently put an end to the ſport of that day, and almoſt to the Archbiſhops mirth to the laſt of his life.

Archbiſhop caſually killed a Keeper.

13. The fame of this mans death, flew faſter than the Arrow that killed him: The Archbiſhops miſchance, in many men met not with ſo much pity, as ſo ſad a caſualty did deſerve: He was not much beloved by the inferiour Clergie, as over-rigid and auſtere: Indeed, he was mounted to command in the Church, before he ever learned to obey therein; Made a Shepherd of Shepherds, before he was a Shepherd of Sheep; Conſecrated Biſhop, before ever called to a Paſtoral Charge; *which made*, ſay ſome, *him not to ſympathize with the neceſſities and infirmities of poor Miniſters*. As for the ſuperiour Clergie, ſome for his irregularity and removal expected preferment, as the ſecond Boule is made firſt, and the third, ſecond, when that neereſt the mark, is violently removed.

The miſchance rigidly cenſured.

14. It is ſtrange to ſee, how ſuddainly many men ſtarted up Canoniſts and Caſuiſts in their diſcourſe, who formerly had ſmall skill in that profeſſion. In their ordinary talk they cited Councels and Synods: ſome had up S. *Jerome*'s ſpeech, *Venatorem nunquam legimus ſanctum*: others were buſie with the Decree of the Councel of *Orleance*, (*Gratian* 49 B. *diſtinct.* 34.) *Epiſcopo*, Preſbytero, aut Diacono canes ad venandum, aut accipitres habere non licet*. Others diſtinguiſhed of a three-fold hunting: 1. *Oppreſſiva*. 2. *Arenaria*. 3. *Saltuoſa*. Theſe maintained, that the two former were utterly unlawfull, but the laſt might lawfully be uſed. Others diſtinguiſhed of Homicide: 1. *Ex neceſſitate*. 2. *Ex voluntate*. 3. *Ex caſu*. the caſe in hand. In a word, this accident divided all great companies into *pro* and *con*, for or againſt the Archbiſhops irregularity on this occaſion, yet all the force of their skill could not mount the guilt of this fact higher than the fountain thereof. When all was done it was but *Caſual Homicide*, who ſought not for the man, but God was pleaſed to bring the Man to his hand.

Many Canoniſts quickly made.

* Note that theſe Canons were never admitted Lawes in *England*.

15. Sir *Henry Savill*, the Archbiſhops old acquaintance as his contemporary in *Oxon*, repaired on his behalf to the Oracle of the Law, Sir *Edward Coke*, whom he found a bowling for his recreation. *My Lord*, ſaid he, *I come to be ſatisfied of you in a point of Law. If it be a point of Common Law*, (ſaid Sir *Edward Coke*) *I am unworthy to be a Judge, if I cannot preſently ſatisfie you; but if it be a point of Statute Law, I am unworthy to be Judge, if I ſhould undertake to ſatisfie you before I have conſulted my Books. It is this*, (ſaid Sir *Henry*) *Whether may a Biſhop Hunt in a Park by the Laws of the Realm?* *I can preſently reſolve you*, ſaid the Judge, *He may hunt by the Lawes of the Realm by this very token, That there is an old Law*, (let the young Students in that profeſſion finde it out) *that a Biſhop, when dying, is to leave his pack of Dogs* (called *Muta* canum*) *to the Kings free uſe and diſpoſal*.

Archbiſhops may hunt by the Laws of the Land.

* From the French *meute de chiens*.

16. The party, whom the Archbiſhop ſuſpected his greateſt Foe, proved his moſt firm and effectuall Friend, even *Lancelot Andrewes* Biſhop of *Winchester*: For when ſeveral Biſhops inveighed againſt the irregularity of the Archbiſhop, laying as much (if not more) guilt, on the act, than it would bear, He mildly checked them: *Brethren* (ſaid he) *be not too buſie to condemn any for Uncanonicalls according to the ſtrictneſſe thereof, leſt we render our ſelves in the ſame condition. Beſides we all know*, Canones, qui dicunt lapſos poſt actam pœnitentiam, ad clericatum non eſſe reſtituendos, de rigore loquuntur diſciplinæ, non injiciunt deſperationem indulgentiæ.

Bp. *Andrewes* the Archbiſhops great friend.

17. King

His restitution and mortification,

17. King *James* being Himself delighted in Hunting, was sorry any ill accident should betide the users thereof. But when He was assured, how deeply the Archbishop layed this casualty to his heart, He much pitied him, and said to a Lord, discoursing thereof, *It might have been My chance or thine.* So that not long after the Archbishop (who had lately retired himself to *Guildford Almes-house* of his own founding) returned to *Lambeth*, and to the performance of his Office, though some squeamish, and nice-conscienced *Elects* scrupled to be consecrated by him. He gave during his own life *Twenty pounds* a year to the *Man's Widow*, which was not long a Widow, as quickly re-maried. He kept a Monethly-Fast on a *Tuesday*, as the day whereon this casualty befell; in a word, this Keeper's *death* was the Archbishop's *mortification*. Ann. Dom. 1621. Ann. Regni Jacob.

A project against the Clergy to get money.

18. At this time the KING's *Exchequer* grew very low, though *Lionel Cranfield* Lord Treasurer, and Earl of *Middlesex*, neglected no means for the improving thereof. In order whereunto, (Reader, let this Story passe into thy belief, on my credit, knowing my selfe sufficiently assured thereof) a Projector, (such necessary evils then much countenanced) informed His MAJESTY of a way whereby speedily to advance much Treasure. And how forsooth was it? Even that a new Valuation should be made of all Spiritual preferments, (which now in the *King's Books* passed at Under-rates) to bring them up to, or near the full value thereof. This would promote both the *casual fines* (as I may term them) of *First-fruits*, and the *Annual rent* of *Tenths*, to the great advantage of the Crown. The KING sent to the *Lord Treasurer* demanding his judgment thereof.

Declined by the Lord Treasurer.

19. The Treasurer returned His MAJESTY an Answer to this effect, so near as I can remember from the mouth of a Noble person then present.: *Sir, You have ever been beheld, as a great Lover and Advancer of Learned men, and You know Clergy-mens education is chargeable to them, or their friends: Long it is before they get any preferment, which at last, generally, is but small in proportion to their pains and expences. Let it not be said, that You gained by grinding them; other waies lesse obnoxious to just censure, will be found out, to furnish your occasions.* The KING commended *Cranfield*, (as doing it only for triall) adding morever, *I should have accounted thee a very knave, if encouraging Me herein:* and so the project was blasted, for the present, as it was, when it budded again, propounded by some unworthy instrument in the Reign of King CHARLES.

Who is truly excused.

20. I know, some will suspect the Treasurer, more likely to start than crush so gainful a design, as who by all waies & means sought to encrease the *royal Revenue*. I know also, that some accuse him, as if making his Master's wings to molt, thereby the better to feather his own nest. Indeed, he raised a fair estate, and surely he will never be a *good Steward* for his Master, who is a bad one for himself. Yet on due and true enquiry it will appear, that though an High power did afterwards prosecute him, yet his innocence *in the main* preserved him to transmit a good estate to his posterity. So that much of truth must be allowed in his * *Motto*, *PERDIDIT FIDES*, he was lost at Court for his fidelity to K. JAMES, in sparing His Treasure, and not answering the expensiveness of a great Favourite.

* Frequent in his House at *Copthall*.

The L. *Bacon* outed for Bribery.

21. A Parliament was call'd, wherein *Francis Bacon* L^d^ Chancellor, was outed his Office for *Bribery*, the frequent receiving thereof by him, or his, was plainly proved. Yet for all his taking, just and unjust, he was exceedingly poor and much indebted. Wherefore, when motion was made in the *House of Commons*, of Fining him some *thousand of pounds*, a noble Member standing up, desired that for two Reasons his Fine might be mitigated into *fourty shillings*: First, *because that would be payed, whereas a greater summe, would onely make a noise, and never be payed.* Secondly, *the shame would be the greater, when such his prodigality that he, who had been so large a taker in his Office, was reduced to such penury, that* forty shillings *should be conceived a sufficient Fine for his Estate.* But it was fine enough for him to lose his Office, remitted to a mean and private condition. Jan. 20.

Sir Fr. B.

22. None

Ann. Reg. 19.

Ann. Dom. 1621.

22. None can character him to the life, ſave himſelf. He was *in parts*, more than a Man, who in any Liberal profeſſion, might be, whatſoever he would himſelf. A great Honourer of *antient Authors*, yet a great Deviſer and Practiſer of new waies in Learning. Privy Counſellor, as to King JAMES, ſo to *Nature* it ſelf, diving into many of her abſtruſe Myſteries. New concluſions he would *dig out* with *mattocks* of *gold* & *ſilver*, not caring what his experience coſt him, expending on the *Trials of Nature*, all and more than he got by the *Trials at the Barre*, Poſterity being the better for his, though he the worſe for his own, dear experiments. He and his Servants had *all in common*, the *Men* never wanting what their *Maſter* had, and thus what came *flowing* in unto him, was ſent *flying* away from him, who, in giving of rewards knew no *bounds*, but the *bottome* of his own purſe. Wherefore when King JAMES heard that he had given *Ten pounds* to an *under-keeper*, by whom He had ſent him a *Buck*, the KING ſaid merrily, *I and He ſhall both die Beggars*, which was condemnable Prodigality in a *Subject*. He lived many years after, and in his Books will ever ſurvive, in the reading whereof, modeſt Men commend him, in what they doe, condemn themſelves, in what they doe not underſtand, as believing the fault in their own eyes, and not in the object.

An Eſſay at his character.

23. All ſtood expecting who ſhould be *Bacon*'s Succeſſour in the *Chancery*. Sure he muſt be ſome man of great and high abilities, (otherwiſe it would ſeem a *valley* next a *mountain*) to maintain a convenient and comely *level* in that eminent Place of Judicature. Now whilſt in common diſcourſe, ſome made this *Judge*, others that *Sergeant* Lord *Chancellor*, King JAMES made Dr. *Williams*, lately (and ſtill) Dean of *Weſtminſter*, ſoon after Biſhop of *Lincolne*.

July 10. Though the KING was the *principal*, the *Duke of Buckingham* was more than the *inſtrumental* advancer of him to the title of *Lord Keeper*, in effect the ſame in Place and Power with the *Lord Chancellor*.

Biſhop *Williams* made Lord Keeper.

24. The KING's choice produced not ſo much diſlike as general wonder. Yet ſome cavilled at Doctor *Williams* his Age, as if it were prepoſterous for one, to be able for that Office before antient, and as if one old enough for a *Biſhop*, were too young for a *Chancellor*. Others queſtioned his abilities, for the Place. Could any expect to reap Law, where it was never ſown? who can apply the *remedy* whilſt he is ignorant in the *malady*? Being never bred to know the true grounds and reaſons of the *Common Law*, how could he mitigate the rigour thereof in difficult caſes? He would be prone to miſtake the ſeverity of the *Common Law* for *cruelty*, and then *unequal equity*, and *unconſcionable conſcience* muſt be expected from him. Beſides the Place was proper not for the *plain* but *guarded Gown*, and the *Common Lawyers* preſcribed for *ſix* * *Deſcents* (a ſtrong *Title* indeed) wherein onely Men of their *Robe* were advanced thereunto.

Some cauſleſly offended.

* Yet Sir *Ch. Hatton* was never bred a Lawyer.

25. Yet ſome of theſe altered their judgments, when conſidering his education, who for many years had been *Houſe-Chaplain* (yea, and more than *Chaplain*, intimate Friend-ſervant) to the old Lord *Edgerton*, who underſtood the *Chancellor-Craft* as well as any who ever ſat in that Place; and who, whilſt living, imparted many Myſteries of that Court; when dying, bequeathed many choice Books and directions unto him. His parts were eminent, who could make any thing he read or heard *his own*, and could improve any thing which was his own to the utmoſt. Beſides, for a *Clergy-man* to be *Lord Chancellor* was no *uſurpation*, but a *recovery*, ſeeing *Eccleſiaſticks* antiently were preferred to that Place, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, (Father to the laſt *Chancellor*) received the *Broad Seale* from a *Church-man*, viz: *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*.

His eminent abilities.

26. Conſidering all diſadvantages, he managed the *Office* to admiration. I know it is reported by his adverſaries to his diſcredit, That never *L. Keeper* made ſo *many Orders*, wch afterwards were reverſed, wch whether true or no, I know not. Sure it is that unpartial men of the beſt & cleareſt judgments highly commended him, and J. *Telverton* himſelf *hearing him* in a *caſe* of concernment, ingenuouſly profeſt, *This is a moſt admirable Man.* Here he ſat in the Office, ſo long, till diſdaining to be a *De-*

Well manage the place.

pendent (as a *Pent-house*) on the *Duke*'s favour, and desiring to stand an absolute structure on his own foundation, at Court; he *fell*, as God willing shall in due time be related.

A still-born Convocation.

27. Should we now look into the *Convocation*, we should finde them on *Wednesdaies* and *Fridaies* devoutly at the *Lesany*, otherwise having little imployment, as impowered by no Commission to alter any thing. So that sitting amongst the *Tombs* in *Westminster Church*, they were (as once one of their Prolocutors said) *Viva cadavera inter mortuos*, as having no motion or activity allowed unto them.

Young *Meric Casaubon* vindicates his Father from railers.

28. About this time *Meric Casaubon* set forth a Book in defence of his deceased Father, against whom many had spit their venome. First, *Heribert Rosweid*, a Jesuite; and after him *Andrew Schoppius*, a renowned railer; one that is alwaies incensed against Learning, and Honesty, wheresoever he findes them severally, but implacable against such a man in whom both meet together. It seems it is his policie thus to seek to perpetuate his memory, by railing against eminent persons; hoping, that he shall jointly survive with their worth, whereas their light shall burn bright, when his snuffe shall be trodden under foot. Then *Julius Cesar Bullinger*, and *Andrew Eudemono Joannes*, a vizard-name, composed to fright fools, and make wise men laugh at it. Yea, though he had formerly met with a *quaternion* of learned Confuters, Bishop *Abbot*, Doctor *Prideaux*, Doctor *Collins*, Master *Burrhill*, young *Casaubon*, then Student in *Christ-Church*, thought it his duty farther to assert his Fathers memory, and to give a brief account of his life, and conversation.

The good effect of his endeavours.

29. This is the benefit of Learned mens marriage, God oftentimes so blessing it, that they need not go out of themselves, for a champion to defend them, but have one springing from their own bowels. And his Son, though by reason of his age low in himself, is tall when standing on the advantage-ground of his Fathers grave, whose memory he is to maintain. Yea, God seems so well pleased with his piety, that his endevours took such effect, that no railing Libels to that purpose came forth afterwards, which formerly had been so frequent. Whether because these curres, weary of their own barking, did even sneak away in silence; or because they had no more minde to challenge, seeing a Defendant provided to undertake them.

William Laud Bp. of S. *Davids*.

30. Upon the removal of *Richard Milborne* to *Carlile*, *William Laud*, President of S. *John*'s Colledge in *Oxford*, was made Bishop of S. *Davids*. Of whom, because every one speaks so much, I will * say the lesse. The rather, because at this time, and during the extent of our History, this Bishop lived in a private way, bare no great stream, as being before that the tide of greatnesse flowed in upon him. Yea, as yet he took more notice of the world, than the world did of him. Indeed, as the *matter*, whereof *China-dishes* are made, must lie some Ages in the earth before it is ripened to perfection: so great persons are not fit for an Historian's use to write freely of them, till some years after their decease, when their memories can neither be marred with envy, nor mended with flattery. However his good deeds to S. *John*'s Colledge in *Oxford* must not be forgotten; yea, that whole University (if afraid in English to speak in praise of his bounty) will adventure with safety to commend him in the *Arabick tongue*, whereof he founded them a *Professour*.

* When I wrote this, I intended to close my History at K. *James* his death, since by importunity urged to continue it farther.

John King Bp. of *London* dies.

31. This year was fatal to many eminent Clergy-men, beside others of inferiour note. We begin with *John King*, Bishop of *London*, formerly Dean of *Christ-Church*, who died on Good-Friday of the stone. Of antient extraction, *in cujus Genere vel Indole nihil reperio mediocre, nihil quod non praeclarum*, descended (saith the * *Survay of London*) from the *Saxon Kings* in *Devonshire* by his Father *Philip Ring*, sometimes *Page* to King HENRY the VIII, Nephew and Heire to *Robert King* last Abbot of *Osney*, and first Bishop of *Oxford*, who left him a great personal Estate, which it seems was quickly consumed, so that this Prelate used to say, *He believed there was a Fate in Abbey-Money no lesse than Abbey-Land*,

* pag. 771.

Ann. Reg. Jac. 19 Ann. Dom. 1621.

Land, which ſeldome proved Fortunate or of Continuance to the Owners.

32. He was Chaplain to Queen ELIZABETH, and as he was appointed by Her Councel to preach the firſt *Sermon* at Court when Her Body lay Inhearſed in the Chappel of *White-Hall*, ſo was he deſigned for the firſt *Sermon* to Her Succeſſour King JAMES at *Charter-Houſe* when He entred *London*, then ſworn his firſt *Chaplain*; Who commonly called him [*the King of Preachers.*] And Sir *Edward Coke* would ſay of him, *He was the beſt Speaker in Starre-Chamber in his time.* Soon after he was made Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, *Oxon*; and choſen one of the four Preachers in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*. Then advanced to the Biſhoprick of *London*: Where he let the world ſee his high Place of Government, did not cauſe him to forget his Office in the Pulpit; ſhewing by his example, That *a Biſhop might Govern and Preach too.* In which ſervice he was ſo frequent, that unleſſe hindred by want of health, he omitted no Sunday whereon he did not viſit ſome Pulpit in *London*, or neer it. His eminencies.

33. The Papiſts raiſed an aſperſion, as falſe, as foule, upon him; That, *at his death he was reconciled to the Church of* Rome, ſufficiently confuted by thoſe eye- and ear-witneſſes, preſent at his pious departure. Theſe ſlanders are no news to ſuch as have read, how *Luther* is traduced by Popiſh pennes, to have *died blaſpheming*. *Caraloſtadius* to have been *carried quick by a Devil*. And *Beza* to have *apoſtated before his death.* In all which, *truth* hath triumphed over their malicious *forgeries*. Something, Bp. *King* endevoured in the repairing of S. *Paul's*; but alas! a private mans eſtate may be inviſibly buried under the rubbiſh of the leaſt Chappel therein. By order in his *Will* he provided, that nothing ſhould be written on his plain Grave-ſtone, ſave only *RESURGAM:* and ſtill he is alive, both in his memory, and happy poſterity. *George Mountaine*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſucceeded him in his *See*; who, when his great Houſe-keeping, and magnificent entertaining of King JAMES, ſhall be forgotten, will longer ſurvive for his bountiful benefaction to *Queens-Coll:* in *Cambridge*, whereof he was Fellow and Proctor. A loud Lie.

34. Secondly, *William Cotton*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, born in *Cheſhire*, formerly Archdeacon of *Lewes:* one of a ſtout ſpirit, and a great maintainer of Conformity againſt the oppoſers thereof in his Dioceſſe: *Valentine Carew*, Dean of S. *Paul's*, and Maſter of *Chriſt-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, of a courtlike carriage, and ſtout ſpirit, ſucceeded him in *Exeter*, which place can give the beſt account of his behaviour therein. Born at *Thame* in *Oxford-ſhire*.

35. Thirdly, *Robert Townſon*, born in *Cambridge*, Fellow of *Queens-Colledge*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, of a comely carriage, courteous nature, an excelllent Preacher: He left his Wife and many Children, neither plentifully provided for, nor deſtitute of maintenance, which rather haſtened than cauſed the advancement of *John Davenant*, his Brother-in-law, to ſucceed him in the Biſhoprick of *Sariſbury*. *Wil. Cotton* Bp. of Exeter dies, whom *Valentine Carew* ſucceeds.

36. Therein alſo expired *Andrew Willet*, Doctor of Divinity, (God-ſon to *Andrew Pearne*, Dean of *Elie*, where he was born) brought up in *Chriſt-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, who ended his pious life, being much bruiſed with a fall from his horſe. A man of no little judgment, and greater induſtry, not unhappy in Controverſies, but more happy in Comments, and one that had a large ſoul in a narrow eſtate. For, his charge being great (may his Children remember and practice their Father's precepts) and means ſmall, as more proportioned to his deſires, than deſerts; he was bountifull above his ability, and doubled what he gave by *cheerful* giving it. He was buried in his Pariſh at *Barlie* in *Hertford ſhire*. Happy Village! which loſt ſuch a Light, and yet was not left in darkneſſe, onely exchanging bleſſings, Reverend Doctor *Brounrigge* ſucceeding him. Robert Townſon Biſhop of *Saliſbury* dies, whom *John Davenant* ſucceeds. The death of Dr. *Andr. Willet.*

37. Nor muſt we forget *Richard Parry*, Doctor of Divinity, Biſhop of *Aſaph*, who this year exchanged this life for a better. He was firſt bred in *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, where he made plentiful proceeding in Learning, and Religion, and thence was advanced to the Deanrie of *Bangor*, on whom Biſhop *Godwin* beſtows this (call it complement, or) character: * *Cui eruditione, cæteriſq; Epiſcopalibus virtutibus* And of Dr. *Richard Parry.*

* *Godwin in Epiſcopis Aſaphenſibus.*

virtutibus utinam egemet tam illi essem æqualis, quàm ille mihi ætate, studiorúmq; Academicorum tempore, locóque.

Ann. Dom. 1612. Ann. Reg. Jac. 9.

The death of Mr. Fr. Mason.

38. We conclude this year with the death of Master *Francis Mason*, to whose worthy Book, *De Ministerio Anglicano*, we have been so much beholding. Nor will it be amisse to insert his Epitaph:

Prima Deo cui cura fuit sacrare labores,
Cui studium Sacris invigilare Libris;
Ecce sub hôc tandem requievit marmore MASON,
Expectans Dominum spéq; fidéq; suum.

He was born in the Bishoprick of *Duresme*, brought up in the University of *Oxford*, Bachelour of Divinity, Fellow of *Merton-Colledge*, Chaplain to King JAMES, Rectour of *Orforde* in *Suffolke*, where he lies buried, and where he built the Parsonage-House. He had three Children by his loving Wife *Elizabeth*, who erected a fair Monument to his Memory.

SECTION

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SECTION VI.

TO SAMUEL MICO OF LONDON, Alderman.

YOu have not ſpent, *but* laid out *much time in* ITALY, *to the great improvement of your* judgment *and* eſtate: *How cunning Chapmen thoſe* Countrey-men *are in* buying *and* ſelling, *is not to you unknown; but this* Section *preſents you with an* Italian Cardinal, *a moſt crafty* broker *in matters of* Religion, *till at laſt he deceived himſelf. Peruſe it I pray, and if the* reading *thereof can add nothing to your* knowledge, *the* writing *of it may ſerve as my* acknowledgment *of your favours received.*

Jam. 20. 1622. LAtely * we made mention of the coming over of *Marcus Antonius de Dominis* the Archbiſhop of *Spalato* into *England*, and now ſhall proſecute that ſubject at large. For, this year began happily, becauſe with the end of that arrant *Apoſtata* in this Land, and his fair riddance out of the limits thereof. He had 14 years been Archbiſhop of *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, under the *State of Venice*, and ſome five years ſince, to wit, 1616, came over into *England*. Conſcience in ſhew, and Covetouſneſs in deed, cauſed his coming hither. He pretended to have diſcovered innumerable [a] Novelties, and pernicious Errors in the Court of *Rome*, injuriouſly engroſſing the right and honour of the *Univerſal Church*. He complained, many Points were obtruded on mens Conſciences, as *Articles of Faith*, which CHRIST in the Scripture never inſtituted. He accounted the *Romiſh Church, myſtical* [b] *Babylon*, and *Sodome*; and the *Pope*, *Nimrod*, a *Tyrant*, *Schiſmatick*, *Heretick*, yea, even [c] *Antichriſt* himſelf. But that which ſharpned his pen

The cauſes of *Spalato*'s coming over.

* *Vide ſupra*, pag. 71. ſect. 45.

a In his Book called *Conſilium Profectionis*, pag. 15, 16, 17.

b *Ibid.* pag. 34.

c *Ibid.* pag. 76.

against the *Pope*, was a particular grudge against Pope *Paul*, who had ordered him to pay a yearly Penſion of *Five hundred crownes*, out of his Biſhoprick, to one *Andrentius*, a *Suffragan Biſhop*; which this Archbp. refuſed to doe, complaining, *it was unjuſt, and impoſed without his knowledge and conſent.* The matter is brought to the *Rota*, or *Court of Rome*, where the *wheel* went on the wrong ſide for our *Spalato*, who, angry that he was caſt in his Cauſe, poſts out of *Italy*, through *Germany*, into the *Low-Countreys*. Here he ſtayed a while, and tampered for preferment, till finding the roof of their Church too low for his lofty thoughts, and their *Presbyterian Government* uncomplying with his *Archiepiſcopal* ſpirit, he left the *Netherlands*, and came over into *England*. Ann. Dom. 1621. Ann. Reg. Jac. 19

His bountiful entertainment.

2. It is almoſt incredible, what flocking of people there was to behold this old Archbiſhop, now a new Convert; Prelates and Peers preſented him with Gifts of high valuation. Indeed, it is an humour of our *Engliſh*, ſtrangely to admire ſtrangers, believing inviſible Perfections in them, above thoſe of our Land. A quality commendable in our Countrey-men, whileſt inclining them to Hoſpitality, but ſometimes betraying their Credulity, to be thereby dangerouſly deluded. He was feaſted whereſoever he came, and the *Univerſities* (when he viſited them) addreſſed themſelves to him in their ſolemn reception, as if he himſelf alone had been an *Univerſity*.

He is richly preferred by K. *James*.

3. But above all, King JAMES (whoſe hands were ſeldome ſhut to any, and alwaies open to men of merit) was moſt munificent unto him, highly rejoicing, that *Rome* had loſt, and *England* got ſuch a Jewell. How many of *Engliſh Youth* were tolled out of our *Univerſities* into *Italy*, and there taught *treaſon* and *hereſie* together? This aged *Prelate*, of eminent parts, coming thence of his own accord, would make us plentiful reparation for the departure of many *Novices*. The KING conſigned him to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for his preſent entertainment, till he might be accommodated to ſubſiſt of himſelf: and, as an earneſt of His bounty, ſent him to *Lambeth*, a fair *baſon*, and *bolle* of *ſilver*. Which *Spalato* received with this complement, *Miſit mihi REX Magnæ Britanniæ polubrum argenteum ad abſtergendas ſordes Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & poculum argenteum ad imbibendam Evangelii puritatem, The KING of Great Britain hath ſent me a ſilver baſon, to waſh from me the filth of the Roman Church; and a ſilver cup to minde me to drink the purity of the Goſpel.* Preferment is quickly found out, and conferred upon him: as, the Deanrie of *Windſor* (though founded, not in a Cathedral, but Collegiate Church) one of the gentileſt and entireſt Dignities of the Land; the Maſterſhip of the Hoſpital of the *Savoy*, with a good Parſonage at *Weſt-Iſleſly* in *Berk-ſhire*, being a Peculiar belonging to the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction of the Deane of *Windſor*. And, finding one precedent in his Predeceſſour, he collated this Parſonage on himſelf, and there made ſhift for ſo much *Engliſh* as ſufficed him to read the *Nine and thirty Articles* (as an * Auditour there preſent hath informed me) which formerly he had ſubſcribed. Thus had he two Houſes furniſhed above plenty, even unto magnificence, and might alternately exchange ſociety, for privacy, at pleaſure.

* Mr. *Caſar Calendrine* Miniſter of the *Dutch* Church.

His great avarice.

4. He improved the profit of his Places to the utmoſt, and had a deſigne to queſtion all his Predeceſſours Leaſes at the *Savoy*; and began to be very vexatious to his Tenants. Some of them repaired to Doctor *King*, Biſhop of *London*; who, at their requeſt, took *Spalato* to task, and, as gravely, as ſharply reproved him: that, being a Forreigner, he would fall out with Natives, endevouring to put others here out of their peaceable Poſſeſſions, who himſelf had fled hither for his own refuge. Eſpecially, having profeſſed in print, That *he had depoſed all affection to, and guſt of earthly things; and, that he himſelf, being almoſt naked, did follow a naked Chriſt.* Hereupon, at the reverend Biſhop's admonition, he let fall his former deſign. But, it was not the counſel of this *King*, but of a greater KING, which deterr'd him from his project, *viz.*: K. JAMES himſelf, to whom *Spalato* complain'd, That *the Lands of the* Savoy *were let out for little Rents to the great loſs of his place, and poor therein* (not that *he cared* for the *poor*, but bare

d *In præfat. lib. 1. De Repub. Eccl. num. 6. edit. Lond. pri. pag. 191.*

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bare the bag, and what was put into it) acquainting His MAJESTY with his intent, to rectifie those abuses, and call those Leases into question. To whom the KING in some choler, *Extraneus, extraneus es, relinque res sicut eas inveniſti, You are a ſtranger, you are a ſtranger, leave things as you found them.* And yet the same man would very passionately perswade others to *bounty* to the *Poor*, though he would give nothing himself, witnesse his earnest moving the *Chapter* of *Windsor* in this kind, to whom one of the *Prebendaries* answered, *QUI SUA DET, SUA DET, Let him that perswades others, give something of his own.*

5. I am also credibly informed from an excellent hand, of the truth of this story. *Spalato* had found a small flaw in a Lease of value, which a Gentlewoman of quality held of the Dean and Chapter of *Windsor*. To her house he comes with all his men, where she magnificently entertains him, as overjoyed, that her chief Land-Lord came so courteously to visit her. *Spalato* next morning, after his plentiful Supper, having setled himself in the Parlour, suddenly cries out, *Abſcedite omnes, abſcedite; Be ye all gone, be ye gone:* intending to take possession for himself. The Gentlewoman perceiving him at this posture, with her self and servants well favouredly thrust him out of her house, coming off with sufficient disgrace. Afterwards consulting *the Learned in our Lawes* about the Lease, they told him, That *though possibly he might get the better of her in the* Common-Law, *yet the* Chancery *would relieve her, who so dearly had bought, so truly had paid for, and so peaceably had possessed her estate therein. Fie for shame!* (saith *Spalato*) *are your English Lawes so contrived, that, what is done by one Court, may be undone by another?* This may suffice to evidence his avarice. Nor must it be forgotten, though he pretended at his coming over, that for conscience he freely left his Archbishoprick of *Spalato*, that in very deed he resigned the same to his Nephew, conditionally to pay him an annual Pension out of it; *Sed magnus nebulo nil ſolvit, But the great knave payes me nothing*, as he himself complained to my reverend friend the Archbishop of *Armagh*.

Another instance of his ungratefull covetousnes.

6. He falls now to perfect his Books. For, his Works were not now composed, but corrected; not compiled, but completed; as being, though of *Engliſh* birth, of *Italian* conception. For, formerly the Collections were made by him at *Spalato*, but he durst not make them publick for fear of the *Inquiſition*. His Works (being three fair *Folio's*, *De Republicâ Eccleſiaſticâ*) give ample testimony of his sufficiency. Indeed, he had a controversial head, with a strong and clear stile, nor doth an hair hang at the neb of his pen to blurre his writings with obscurity: but, first understanding himself, he could make others understand him. His writings are of great use for the Protestant cause. *Many* (saith the *f* Prophet) *ſhall run to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be encreaſed.* And surely the transcursion of *Italians* hither, added much to the discovery of the *Papal* abominations. Yet, allowing *Spalato* diligent in writing, his expression was a notorious *hyperbole*, when saying, *In reading, meditation, and writing I am almoſt pined away*; otherwise, his fat cheeks did confute his false tongue in that expression.

His learned Writings against Romish errour.

f Dan. 12. 4. *g In lectione, meditatione, & ſcriptione pene marceſco.* Reſp. Archiepiſ. Spal. Feb. 11. ad Artic. 3. 1622.

7. Amongst other of his ill qualities, he delighted in *jeering*, and would spare none who came in his way. One of his *ſarcaſmes* he unhappily bestowed on Count *Gondomar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambassador, telling him, That *three turns at* Tiburne *was the onely way to cure his Fiſtula.* The Don, highly offended hereat (pained for the present more with this *flout*, than his *fiſtula*) meditates revenge, and repairs to King JAMES. He told His MAJESTY, that *His charity* (an errour common in good Princes) *abuſed His judgment, in conceiving* Spalato *a true convert, who ſtill in heart remained a Roman Catholick.* Indeed, *His Majeſty* had a rare *felicity* in *diſcovering* the *falſity of Witches*, and *forgery* of such who pretended themselves *poſſeſſed*: but, under favour, was deluded with this mans *falſe ſpirit*, and, by *His Majeſties* leave, he would detect unto Him this his *hypocriſie*. The KING cheerfully embraced his motion, and left him to the liberty of his own undertakings.

The jeerer jeered.

8. The

Spalato his hypocrisie discovered.

8. The Ambassadour writeth to His Catholick Majesty; He to his Holinesse, *Gregory* the fifteenth, that *Spalato* might be pardoned, and preferred in the *Church of Rome*, which was easily obtained. Letters are sent from *Rome* tō Count *Gondamar*, written by the Cardinal *Millin*, to impart them to *Spalato*, informing him, that the POPE had forgiven, and forgotten all which he had done or written against the Catholick Religion; and, upon his return, would preferre him to the Bishoprick of *Salerno* in *Naples*, worth twelve thousand crowns by the year. A Cardinals Hat also should be bestowed upon him. And, if *Spalato*, with his hand subscribed to this Letter, would renounce and disclaim what formerly he had printed, an Apostolical *Breve*, with pardon, should solemnly be sent him to *Bruxels*. *Spalato* embraceth the motion, likes the pardon well, the preferment better, accepts both, recants his opinions largely, subscribes solemnly, and thanks his Holinesse affectionately for his favour. *Gondamar* carries his subscription to King JAMES, who is glad to behold the Hypocrite unmasked, appearing in his own colours; yet the discovery was concealed, and lay dormant some daies in the deck, which was in due time to be awakened.

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He is incensed with a repulse.

9. Now it happened a false rumour was spread, that *Tobie Matthew*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, (who died yearly in report) was certainly deceased. Presently posts *Spalato* to *Theobalds*; becomes an importunate Petitioner to the KING for the vacant Archbishoprick, and is as flatly denied; the KING conceiving, He had given enough already to him, if gratefull; too much, if ungratefull. Besides, the KING would never bestow an Episcopal charge in *England*, on a forraigner, no not on His own Countrey-men; some Scotish-men being preferred to Deanries, none to Bishopricks. *Spalato*, offended at this repulse (for he had rather had *Yorke*, than *Salerno*, as equal in wealth, higher in dignity, neerer in place) requests His MAJESTY by his Letter, to grant His good leave to depart the Kingdome, and to return into *Italy*; Pope *Paul*, his fierce foe, being now dead, and *Gregory* the fifteenth, his fast friend now seated in the Chair. The Copie of whose Letter we have here inserted:

To the high and mighty Prince, JAMES by the Grace of God King of *Great Britaine*, &c. Defender of the Faith, &c.

M. Anthonie de Dominis, Archbishop of *Spalato*, wisheth all happinesse.

THose two Popes which were most displeased at my leaving of Italy, *and coming into* England, Paulus Quintus, *and he which now liveth* Gregory *the Fifteenth, have both laboured to call me back from hence, and used divers Messages for that purpose; to which notwithstanding I gave no heed. But now of late, when this same Pope (being certified of my Zeal in advancing, and furthering the union of all Christian Churches) did hereupon take new care, and endevour to invite me again unto him, and signified withall, that he did seek nothing therein but Gods glory, and to use my poor help also to work the inward peace and tranquillity of this Your Majesties Kingdome. Mine own conscience told me, that it behoved me to give ready eare unto his Holinesse. Besides all this, the diseases and inconveniences of old age growing upon me, and the sharpnesse of the cold aire of this Countrey, and the great want (I feel here amongst strangers) of some friends and kinsfolks, which might take more diligent and exact care of me, make my longer stay in this Climate very offensive to my body. Having therefore made an end of my Works, and enjoyed Your Majesties goodnesse, in bestowing on me all things needfull and fit for me; and in heaping so many, and so Royal benefits upon me; I can doe no lesse than promise perpetual memory and thankfulnesse, and tender to You my continuance in Your Majesties service wheresoever I goe, and will become in all places a reporter and extoller of Your Majesties*

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jesties praises. Now if my busines proceed, and be brought to a good end, I well hope that I shall obtain Your Majesties good leave to depart, without the least diminution of Your Majesties wonted favour towards me. I hear of Your Majesties late great danger, and congratulate with Your Majesty for Your singular deliverance from it by Gods great goodnes, who hath preserved You safe from it, as one most dear unto him, for the great good of his Church, I hope.

Farewell, the glory and ornament of Princes.

From the *Savoy*,
Jan. the 16. 1621.

Your Majesties ever most devoted Servant,

Ant. de Dominis, Archbishop of *Spalato*.

Jan. 16.

21. To this Letter no present Answer was returned; but five daies after, the Bishops of *London*, and *Duresme*, with the Dean of *Westminster*, by His MAJESTIES direction, repaired to this Archbishop, propounding unto him Sixteen *Quares*, all arising out of his former Letter, and requiring him to give the explanation of *five* most material under his hand, for His MAJESTIES greater satisfaction, which he did accordingly, yet not so clearly, but that it occasioned a second meeting, wherein more interrogatories were by command propounded unto him; which, with his Answers thereunto, because publickly printed, are purposely omitted: and, notwithstanding all obstructions, *Spalato* still continued his importunity to depart.

31.

Reasons pleaded for his return.

10. He pretended many Reasons for his return: *First*, Longing after his own Countrey. Who so *iron-hearted* as not to be drawn home, with the *load-stone* of his native Land? *Secondly*, To see his Friends, Kinred, Nephews, but especially his beloved *Neice*; a story hangs thereon, and it is strange, what was but whispered in *Italy*, was heard over so plain into *England*. In the Hebrew Tongue *Nephews*, and *Nieces*, are called *Sons*, and *Daughters*; but the Italian Clergie, on the contrary often term their *Sons*, and *Daughters*, *Nephews*, and *Nieces*. *Thirdly*, The late-pretended-discovery of many errors in our English Church (how quick-sighted did the promised Bishoprick make him?) whereof formerly he took no notice, and all which are learnedly answered in the posthume book of Doctor *Crakenthorpe*, carefully set forth by Dr. *Barkham*, after the Authors death, and may all *orphan-works* have the happinesse of so faithfull a *Guardian*. *Lastly*, and chiefly (as he confesseth himself) *allectus pristino octuplicis stipendii*, *allured with the reward of a salarie eight times as great*, as his revenues in *England*. In which computation, as he ungratefully depresseth the value of what he had in hand: so he undiscreetly advanced the worth of what in hope he promised himself: not to speak of the difference of *Italian Ducates*, when *told out*, and when *told off* at so great a distance.

Spalato's second Letter to King *James*.

11. In pursuance of which his desire, he wrote a second Letter to K. JAMES: the tenour whereof we thought fit here to insert for the better clearing of the matter:

Most excellent Prince, and most gracious Lord,

AS I signified lately unto Your Majesty in my former Letter, I neither ought, nor could neglect the Popes fair and gracious invitation of me; especially, when I saw that he dealt with me concerning the service of Christ, and his Church. And, being now at length better certified, that all things are in a readines for me, I am tied to my former promises. Yet I make it my humble request, that I may take my journey with Your Majesties good will. And for that purpose, I die now most humbly, and earnestly crave your leave by these Letters, which I would much more willingly have begg'd by word of mouth in Your presence (that I might have parted with

*, viz. That the King had employed *Spalato* to the Pope, to make a reconciliation betwixt us and Rome.

Your Majesty with all due thanks and submission) but that my accesse to Your Majesty might have confirmed the vain, and foolish * *rumours of the people. I beseech Your Majesty therefore to vouchsafe to give me some Letters, whereby my departure may be made both safe, and creditable. As for the Ecclesiastical Titles and Revenues, which I hold by Your Majesties gift, I shall resigne them by publick Indentures. So from the bottom of my heart, I doe commit my self to Your Royall favour, and vow my self your servant for ever,*

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Your MAJESTIES, &c.

London:
From the *Savoy*, *Feb.* 3.

M. Ant. de Dom. Archbishop of *Spalato.* *Feb.* 3.

This Letter produced new Interrogatories, and severall fruitfull Controversies (one alwaies begetting another) but the last was a sharp one at *Lambeth*, *March* the 30, which cut off all future discourse. For, a Commission was issued out to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Lincolne* (Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of *England*) *London*, *Duresme*, *Winchester*, and severall other Privie Councellors, before whom *Spalato* personally appeared. When the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the name of the rest, by His MAJESTIES speciall command, in a long Latine Speech, recapitulated the many misdemeanors of *Spalato*, principally insisting on his *changing of Religion*, as appeared by his purpose of returning to *Rome*: and that, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, he had held correspondency by Letters with the *Pope*, without the privity of the *King*'s *Majesty*. To which Charge when *Spalato* had made, rather a shuffling Excuse, than a just Defence, the Archbishop in *His Majestie*'s name commanded him to depart the Kingdome, at his own peril, within *twenty daies*, and never to return again. To this he promised obedience, *protesting he would ever justifie the Church of* England *for orthodox in fundamentals, even in the presence of the Pope, or whomsoever, though with the losse of his life.* 1622. *Mar.* 30.

Desires in vain still to stay:

12. However, *loth to depart* was his last tune. And no wonder, if well considering, whence, and whither he went. He left a Land where he lacked nothing, but a thankfull heart to God, and a contented soul in himself. He went to a place of promise, suspicious whether ever it should be performed. He feared (not without cause) he might lose his *grey Head* to fetch a *red Hat*. And an ominous instance was lately set before his eyes: One *Fulgentius*, a Minorite, had inveighed at *Venice* against the *Pope*, and was by his *Nuncio* trained to *Rome*, on promise of *safe conduct*: where, being favoured, and feasted at first, soon after in the field of *Flora* he was burnt to ashes. This made *Spalato* effectually, but secretly, to deal with his friends in the *English Court*, that *His Majesty* would permit him to stay. But in vain, and therefore within the time appointed, he went over in the same ship with Count *Swartzenburgh*, the Emperours Ambassadour, returning hence into *Flanders*.

Departeth to Rome.

13. And now *Spalato* is shipped. A good winde, and faire weather goe after him. His sails shall not be stuffed with a blast of my curses, conceiving, that his *fault* was sufficient *punishment*. But[b] others have compared him to the *house* i *swept, and garnished*, to which the Devil returned *with seven spirits more wicked than himself*. Which they thus reckon up, *Avarice*, *Ambition*, and *Hypocrisie*, whilst he stayed here; *Apostasie*, and *Perjury*, when going hence; *Ingratitude*, and *Calumnie*, when returned to *Rome*. Yea, they finde as many punishments lighting on him; God angry with him, the Devil tormenting him, his conscience corroding him, the world cursing him, the true Church disdaining him, Protestant pens confuting him, and the Pope, at last, in revenge executing him. And, now the Master hath had the just shame for his Apostasie, let the Man receive the due praise of his perseverance, one *Gio Pietro Paravicino*, a *Grizon*, who waited on *Spalato* in his chamber, whom neither frights nor flatteries could remove, but he died in *Holland* a firm professour of the Protestant Religion.

[b] Dr. *Barlow* in his Dedicatory Epistle to King *James*.

i Mat. 12. 44.

14. Being

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14. Being come to *Bruxels*, he recants his Religion, and rails bitterly on the *Engliſh Church*: calling his coming hither an *unhappy, irrational, peſtiferous, devilish voyage, to which he was moved with ſickneſs of ſoule, impatience, and a kinde of phrenſie of anger.* Here he ſtayed ſix moneths for the Pope's *Breve*, which was long a coming, and at laſt was utterly denied him. Inſomuch that *Spalato* was fain to run the hazard, and deſperately adventure to *Rome*, having nothing *in Scriptis* for his ſecurity, but barely preſuming on promiſes, and the friendſhip of *Gregory* the fifteenth, now Pope; formerly his Collegue, and chamber-fellow.

Returns to his railing vomit.

k In his Book, call'd, *Concilium Reditus*, pag. 9.

l *Ibid.* pag. 5.

15. I finde not his promiſed Biſhoprick conferred upon him; who as well might have been made Primate, and Metropolitane of *Terra incognita*. Yea, returning to *Sodome* (though not turned into a *pillar of ſalt*) he became *unſavoury ſalt*, cared for of no ſide. Such a *crooked-ſtick*, which had bowed all waies, was adjudged unfit to make a *beam*, or *rafter*, either in Popiſh, or Proteſtant Church. And now, what would not make timber to build, muſt make fewel to burn, to which end he came at laſt. But for ſome years he lived at *Rome*, on a penſion which Pope *Gregory* aſſigned him out of his own revenues; untill there aroſe a new Pope, who never knew *Spalato* (with the leaſt knowledge of approbation) viz: *Urban* the eighth, brought in by the antifaction of the *French*. He finding his revenue charged with a penſion paid to his adverſary, (thrift is a floure even in the Triple Crown) prohibits the future iſſuing out of the ſame. His penſion being ſtopped, *Spalato*'s mouth is open, and paſſionately diſcourſeth reputed hereſie in ſeverall companies.

Lives at *Rome* not loved, and dies unlamented.

16. There was reſiding at *Rome*, one Cardinal *Cleſel*, an High Germane, betwixt whom, and *Spalato*, formerly great familiarity, whilſt *Cleſel* was the Pope's Legate *de Latere*, with the Emperour at *Vienna*, where *Spalato* negotiated buſineſs for the *State of Venice*. This Cardinal expected *Spalato*'s applications unto him, after he was returned to *Rome*, which he refuſed, being (belike) too high in the inſtep, or rather too ſtiffe in the knees to bow to beg a kindneſſe. *Cleſel*, perceiving his amity made contemptible, reſolved to make his enmity conſiderable: yet, diſſembling friendſhip for the better opportunity of revenge, he invites *Spalato* to *ſupper*; and, a train of diſcourſe being laid at a liberal meal, *Spalato* is as free in talking, as in eating; and lets fall this expreſſion, that (though divers had endevoured it) no Catholick had as yet *anſwered* his Books, *De Republica Eccleſiaſtica*; but adding moreover, That he himſelf was able to *anſwer* them. Preſently his perſon is clapt into priſon, his ſtudy ſeiſed on, wherein many papers were found ſpeaking *hereſie* enough, his Adverſaries being admitted ſole Interpreters thereof.

Cardinal *Cleſel*'s neglected friendſhip deſtructive to *Spalato*.

17. As for his *death*, ſome moneths after, ſome ſay he was *ſtifled*, others *ſtrangled*, others *ſtabb'd*, others *ſtarv'd*, others *poyſon'd*, others *ſmothered to death*; but my intelligence from his own Kinred at *Venice* informs me, that he died a *natural death*: adding moreover, *non ſine præveniente gratiâ, not without God's preventing grace*; for, had his *life* been longer, his *death* had been more miſerable. *Yea*, they ſay, *the Pope ſent four of his ſworn Phyſicians, to recognize his corps, who on their oath depoſed, that no impreſſion of violence was viſible thereon.* However after his death, his *excommunicated corps* were put to publick *ſhame*, and ſolemnly proceeded againſt in the *Inquiſition*, for *relapſing into hereſie* ſince his return to *Rome*. His Kinred were ſummoned to appear for him, if they pleaſed, but durſt not plead for a dead man, for fear of infection of the like puniſhment on themſelves. Several Articles of *hereſie* are charged upon him, and he found convict thereof, is condemned to have his *body burnt* by the publick Executioner in the field of *Flora*, which was performed accordingly. *Such honour have all Apoſtates.*

Spalato's body burnt after his death.

18. We muſt not forget, that *Spalato* (I am confident I am not miſtaken therein) was the firſt, who, profeſſing himſelf a *Proteſtant*, uſed the word *PURITANE*, to ſignifie the *defenders* of matters *doctrinal* in the *Engliſh Church*. Formerly the word

The word *Puritane* how firſt abuſed by *Spalato*.

Ann. Dom. 1622. Ann. Regn. Ja. 18.

word was onely taken to denote such, as *dissented* from the *Hierarchie* in *Discipline*, and *Church-Government*, which now was extended to brand such as were *Anti-Arminians* in their judgments. As *Spalato* first abused the word in this sense: so we could wish he had carried it away with him in his return to *Rome*. Whereas now leaving the word behinde him in this extensive signification thereof, it hath since by others been improved to aspersе the most *orthodox* in *doctrine*, and *religious* in *conversation*.

His unpartial character.

19. He was of a comely personage, tall stature, gray beard, grave countenance, fair language, fluent expression, somewhat abdominous, and corpulent in his body. Of so imperious, and domineering spirit, that (as if the *Tenant* were the *Land Lord*) though a stranger, he offered to controll the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his own house. An excellent Preacher (every first Sunday in the moneth to the *Italian* Nation at *Mercers-Chappel*) as his Sermon called *Scopelos*, or the *Rocks*, doth plentifully witnesse, wherein he demonstrates, That all the Errors of the *Roman Church* proceed from their *pride* and *covetousnesse*. And (under the Rose be it spoken) if the great ship of *Rome* split it self on these *Rocks*, *Spalato* his own pinnace made *m shipwrack of the faith* on the same, which were his bosome-sins. In a word, he had too much Wit, and Learning, to be a *cordial Papist*; and too little Honesty, and Religion, to be a *sincere Protestant*.

m 1 Tim. 1. 19.

Three other *Italian* Jugglers.

20. About the same time *three* other *Italians* made their escape into *England*. One, *Antonio* (as I take it, a *Capuchian*) who here married a Wife, and was beneficed in *Essex*. The other two, *Benedictines*, living, the one with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the other, with the Archbishop of *Yorke*. All these three were neither good *dough*, nor good *bread*, but like *Ephraim*, *n a cake not turned*, though they pretended to true conversion. The first of these, being kinne to *Spinola* the *Low-Countrey-General*, was by him (on what terms I know not) trained over, and reconciled to *Rome*. The other two (onely *racking*, no *thorough-paced* Protestants) watched their opportunity to run away. Yet let not this breed in us a jealousie of all *Italian*-Converts, seeing *Vergerius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Emanuel Tremellius*, &c. may reconcile us to a good opinion of them, and to believe, That God hath *p a few names even in Sardis*, where the Throne of the Beast is erected. And indeed *Italian*-Converts, like *Origen*, where they *doe well*, *none better*; where *ill*, *none worse*.

n Hos. 7. 8.

p Revel. 3. 4.

The *Spanish* Match the discourse general.

21. All mens mouthes were now fill'd with discourse of Prince CHARLES his match with *Donna MARIA* the *Infanta* of *Spaine*. The Protestants grieved thereat, fearing that this *marriage* would be the *funeralls* of their Religion: and their jealousies so descanted thereon, that they suspected, if taking effect, more water of *Tiber*, than *Thames*, would run under *London-bridge*. The Church-Catholicks grew insolent thereat, and such, who formerly had a Pope in their belly, shewed him now in their tongues, and faces, avouching their Religion, which they concealed before. Yet at last this Match (so probable) brake off, Heaven *forbidding the Banns*, even at the *third*, and *last asking thereof*.

Gondomar procures the inlargment of all Iesuits.

22. Count *Gondomar* was the active Instrument to advance this Match, who so carried himself in the twilight of *jest-earnest*, that with his *jests* he pleased His MAJESTY of *England*, and with his *earnest* he pleasured his Master of *Spaine*. Having found out the length of King JAMES's foot, he fitted Him with so easie a shooe, which pained Him not (no, not when He was troubled with the gout;) this cunning Don being able to please Him in His greatest passion. And although the Match was never effected, yet *Gondomar*, whilst negotiating the same, in favour to the Catholick cause, procured of His MAJESTY, the enlargment of all Priests and Jesuits through the *English* Dominions.

A malicious Comment on a mercifull Text.

23. The actions of Princes are subject to be censured, even of such people who reap the greatest benefit thereby, as here it came to passe. These Jesuits, when at liberty, did not gratefully ascribe their freedome to His MAJETIE's mercy, but onely to His willingnesse, to rid and clear His gaoles over-pestered with prisoners.

Ann. Reg. Jac. 20 Ann. Dom. 1622.

soners: As if *His Majestie* (if so minded) could not have made the gallows, the besome to sweep the gaole, and as easily have sent these prisoners from *Newgate* up *westward by land*, as over *Southward by Sea*. What moved King JAMES to this lenity at this time, I neither doe know, nor will enquire. Surely, such as sit at the stern, and hold the helm, can render a reason why they steer to this or that point of the compasse, though they give not to every mariner (much lesse passenger in the ship) an account thereof. I, being onely by my place *Remigius*, a *rower*, or minister in the vessel, content my self in silence with the will of the Master thereof. But let us exemplifie the *Lord Keeper*'s Letter to this purpose:

To the Judges.

After my hearty commendations to you: His Majesty having resolved (out of deep Reasons of State, and in expectation of the like correspondence from forraign Princes, to the profession of our Religion) to grant some grace, *and* connivency *to the imprisoned Papists of this Kingdome, hath commanded me to passe some* Writs *under the Broad Seal to this purpose: Requiring the* Judges *of every Circuit to enlarge the said Prisoners according to the tenour, and effect of the same. I am to give you to understand (from His Majesty) how His Majesties Royal pleasure is, that upon receipt of these* Writs, *you shall make no niceness or difficulty to extend that His Princely favour to all such Papists, as you shall finde Prisoners in the Gaols of your Circuits, for any Church-Recusancy whatsoever, or refusing the Oath of Supremacy, or dispersing Popish Books, or hearing, saying of Masse, or any other point of Recusancie, which doth touch, or concern Religion only, and not matters of State. And so I bid you farewell.*

Your loving friend,

Westminster-Colledge,
August 2. 1622.

John Lincoln.

Now although one will easily believe many *Priests* and *Jesuits* were set at liberty, Yet surely that [p] *Gentleman* is no true accomptant, if affirming no fewer than four thousand to be set free at this time: Especially considering that [q] one, who undertakes to give in a perfect list of all the *Jesuits* in *England* (and is since conceived rather to aspersе some *Protestants* than conceal any *Papists*) cannot mount their number higher than two hundred twenty and five. To which, if such whom he detects for *Popish Physicians*, with all those whom he accuses for *Popish Books*, be cast in, they will not make up the tithe of four thousand.

p Mr. *Pr.'s in loc.*

q *Fo. Gee* in his *Foot out of the snare.*

24. However, most distastful was *Gondomar*'s greatnesse to the *English* antient Nobility, who manifested the same, as occasion was offered, as by this one instance may appear: *Henry Vere* Earle of *Oxford*, chanced to meet with Count *Gondomar* at a great entertainment. The *Don* accosted him with high Complements, vowing, That *amongst all the Nobility of* England *there was none he had tendred his service with more sincerity than to his Lordship, though hitherto such his unhappinesse, that his affections were not accepted according to his integrity who tendred them. It seems* (replied the Earle of *Oxford*) *that your Lordship had good leisure, when stooping in your thoughts to one so inconsiderable as my self, whose whole life hath afforded but two things memorable therein. It is your Lordships modesty* (returned *Gondomar*) *to undervalue your self, whilst we, the spectators of your Honours deserts, make a true and unpartiall estimate thereof, Hundreds of Memorables have met in your Lordships life: But, good my Lord, what are those Two signall things more conspicuous than all the rest? They are these two* (said the Earl) *I was Born in* the Eighty Eight, *and Christned on the* Fift of November.

Bitter Complements betwixt *Gondomar* and the Earl of *Oxford.*

Dec. 21. 25. *Henry Copinger*, formerly Fellow of S. *John's Coll:* in *Cambridge*, Prebendary of *Yorke*, once Chaplain to *Ambrose* Earl of *Warwick*, (whose funeral Sermon he preached) made Master of *Magdalene Colledge* in *Cambridge* by Her MAJESTIES Mandate (though afterwards Resigning his Right at the

The death of Master *Henry Copinger.*

Ann. Dom. 1612 — Ann. Reg. Ja. 10

Queens (shall I call it?) request to prevent trouble; ended his religious life. He was the sixth Son of *Henry Copinger* of *Bucks-Hall* in *Suffolke* Esquire, by *Agnes*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Jermyn*. His Father on his *death-bed*, asking him *what course of life he would embrace?* He answered, *he intended to be a Divine.* *I like it well*, (said the old Gentleman) *otherwise what shall I say to* Martin Luther *when I shall see him in heaven, and he knows that GOD gave me eleven Sons, and I made not one of them a Minister?* An expression proportionable enough to *Luther's* judgement, who maintained some houres before his death, That *the Saints in heaven shall knowingly converse one with another.*

r Pamelius de Illustribus Germaniæ in Vita Lutheri. p. 82.

26. *Laneham* Living fell void, which both deserved a good Minister, being a rich Parsonage, and needed one, it being more than suspicious that Dr. *Reinolds*, late Incumbent, (who ran away to *Rome*) had left some superstitious leaven behinde him. The Earl of *Oxford*, being Patrone, presents Mr. *Copinger* to it, but adding withall, That *he would pay no Tithes of his Park, being almost half the land of the Parish.* *Copinger* desired to resigne it again to his Lordship, rather than by such sinfull gratitude to betray the Rights of the Church. *Well! if you be of that minde, then take the Tithes,* (saith the Earl) *I scorn that my Estate should swell with Church-goods.* However, it afterwards cost Master *Copinger* Sixteen hundred pounds, in keeping his questioned, and recovering his detained rights, in suit with the Agent for the next [*minor*] E. of *Oxford*, and others: all which he left to his Churches quiet possession, being zealous in Gods cause, but remisse in his own.

A free Patrone, and faithfull Incumbent well met.

27. He lived forty and five years the painfull Parson of *Laneham*, in which Market-Town there were about nine hundred Communicants, amongst whom, all his time, no difference did arise which he did not compound. He had a bountiful hand & plentiful purse (his paternal inheritance by death of elder Brothers, and others transactions descending upon him) bequeathing Twenty pounds in money, and Ten pounds *per annum* to the Poor of the Parish, in the Chancell whereof he lyeth buried under a fair Monument, dying on S. *Thomas* his day, in the Threescore and twelfth year of his age.

His long and good life.

28. Papists now appearing very daring; a Conference, or Dispute (if you please) was entertained betwixt Doctor *White*, and Doctor *Featley*, Protestants; Father *Fisher*, and Father *Sweete*, Jesuits; on this occasion: *Edward Buggs* Esq. living in *London*, aged seventy, and a professed Protestant, was in his sickness seduced to the Romish Religion. But recovering, this Dispute was held at his request, in the house of Sir *Humphrey Linde*, a learned and religious Gentleman; about *the Visibility of the Church*, and *the Tenents* now maintained by the *Protestants* to have been before *Luther*. The printed Book hereof may satisfie the Reader, as this Conference did so satisfie Master *Buggs*, that renouncing his former wavering, he was confirmed in the Protestant-Truth.

A Conference with Jesuits. — Dec. 11.

29. Now hapned the sad *Vespers*, or *dolfull Evening-song* at *Black Fryers* in *London*: Father *Drury* a Jesuite of excellent Morals, and ingratiating Converse, (wanting nothing, saving the embracing of the truth, to make him valuable in himself, and acceptable to others) Preached in a great upper-Room in *Black-Fryers*, next to the house of the *French-Ambassadour*, where some *Three hundred persons* were assembled. His Text the 18 Chap. of S. *Matthew*, ver. 32. *O thou ungracious servant! I forgave thee all the debt because thou desiredst me, shouldst not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant? &c.* In application whereof, he fell upon a bitter invective against the Protestants.

The fatal Vespers at Black-Fryers. — Octob. 26.

30. His Sermon began to incline to the middle, the Day to the end thereof; when on the soddain the Flore fell down whereon they were assembled. It gave no *charitable warning-groan* before-hand, but *cracks*, *brake*, and *fell*, all in an instant. Many were killed, more bruised, all frighted; sad sight to behold the flesh and blood of different persons mingled together, and the brains of one on the head of another. One lackt a *leg*, another an *arm*; a third whole and intire wanted nothing but *breath* stifled in the ruines. Some Protestants coming meerly to *see*, were made to *suffer*, and bare the heavy burden of their own curiosity. 1623.

Death without giving any warning.

About

Ann. Reg. Jac. 11

Ann. Dom. 1613.

About *Ninety five persons* were slain out-right, amongst whom Mr. *Drury*, and Mr. *Rodiat*, Priests; with the Lady *Webbe*, were of the greatest quality. Nor must we forget, how when one comforted a Maid-childe about 10 years of age, Exhorting her to patience for her Mother and Sister. The Childe replied, *That however it fared with them, this would be a great scandall to their Religion.* A speech commendable in any, admirable in one of her age.

31. Yet marvellous was God's mercy in the preservation of some there present. One corner of the first Flore rather hung still than stood, (without any *beams*) by the relative strength from the side walls, and about *Twenty persons* upon it. These beheld that *Tragedy* wherein instantly they expected to *act*, and, which was the worst, their fall would not onely *kill* them, but by their weight they should be the unwilling *slayers* of others, which as yet laboured for life beneath them. It was put into their mindes with their *knives* (fright adding force unto them) to cut their passage out of a *lome wall* into the next *chamber*, whereby their lives were preserved. Of those that fell, one was kept alive (though imbraced by death on either side) a *chair* falling hollow upon her. Thus any *arms* are of *proof*, if Divine Providence be but pleased to put them on.

I will sing of mercy and justice.

32. Next day was Impannelled a *Coroner's Inquest* of substantial *Citizens* to inquire into the cause and manner of their death. These found it done neither by *miracle* nor *malice*, no plot or indirect practice appearing (as some no lesse falsly, than maliciously gave it out) the Roof standing, Side-wall sound, Foundation firm, onely the Flore broken by God's wisdome permitting it; and their own folly occasioning it. Nor could the Carpenter be justly accused for slight and unfaithfull *building*, making it substantiall enough for any private purpose, and none could foresee that they would bring a *Church* into a *Chamber*. Twenty of the poorer sort were buried hard by in one Grave, and the rest bestowed by their friends in severall places of Sepulture.

A fair and true verdict.

33. The sad death of these persons, the Object of Pity to all good and wise men, was the Subject of Envy to some, so fillily superstitious, as to repine at it, That *they had not a share in this slaughter*. On this accompt, because the Priest or Clerk after every Masse in the City of *London*, solemnly invited the people present with a loud voice to say, Three *Pater noster's*, and three *Ave Maria's* for the souls of such as died in *Black-Friers*. Particularly one *Parker* * who narrowly escaped the *danger* there, professed, That *nothing grieved him more but that he had not been one of those that died by the aforesaid mischance*. But see what hapned, this man going over to *Doway* to take Priestly Orders the week following, was *drowned* in his passage: Thus *wild-wishes for death*, prove sometimes such Guests as come home to the Inviters before they be welcome unto them.

Beware wilde-wishes.

* *Fo. Ges* in his Book called the *Foot out of the snare.*

34. This accident fell on Sunday, the 26 of *October*, which according to the *new style* observed beyond-sea (having the speed of ours by ten daies) fell upon their *fifth* of *November*: a day notoriously known in the Popish Calendar. Whereupon, Master *Edward Benlowes*, a Religious and Learned Gentleman, no small Promoter of my former and present Labours, thus expressed himself:

Quinta Novembris *eat*, Graias *orsura* Calendas;
Sit quocunq; Stilo, quinta Novembris *eat*.
Illa Dies Letho Britonum *devoverat Aulam*;
Letho *Devotam sospitat illa dies*.
Ista dies duxit Sacra ad Miseranda Misellos;
Adductos Sacris sustulit ista dies.
Lapsa repentè domus vos irâ atroce peremit,
Quêis fuit irâ atrox lapsa repentè Domus.

Drurie,

Ann. Dom. 1623. Ann. Reg. Jac.

Drurie, *cum Cerebro conſpergis Pulpita vano,*
Dum ſpargis Cerebri Phaſmata vana tui,
Trabe peremptus obis, qui Lignea vivus adoras,
Lignea vivus ades, Trabe peremptus obis;
Ligna, Lapiſq; manus in fœdera dantia, mactant
Hos, quibus in ſacra ſunt fœdera Ligna, Lapis
Quêis Crux *cœca* Deus (*tenebroſa Magiſtra*) *colentes*
In tenebras Cœcos cœca Magiſtra rapit.
Ah! erit Exemplum cui non hoc triſte timori,
Triſtis hic Exemplum triſte timoris erit.

Hæc (Romiſta *cave*) *Domus unâ ut corruit horâ,*
Unâ ſic horâ Roma, *caveto, Ruet.*

A Caveat to Rome.

I have nothing elſe to adde of this ſad diſaſter, ſave that the news thereof next Monday-morning, *October* the 27, was freſh in every mans mouth in His MAJESTIE's Chappell in *White-Hall*; at what time the 13 Chap. of S. *Luke*'s Goſpel was read for the *Leſſon* appointed for the day by the *Rubrick* of the *Church of England*: Wherein neer the beginning, *Or thoſe eighteen upon whom the Tower of* Shilo *fell and ſlew them, think ye that they were ſinners above all men that dwelt in* Hieruſalem? *I tell you nay: but except you repent, ye ſhall likewiſe periſh.* 27.

SECTION

Ann. Regis Jac. I. Ann. Dom. 1623.

SECTION VII.

TO

THOMAS SHUGBOROUGH

OF

BYRDENBURY in WARWICK-Shire,

Esquire.

THemistocles was wont to say, That *it was the best Musick for a Man to hear his own Commendation.* Should I *play a Lesson* thereof unto *your eares,* (insisting on your *Bounty* to publick Books) sure I am, the *Tune* would be more *chearfull* to *me,* than *gratefull* to *you,* better pleased in *deserving* than *hearing* your *own Encomium.* I therefore will turn my *praising* of *you,* into *praying* for *you,* as *more proportionable* to my *publick Profession,* and *acceptable* to *your modest Disposition.*

* Plut. in his Life.

MAny *Papists* not truly humbled with this late sad *accident,* so demeaned themselves, that indeed most *offensive* was their *insolence* to all true *Englishmen,* the rather because it was generally reported, that *His Majestie* intended a *Toleration of Religion,* which made the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (though under a cloud for his *disaster*) to adventure humbly to present the *King* with his apprehensions, losing with *some* the reputation of a *politick States-man,* but preserving with *others* the character of an *honest down right Protestant.* Which *Letter,* though *sent* and *delivered* with all *privacy,* came by some (whether his *friends* or *foes,* uncertain) to be generally *known,* and afterwards publickly *printed,* as followeth.

The Archbishops Letter against a Toleration.

Ann. Dom. 1623. Ann. Regis Jac. 21.

May it please your Majestie,

I Have been too long silent, and am afraid, by my silence, I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majestie to place me in. And now I humbly crave leave, I may discharge my conscience towards God, and my duty to your Majestie. And therefore I beseech your Majestie, give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let your Majestie doe with me what You please. Your Majestie hath propounded a Toleration of Religion: I beseech you Sir, take into Your consideration, what the Act is, next what the Consequence may be. By your Act you labour to set up that most damnable, and heretical Doctrine of the Church of Rome, *the Whore of* Babylon. *How hatefull will it be to God, and grievous unto Your good Subjects, the true Professours of the Gospel; that your Majestie, who hath often disputed, and learnedly written against those wicked Heresies, should now shew Your self a Patron of those Doctrines, which your Pen hath told the world, and Your conscience tells Your self, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. Adde hereunto what You have done in sending the Prince into* Spain, *without the consent of your Councell, the privity and approbation of Your people. And though, Sir, you have a large interest in the Prince, as the Son of Your flesh, yet hath the People a greater, as the Son of the Kingdome, upon whom (next after your Majestie) their eyes are fixed, and welfare depends. And so tenderly is His going apprehended, as, believe it Sir, however His return may be safe, yet the Drawers of Him to that action, so dangerous to Himself, so desperate to the Kingdome, will not passe away unquestioned, and unpunished. Besides, this Toleration which You endeavour to set up by Proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, unlesse your Majestie will let your Subjects see, that you will take unto Your self a liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land at Your pleasure. What dreadfull consequence these things may draw after them, I beseech your Majestie to consider. And above all, lest by this Toleration, and discontinuance of the true profession of the Gospel, whereby God hath blessed us, and under which this Kingdome hath for many years flourished, your Majestie doe not draw upon the Kingdome in generall, and your Self in particular, Gods heavy wrath and indignation. Thus in discharge of my duty towards God, to your Majestie, and the place of my calling, I have taken humble boldnesse to deliver my conscience. And now, Sir, doe with me what you please.*

Toleration the general table-talk argued.

2. What effect this Letter took, is unknown; sure it is, all mens mouths were filled with a discourse of a *Toleration* for, or against it. Some no *professed Papists*, but who lived at the *signe of the Protestant*, engage in their Arguments very earnestly in the defence thereof, whilst others were as zealous to prove a *Toleration intolerable* by Reasons drawn both from *piety* and *policy*. We will onely instance in few out of many as they were bandied on both sides, and chiefly such as concern Religion.

PRO.	*CON.*
1. *Argument.* The *Papists* of late were grown very peaceable, justly recovering the reputation of *Loyall Subjects*: in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, scarce escaped a year without a Treason from them; now they vied obedience with *Protestants* themselves. Pity it was but they should be encouraged, and their *Loyalty* fixed for ever, by granting them a *Toleration*.	1. *Answer. Papists* were not more *peaceable*, but more *politick* than formerly for private ends. Though their *practise* more *plausible*, their *Positions* and *Principles* were as pernicious as ever before, *viz.*: That *Princes excommunicated* may be *deposed*. No faith to be kept with *Hereticks*. That the Pope &c.
2. We see the same liberty allowed the	2. The case is different. This liberty was

Ann. Regis Jac. 21. Ann. Dom. 1623.

PRO.

the *Hugonites* in *France*, to whom the King permits their *Churches*, *Miniſters*, *Service*, *Sermons*, *Sacraments*, according to the direction of their own *Conſcience*.

3. The *King* of *Spain* would be highly affected with this favour allowed to the *Engliſh Catholicks*, and this would faſten him in firme friendſhip to the *Engliſh Crown*, to which his amity for the preſent was not onely uſefull, but neceſſary.

4. *Truth* will ever triumph over *falſehood*, and *verity* gain the *victory* of *errour*, the *Proteſtaniſme* (notwithſtanding the *Toleration*) would get ground on *Popery* by the *demonſtration* of the *Spirit* in the *Scriptures*.

5. The *Apiſh* and *Mimicall Popiſh Pageant*, with the toyes and trifles in their *ſervice*, would render their *Religion ridiculous*. No danger that any wiſe man ſhould ever be ſeduced thereby.

6. *Proteſtant Miniſters* would bee more painfull in preaching, and carefull in reſiding on their *Cures*, to keep them from infection.

7. The thing in effect was already allowed to *Papiſts*, who now (though privately) ſafely celebrated Maſſe in many places, which *favourable connivance* fell but little ſhort of a *Toleration*.

CON.

was not ſo much *given to*, as *gotten by* the *Hugonites* ſo numerous and puiſſant, it was conceived dangerous to deny them ſuch Priviledges. Thanks be to God not ſuch as yet the condition of Catholicks in *England*, whoſe Party was not ſo powerfull, but certain by ſuch a Toleration to be improved.

3. The neceſſity of his friendſhip at this time was onely fancied by ſuch as deſired it. Beſides, the *King of heaven* muſt not be offended, that the *King of Spain* may be pleaſed.

4. Though *Truth* it ſelfe be ſtronger than *falſehood*, yet generally the *Promoters* of *falſehood* are more active and ſedulous than the *Advancers* of *Truth*. Beſides, it is juſt with God upon the granting of ſuch an unlawfull *Toleration* to weaken the *converting power* of *Truth*, and ſtrengthen the *perverting power* of *Falſehood*, giving the *Engliſh* over to be deluded thereby.

5. The world hath ever conſiſted of more fools than wiſe people, ſuch who carry their judgment more in their eyes than in their brains; *Popery* being made luſcious to peoples ſenſes, too probably would court many to the imbracing thereof.

6. It is no policie to let in the *Wolfe* meerly on deſigne to make the *Shepherds* more watchfull: Rather on the contrary, *Proteſtant Miniſters* would be utterly diſheartned in the performance of their place when the *Pariſhioners* were countenanced to deſert them without any puniſhment.

7. If the *Papiſts* already have what they would have, let them be contented therewith. Why deſire they any more? but indeed there is a grand difference betwixt a *States winking* at their wickedneſſe for a time, and a formall and finall tolerating thereof. During the former, *Catholicks* ſin on their own account, and at their own peril, the Laws though not executed ſtanding in full force againſt them, but a publick *Toleration* of their *Superſtition* adopts the ſame to become the Act of the *Engliſh Nation*.

Here it would be tedious to recite the *Texts* of *Scripture* (ſome more, ſome leſſe proper

The Pulpit is loud againſt the Toleration.

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proper to the purpose) alledged by severall persons against the *Toleration*: some *Typicall*, *Thou shalt not plow with an Oxe and an Asse*. Some *Historicall*, Gods Children must not speak two tongues, *Ashdod*, and [b] *Hebrew*. Some *Doctrinall*, *We must not doe evil that good may come thereof*. The best was, the *Toleration* bare date with the *Spanish Match*, with which it was propounded, and agitated, advanced, expected, desired by some; opposed, suspected, detested by others; and at last both together finally frustrated, and defeated.

[a] Deut. 22. 10.
[b] Neh. 13. 24.
[c] Rom. 3. 8.

His Majesties care to regulate Preaching.

3. Now was His Majestie informed, that it was high time, to apply some cure to the Pulpits, as sick of a *Sermon-surfeit*, and other exorbitances. Some medled with State-matters, and generally (by an *improper Transposition*) the Peoples duty was preached to the King at Court, the Kings to the People in the Countrey. Many shallow Preachers handled the profound points of *Predestination*; wherein (pretending to guide their flocks) they lost themselves. *Sermons* were turned into *Satyrs* against *Papists*, or *Non Conformists*.

4. To represse the *present*, and prevent *future* mischiefs in this kinde, His Majestie issued out His Directions to be written fair in every Registers Office, whence any Preacher (if so pleased) might with his own hand, take out Copies *gratis*, paying nothing for [d] expedition. Herein, the King revived the primitive and profitable order of *Catechizing* in the afternoon (better observed in all other *Reformed Churches* than of late in *England*) according to the tenour ensuing:

[d] *Gabala part.* 2. *pag.* 191.

His Directions.

Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and entirely beloved Counsellour, We greet you well.

Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit have been in all times represst in this Realm, by some Act of Councill, or State, with the advice and resolution of grave and learned Prelates: Insomuch, that the very licensing of Preachers, had beginning by an Order of Star-Chamber, the eighth day of July, *in the* 19th *year of the Reign of King* Henry the eighth, *our Noble Predecessour: And whereas at this present, divers young Students, by reading of late Writers, and ungrounded Divines, doe breach many times unprofitable, unsound seditions, and dangerous Doctrines, to the scandall of the Church, and disquiet of the State, and present Government: We, upon humble representations unto Us of these inconveniencies by your selfe, and sundry other grave and reverend Prelates of this Church, as also, of our Princely care and Zeal for the extirpation of Schisme, and dissention growing from these seeds, and for the setling of a religious and peaceable Government, both in Church, and Common-wealth; doe by these Our speciall Letters, straitly charge and command you, to use all possible care, and diligence, that these Limitations and Cautions herewith sent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly and strictly from henceforth put in practice and observed by the severall Bishops within your Jurisdiction. And to this end Our pleasure is, that you send them forthwith Copies of these Directions to be by them speedily sent and communicated unto every Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, and Minister, in every Cathedrall, or Parish Church, within their severall Diocese, and that you earnestly require them to employ their utmost endeavours, in the performance of this so important a businesse, letting them know that We have a speciall eye unto their proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof, both of you, and every one of them: and these Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and discharge in that behalf.*

Given under our Signet at Our Castle of *Windsor* the 4th of *August*, in the twentieth year of Our Reign.

Directions

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Directions concerning Preachers sent with the Letter.

1. THat no Preacher under the degree and calling of a Bishop, or Dean of a Cathedral, or Collegiate Church (and they upon the Kings dayes, and set Festivals) doe take occasion (by the expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever to fall into any set Discourse or Common place, otherwise than by the opening the Coherence and Division of the Text, which shall not be comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or naturall inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion, set forth 1562. or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority of the Church of England, not onely for the help of the Non-Preaching, but withall for a Pattern and Boundary (as it were) for the Preaching Ministers. And for their further instructions for the performance hereof, that they forthwith reade over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.

2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermons or Collation hereafter upon Sundaies and Holidaies in the afternoon in any Cathedrall or Parish-Church throughout the Kingdome, but upon some part of the Catechisme, or some Text taken out of the Creed, ten Commandments, or the Lords Prayer, (Funeral Sermons onely excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend the Afternoons exercise in the examination of Children in their Catechisme, which is the most antient and laudable custome of teaching in the Church of England.

3. That no Preacher of what title soever under the degree of a Bishop or Dean, at the least, doe from henceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility, or Irresistibility of GODS grace, but leave those themes rather to be handled by the Learned men, and that moderately and modestly by way of Use and Application, rather than by way of Positive Doctrines, being fitter for the Schools than for simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever, from henceforth shall presume in any Auditory within this Kingdome, to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of Positive Doctrine in any Lecture, or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or otherwise meddle with matters of State, and the differences between Princes and the People, than as they are instructed, and precedented in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies, and Articles of Religion, set forth, (as before is mentioned) by publique Authority: but rather confine themselves wholly to those two heads, of faith and good life, which are all the subjects of the antient Sermons, and Homilies.

5. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever, shall presume causlesly, or (without invitation from the Text) to fall into bitter invectives and undecent railing speeches against the persons of either Papists, or Puritans; but modestly and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine, and the Discipline of the Church of England, from the aspersions of either Adversaries, especially where the Auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.

6. Lastly, that the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdome (whom His Majestie hath good cause to blame for their former remisnes) be more wary and choice in their licensing of Preachers, and revoke all Grants made to any Chancellour, Official, or Commissary, to passe Licences in this kinde, and that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdome of England (a new body severed from the antient Clergy, as being neither Parsons, Vicars, nor Curates) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, but onely, from a Recommendation of the party, from the Bishop of the Diocese under his hand and seale, with a Fiat from the L. Archbishop of Canterbury, a Confirmation un-

der the Great Seal of England. *And that such as doe transgresse any one of these Directions, be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocesse, or in his defaults by the Archbishop of the Province*, ab Officio, & Beneficio, *for a year and a day, untill his Majestie by the advice of the next Convocation, shall prescribe some further punishment.*

Various censures on the Kings Letters.

5. No sooner were these the Kings Declarations dispersed into every Diocesse, but various were mens opinions thereof. Some counted it a cruell act, which cut off half the preaching in *England* (all afternoon-Sermons) at one blow. Others thought the King did but *Uti jure suo*, doing not onely what in justice He might, but what in prudence He ought in this juncture of time. But hear what I have heard and read in this case.

Objections.

1. Christ grants Ministers their Commission, *Go teach all Nations.* S. *Paul* corroborates the same, *Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season.* Man therefore ought not to forbid, what God enjoyns.

2. This is the way to starve soules by confining them to *one meale a day*: or, at the best by giving them onely a *messe of milk* for their supper, and so to bed.

3. Such as are licensed to make *Sermons*, may be intrusted to choose their own Texts, and not in the Afternoons to be restrained to the *Lords Prayer, Creed*, and *ten Commandements.*

4. In prohibiting the preaching of Predestination, man makes that the *forbidden fruit*, which God appointed for *the tree of life*: so cordial the comforts contained therein to a distressed conscience.

5. Bishops and Deans (forsooth) and none under their dignity, may preach of Predestination. What is this but to have the *word of God in respect of persons?* As if all discretion were confined to Cathedral men, and they best able to preach who use it the least.

6. Papists and Puritans in the Kings Letters are put into the same ballance, and Papists in the *prime scale* first named, as preferred in the Kings care, chiefly to secure them from Invectives in Sermons.

7. Lecturers are made such riddles in

Answers.

1. Ministers, if commanded *not at all to speak, or teach in the name of Jesus*, are with the Apostles, *to obey God rather than man.* But vast the difference betwixt a total prohibition, and (as in this case) a prudential regulation of preaching.

2. *Milk* (catechetical Doctrine) is best for babes, which generally make up more than a moyety of every Congregation.

3. Such restraint hath liberty enough, seeing all things are clearly contained in, or justly reducible to these three, which are to be desired, believed, and performed.

4. Indeed Predestination, solidly and soberly handled, is an antidote against despair. But, as many ignorant Preachers ordered it, the cordial was turned into a poyson; and therefore such mysteries might well be forborn by mean Ministers in popular Congregations.

5. It must be presumed that such of necessity must be of age and experience, and may in civility be believed of more than ordinary learning, before they attained such preferment. Besides, Cathedrall Auditories being of a middle nature for understanding, (as beneath the University, so above common City and Country Congregations) are fitter for such high points to be preached therein.

6. The Kings Letter looks on both under the notion of guilty persons. Had Puritans been placed first, such as now take exception at their post-posing, would have collected, that the King esteemed them the greatest offenders.

7. Lectures are no *creatures* of the Church

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Objections. *Answers.*

in the Kings Letters, reduceable to no Ministerial function in *England*. Whereas indeed the flower of piety, and *power of godlinesse* flourished most in those places where such Preachers are most countenanced.

Church of *England*, by their original (like those *mixed kinds*, little better than monsters in nature, to which God, as here the State, never said, *multiply and encrease*) and therefore the King had just cause to behold them with jealous eyes, who generally supplanted the Incumbents of Livings in the affections of their Parishioners, and gave the greatest growth to Non-conformity.

These Instructions from His Majestie were not pressed with equall rigour in all places, seeing some over-active Officials, more busie than their Bishops, tied up Preachers in the Afternoon to the very letter of the Catechisme, questioning them if exceeding the *questions* and *answers* therein, as allowing them no liberty to dilate, and enlarge themselves thereupon.

A needlesse subject waved.

6. Expect not of me a particular account of the politick intricacies touching the *Spanish Match*, or *no Match* rather. First, because *Spanish*, and so *alien* from my subject. Secondly, because the passages thereof are so largely and publickly in print. Thirdly, because in fine it proved nothing, though kept on foot so long, till K. *James*, by endeavouring to gain a *Daughter-in Law*, had in effect, lost His *own Daughter*, Her *Husband*, and *Children*, being reduced to great extremities.

A Crown not joyed in.

7. Truly K. *James* never affected his *Son in Law's* acceptance of the *Bohemian Crown*, nor promised Himself any good successe thence, though great the hope of the *German Protestants* therein. Indeed, some of them were too credulous of a blinde Prophesie commonly currant amongst them,

POST TER VIGINTI, CESSABIT GLORIA QUINTI.

Expecting the ending of the *Austrian Family*, *sixty years* being now expired since the death of *Charles the fift*: but discreet persons slighted such vanities, and the *Quinti* had like to have proved the extirpation of *Frederick*, *fift* of that name, *Palatine* of *Rhyne*, had not God almost miraculously lately countermanded it.

K. James accused by some.

8. Yea, K. *James* privately foretold to some principal persons, that this matter would prove the ruine of *his Daughter*. There want not some who say, That he went about to vitiate his *own Prediction*, by not sending seasonable succours for their assistance, who, had He turned His *Embassies* into *Armies*, might probably have prevented much *Protestant misery*.

Defended by others.

9. Others excuse K. *James*, partly from the just hopes He had to accommodate all interests in a peaceable way; partly from the difficulty of conveying effectual forces into so farre distant a Countrey.

Both the Palatinates lost.

10. Mean time both the *Palatinates* were lost, the *Upper* seized on by the *Emperour*, the *Nether* (but *higher* in value) by the *King* of *Spaine*, the *City* of *Heidelberg* taken and plunder'd, and the inestimable *Library* of *Books* therein carried over the *Alpes* on Mules backs to *Rome*. Each Mule laded with that learned burthen, had a *silver plate* on his *forehead*, wherein was engraven, FERO BIBLIOTHECAM PRINCIPIS PALATINI. Now those Books are placed in the *Pope's Vatican*, entituling *Protestants* to visit the place, who one day may have as good *successe*, as now they have just *right* to recover them.

Land of Promise, Now Land of Performance.

**The nether Palatinate.*

11. As for the *Palatinate*, *Satyricall tongues* commonly called it the *Land of Promise*, so frequently and so solemnly was the restitution thereof promised to King *James*, fed only with delayes, which amounted to mannerly denials. Since it hath pleased *God* to turn this *Land of Promise* into a **Land of Performance*, the present *Palatine* being peaceably possessed thereof.

Prince Charles goes to Spain.

12. *Prince Charles*, with the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, lately went privately through *France*, where He saw the *Lady*, (whom afterwards He married) into *Spain*. It is questionable, whether then more blamed K. *James* for *sending* him, or afterwards blessed *God* for his safe *return*. Sumptuous his entertainment in the *Spanish Court*, where

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where it was not the *Kings faults*, but *Kingdomes defect* that any thing was wanting. He quickly discovered (the *coarsness* of *fine pretending* wares at *distance* are easily confuted *neer hand*) that the *Spanish State* had no minde or meaning of a *Match*, as who demanded such unreasonable Liberty in education of the *Royall Off-spring* (in case any were born betwixt them) and other Priviledges for *English Papists*, that the *King* neither could nor would in *honour* or *conscience* consent thereunto. However, Prince *Charles* (whose person was in their power) took his fair farewell with courteous compliance.

His return. * The Reader is requested to pardon our short setting back of time.

12. Though He *entred Spain* like a *private person*, He *departed* it like *Himself*, and the *Son of his Father*, a stately *Fleet* attending Him home. Foul weather forced them to put in at the *Isle of Sullie*, (the *parings* of *England*, South-west of *Cornwall*) where in *two daies* they fed on *more*, and *better fleth* than they found in *Spain* for *many moneths*. Soon after He arrived at *Portesmouth*, and the next day came to *London*, to the great rejoicing of all sorts of people, signified by their bonefires, ringing of bells, with other externall expressions of joy.

*Sept. 12.

Octob. 5. 6.

The Palatinate beheld desperate.

13. King *James* now despaired of any restitution, especially since the *Duke* of *Bavaria* was invested in the *upper Palatinate*, and so His *Son-in-Laws* Land cantoned betwixt a *Duke*, a *King*, and an *Emperour*. Whose joynt consent, being requisite to the restoring thereof, *One* would be sure to dissent from the seeming-consenting of other *two*. Whereupon, King *James* not onely broke off all treaty with *Spaine*, but also called the *great Councill* of his *Kingdome* together.

An happy Parliament.

14. Indeed, the Malecontents in *England* used to say, That the *King took Physick*, and *called Parliaments* both alike, using both for meer need, and not caring for either how little time they lasted. But now there hapned as sweet a compliance betwixt the *King* and *his Subjects*, as ever happen'd in mans memory, the *King* not *asking* more than what was *granted*. Both *Houses* in the Name of the whole Kingdome, promising their assistance with their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the *Palatinate*. A smart *Petition* was presented against the *Papists*, and order promised for the education of their Children in true Religion.

The Convocation.

15. As for the *Convocation* contemporary with this *Parliament*, large Subsidies were granted by the *Clergie*, otherwise no great matter of moment passed therein. I am informed Doctor *Joseph Hall* preached the *Latine Sermon*, and Doctor *Donne* was the *Prolocutor*.

Doctor Donns Prolocutor.

16. This is that Doctor *Donne*, born in *London*, (but extracted from *Wales*) by his *Mother side*, *great-great Grandchilde* to Sir *Thomas More*, whom he much resembled in his endowments; a great *Traveller*, first, *Secretary* to the Lord *Egerton*, and after by the perswasion of K. *James*, (and encouragement of Bishop *Morton*) entred into Orders, made Doctor of Divinity (of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*) and Dean of S. *Pauls*, whose Life is no lesse truly, than elegantly written by my worthily respected friend Mr. *Isaac Walton*, whence the Reader may store himself with further information.

A Book falsly fathered on *I. Casaubon*.

17. A Book was translated out of the French Copie, by *Abraham Darcye*, intituled, [*The Originall of Idolatry*:] pretended made by Dr. *Isaac Casaubon*, dead ten years before, dedicated to Prince *Charles*, but presented to King *James*, and all the Lords of the Councill. A Book printed in French before the said *Isaac Casaubon* was born, whose name was fraudulently inserted in the Title-page of the foregoing Copie.

The falshood detected.

18. *Merick Casaubon* his Son then Student of *Christs-Church*, by Letter informed King *James* of the wrong done to his Father, by making him the Authour of such a Book; contrary to his Genius and constant profession, being full of impertinent allegations, out of obscure and late Authors, whom his Father never thought worthy the reading, much lesse the using their Authority. His Majestie was much incensed hereat, and Doctor *Mountaine* Bishop of *London* had much adoe to make his Chaplains peace for licensing thereof, the Printer and Translator being for some time kept in Prison.

Yet still continued.

19. Yet after all this, and after *Merick Casaubon* had written a Latine Vindi-

cation

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cation to give satisfaction to all, the same Translation since is printed in *Amsterdam*, with a Justificatory Preface of the former Edition. So impudent are some, falsly to father Books on worthy Authors, to make them more vendible for their own profit, though it discredit the memory of others.

20. The businesse of the *Palatinate* being now debated by Martialists, the Kings Councill of Warre, disswading from regaining *it in kinde*, advised Him rather to recover *it in value* where he could with the best conveniency out of the *Spanish Dominions*: For, the *Palatinate* was not worth the *rewinning*, which (grant *recover'd* by the *English*) could not *recover it self* for many years, such the havock and waste made therein. Secondly, it was *hard* to be gotten, such the distance thereof; and *harder* to be kept, so ill-neighboured it was on all sides. So that the *King* if so pleased, might with as *much honour*, and *more ease*, *carve out* his own *reparations* nearer home. None of the worst counsel.

21. During these Agitations, K. *James fell sick* at *Theobalds* of a *tertian Ague*, commonly called in *Spring*; for a *King* rather *Physicall* than *dangerous*. But soon after his *Ague* was heighten'd into a *Fever*; *four mischiefs* meeting therein. King *James* falleth sick.

22. First, the *malignity* of the *Malady* in it self, hard to be cured. Secondly, an *aged Person*, of *sixty years current*. Thirdly, a *pletborick Body*, full of ill humours. Fourthly, the *Kings* aversnes to *Physick*, and impatience under it. Yet the last was quickly removed, above expectation, The *King* (contrary to His custome) being very orderable in all His sickness. Such sudden alterations, some apprehend, a certain *prognostick* of death, as if when mens mindes acquire new qualities, they begin to habit and cloath themselves for a new world. A confluence of four mischiefs.

23. The *Countesse* of *Buckingham* contracted much suspition to *her selfe*, and her *Son*, for applying a *plaster* to the *Kings wrists*, without the consent of His *Physicians*. And yet it plainly appeared, that Dr. *John Remington* of *Dunmow* in *Essex*, made the same *plaster*: (one honest, able, and successful in his practice, who had cured many Patients by the same,) a piece whereof applied to the *King*, one eat down into His belly, without the least hurt or disturbance of nature. However, after the applying thereof, the *King* grew worse. A plaster applied to His wrists.

24. The *Physicians* refused to administer *physick* unto Him till the *plasters* were taken off, which being done accordingly, His fift, sixt, and seventh fits were easier (as Dr. *Chambers* said.) On the Monday after, the *plasters* were laid on again without the advice of the *Physicians*, and *His Majestie* grew worse and worse. so that Mr. *Hayes* (the *Kings* Chirurgeon) was called out of his bed to take off the *plasters*. Mr. *Baker* (the *Dukes* servant) made the *King* a *Julip*, which the *Duke* brought to the *King* with his own hand, of which the *King* drank twice, but refused the third time. After His death, a *Bill* was brought to the *Physicians* to sign, that *the ingredients of the Julip and Plasters were safe*: but most refused it, because they knew not whether the *ingredients* mentioned in the *Bill* were the same in the *Julip* and *Plasters*. This is the naked truth delivered by oath from the Physicians to a select Committee two years after, when the Parliament voted the Dukes act a *transcendent presumption*, though most thought it done without any *ill intention*. And Julip without the advice of His Physicians.

25. Four daies before His death, He desired to receive the *Sacrament*, and being demanded whether He was prepared in point of *faith* and *charity* for so great mysteries? He said, *He was*, and gave humble thanks to God for the same. Being desired to declare His faith, and what He thought of those Books He had written in that kinde? He repeated the *Articles* of the *Creed* one by one, and said, *He believed them all as they were received and expounded by that part of the Catholick Church which was established here in* England: And said, with a kinde of *sprightfulnesse* and *vivacity*, that *whatever He had written of this Faith in his life, he was now ready to seal with his death*. Being questioned in point of *charity*; He answered presently, *that He forgave all men that offended Him, and desired to be forgiven by all Christians, whom He in any wise had offended*. Catechized on His death-bed in His Faith and Charity.

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His death.

26. Then after absolution read and pronounced, He received the *Sacrament*, and some hours after, He professed to the standers by, that *they could not imagine what ease and comfort he found in himself since the receiving hereof*; And so quietly resigned His *soul* to *God*, having reigned *twenty two years and three daies*.

Of a peaceable nature. *Stowes Chro. p. 819.

27. He was of a *peaceable disposition*. Indeed, when he first entred *England*, at *Barwick*, He himself *gave fire to*, and *shot off* a * *piece of Ordnance*, and that with good judgment. This was the onely *military act* personally performed by Him. So that He may have seemed in that *Cannon* to have *discharged Warre* out of *England*.

Made Nobility lesse respected by the commonnesse thereof.

28. Coming to *Yorke*, He was somewhat amazed with the equipage of the *Northern Lords* repairing unto Him, (especially with the *Earl* of *Cumberland*'s) admiring there should be in *England* so *many Kings*, for *less*; He could not conjecture them, such the *multitude* and *gallantry* of their *attendance*. But (following the counsel of His *English Secretary* there present) He soon found a way to abate the *formidable greatness* of the *English Nobility*, by conferring *Honour* upon many *persons*, whereby *Nobility* was spread so *broad*, that it became very *thin*, which much lessened the *antient esteem* thereof.

His eloquence,

29. He was very eloquent in speech, whose *Latine* had *no faults*, but that it was *too good* for a *King*, whom *carelessness* (not *curiosity*) becomes in that kinde. His *Scotch tone* he rather affected than declin'd: and though His *speaking* spoil'd His *speech* in some *English ears*, yet the masculine worth of his *set Orations*, commanded *reverence*, if not *admiration* in all judicious hearers. But in common *speaking*, (as in His *hunting* he stood not on the *cleanest* but *nearest* way) He would never go about to make any expressions.

And piercing wit.

30. His *wit* was passing-sharp and piercing, equally pleased in *making* and *taking* a smart jest, *His Majestie* so much stooping to His *mirth*, that He never *refused* that *coine* which he *paid* to other folk. This made Him please Himself so much in the company of Count *Gondomer*: and some will say, the *King* was contented (for reasons best known to Himself) to be deceived by him, and humoured into a peace to His own disadvantage.

King *James* his return to *Gondomer*.

31. Once, King *James* in an Afternoon was praising the plentifull provision of *England*, especially for *flesh*, and *fowle*; adding, the like not to be had in all *Spaine*, what *one County* here did afford. Yea, but my *Master* (quoth *Gondomer*, there present) hath the *gold* and *silver* in the *East* and *West Indies*: And *I*, *by my Saule*, (saith the King) *have much adoe to keep my men from taking it away from Him*. To which the *Don's Spanish gravity* returned silence.

Judicious, bountifull, and mercifull.

32. His *judgment* was most solid in matters of *Divinity*, not fathering Books of others, (as some of His *Predecessours*) but His *Works* are allowed His own by His very *adversaries*. Most *bountiful* to all, especially to *Scholars*, no *King* of *England* ever *doing* (though His *Successour suffered*) more, to preserve the *revenues* of the *English Hierarchy*. Most *mercifull* to *Offendors*, no one *person* of *Honour* (without parallel since the *Conquest*) being put to death in His Reign. In a word, He left His own Coffers *empty*, but His Subjects Chests *full*, the Land being never more *wealthy*; it being easier then to *get*, than since to *save* an *estate*.

The end of the Reign of King JAMES.

THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

Containing the Reign of

KING CHARLES.

THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

Containing the Reign of

KING CHARLES.

To the Honourable

EDWARD MOUNTAGUE

Esquire,

Son and Heire to the Right Honourable

EDWARD

LORD *MOUNTAGUE*

of BOUGHTON.

IT is a *strange casualty* which an [a] *Historian* reporteth of *five Earls* of *PEMBROOKE*, successively, (of the *Family* of *HASTINGES*) *that the Father of them, never saw his Son*, as born either in his *absence*, or after his *death*.

[a] *Cambd: Brit:* in *Pembr:shire.*

I know not whether more *remarkable*, the *fatality* of that; or the *felicity* of your *Family*: where, in a lineal descent, *five* have followed one another, the *Father* not onely surviving to see his *Son* of Age, but also (your self excepted,

excepted, who in due time may be) *happy* in their *Marriage*, *hopefull* in their *Iſſue*.

Theſe *five* have all been of the *ſame Chriſtian Name*. Yet is there no *fear of Confuſion*, to the *prejudice* of your *Pedigree*, (which *Heralds* commonly in the like caſes complain of) ſeeing each of them being, as *eminent in their kinde*, ſo *different in their eminency*, are ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by their own *character* to *Poſterity*.

Of theſe, the *firſt* a *Judge*; for his *gravity* and *learning* famous in his *Generation*.

The *ſecond*, a worthy *Patriot*, and *bountifull Houſe-keeper*; bleſſed in a numerous *Iſſue*. his *four younger Sonnes*, affording a *Biſhop* to the *Church*; a *Judge*, and *Peer* to the *State*; a *Commander* to the *Camp*, and an *Officer* to the *Court*.

The *third*, was the *firſt Baron* of the *Houſe*, of whoſe *worth* I will *ſay nothing*, becauſe I can never *ſay enough*.

The *fourth*, your *Honourable Father*, who becauſe he doth *ſtill*, and may he *long*, ſurvive; I cannot doe the *right* which *I would* to his *merit*, without doing *wrong*, which *I dare not* to his *modeſty*.

You are the *fift* in a *direct Line*; and let me acquaint

quaint you with what the *world* expected, (not to ſay requireth of you) to *dignifie* your ſelf with ſome *ſelect* and *peculiar* deſert, ſo to be *differenced* from your *Anceſtours*, that your *memory* may not be miſtaken, in the *Homonymie* of your *Chriſtian Names*; which, to me ſeemeth as improbable, as that a *burning-Beacon*, (at a reaſonable diſtance) ſhould not be *beheld*; ſuch the *brightneſſe* of your *parts*, and *advantage* of your *education*.

You was *bred* in that *Schoole* which hath no *ſuperiour* in *England*; and ſucceſsively in thoſe *two Univerſities*, which have *no equall* in *Europe*. Such the *ſtock* of your *native perfection*, before *graffed* with the *forraigne accompliſhments* of your *travells*. So that *men* confidently promiſe themſelves to read the *beſt*, *laſt*, and *largeſt Edition* of MERCATOR'S ATLAS, in your *experience* and *diſcourſe*.

That good *God* who *went with you* out of your *Native Countrey*, and ſince *watched over you* in forraign parts, *return with you* in ſafety in due time, to *his Glory*, and *your own Good*, which is the daily deſire of

Your Honour's moſt devoted Servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

XVII. CENTURIE.

Anno Regis Caroli primi 1 March 27 Sunday May 14

Anno Dom. 1625

1. THE ſad newes of King *James* his death was ſoon brought to *White-hall*, at that very inſtant, when *Dr Land* Biſhop of *St Davids*, was preaching therein. This cauſed him to [a] break off his Sermon in the middeſt thereof, out of civil complyance with the ſadneſs of the congregation: and the ſame day was King *Charles* proclaimed at *White-Hall*.

News of the King's death brought to *White Hall*.

a See his own Diarie on that day.

2. On the ~~fourteenth~~ Seventh of *May* following King *James* his funeralls were performed very ſolemnly, in the Collegiate-Church at *Weſtminſter*, his lively ſtatue being preſented on a magnificent Herſe. King *Charles* was preſent thereat. For, though modern ſtate uſed of late to lock up the chief Mourner in his Chamber, where his grief muſt be preſumed too great for publique appearance; yet the King cauſed this ceremonie of ſorrow ſo to yeeld to the ſubſtance thereof, and pomp herein to ſtoop to pietie, that in his perſon he ſorrowfully attended the funerals of his Father.

His ſolemn funeralls.

3. *Dr. Williams*, Lord Keeper and Biſhop of *Lincolne*, preached the Sermon, taking for his Text 2 *Chron.* 9. 29, 30. and part of the 31, verſe. containing the happy reign, quiet death, and ſtately buriall of King *Solomon*. The effect of his Sermon was to advance a parallel betwixt two peaceable Princes, King *Solomon* and King *James*. A parallel which willingly went, (not to ſay ran of its own accord) and when it chanced to ſtay, was fairly led on by the art, and ingenuitie of the Biſhop, not enforcing, but improving the conformitie betwixt theſe two Kings in ten particulars, all expreſſed in the Text, as we read in the *vulgar Latin* ſomewhat different from the new Tranſlation.

Dr. *Williams* his text, Sermon, and parallel betwixt K. *Solomon* and K. *James*.

King *Solomon*,	King *James*,
1. His eloquence, *the reſt of the words of Solomon.*	1. Had [b] *profluentem, & qua Principem deceret, eloquentiam.*
2. His actions, *and all that he did.*	2. Was eminent in his actions of Religion, Juſtice, War, and Peace.
3. A well within to ſupply the ſame, *and his wiſedome.*	3. So wiſe *that there was nothing that any [c] would learn, which he was not able to teach.*

b *Tacitus* of *Auguſtus*.

c pag. 19.

4. The preservation thereof to eternitie, *Are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon, made by Nathan the Prophet, Ahijah the Shilonite, and Iddo the Seer?*

d pag. 61.

5. He reigned in *Jerusalem*, a great Citie, by him enlarged, and repaired.

6. Over all *Israel*, the whole Empire.

7. A great space of time, full *fourtie years*.

c pag. 66.

8. *Then he slept*, importing no sudden and violent dying, but a premeditate and affected kinde of sleeping.

9. *With his fathers, David* especially, his Soul being disposed of in happines.

10. And was buried in the City of *David*.

4. As *Trajan* was nicknamed *herba parietaria, a Wal-flower*, because his name was engraven on every wal: so King *James* shall be called *herba chartacea*, the *paper-flower*, and his glory be read in [d] in all writers.

5. He reigned in the capital City of *London*, by him much augmented.

6. Over great *Britain*, by him happily united, and other Dominions.

7. In all fiftie eight (though over all *Britain* but two and twenty years) reigning as [e] better, so also longer than King *Solomon*.

8. Left the world most resolved, most prepared, embracing his Grave for his Bed.

9. Reigning gloriously with God in Heaven.

10. Whilest his body was interred with all possible *solemnitie in King Henry* the seventh his Chappell.

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Be it here remembred, that in this Parallel the Bishop premised to set forth *Solomon*, not in his full proportion, faults and all, but *half-faced (imagine lusca*, as *Apelles* painted *Antigonus* to conceal the want of his eye) adding, that *Solomons* vices could be no blemish to King *James*, who resembled him onely in his choicest vertues. He concluded all with that verse *Ecclesiasticus* 30. 4. *Though his Father die, yet he is as though he were not dead, for he hath left one behinde him that is like himself*: in application to his present Majestie.

Exceptions taken at his Sermon.

4. Some Auditors, who came thither rather to observe than edifie, cavill than observe, found, or made faults in the Sermon, censuring him for touching too often, and staying too long *on an harsh string*, three times straining the same, making eloquence too essentiall, and so absolutely necessary in a King, *that the want thereof made Moses in a manner* [f] *refuse all Government though offered by God: that no* [g] *man ever got great power without eloquence*; *Nero* being the first of the *Cæsars qui alienâ facundiâ eguit, who usurp'd another mans language to speake for him*. Expressions which might be forborn in the presence of his Sonne, and Successor, whose impediment in speech was known to be great, and mistook to be greater. Some conceived him too long in praising the passed, too short in promising for the present King (though saying much of him in a little) and the Bishops Adversaries (whereof then no want at Court) some took distaste, others made advantage thereof. Thus is it easier, and better for us to please one God, than many men with our Sermons. However the Sermon was publiquely set forth by the Printer (but not the expres command) of his Majestie, which gave but the *steddier Mark* to his enemies, noting the marginall notes thereof, and making all his Sermon the text of their captious interpretations.

f pag. 16.

g pag. 5.

Discontents begin in the Court.

5. Now began animosities to discover themselves in the Court, whose sad influences operated many years after, many being discontented that on this change they received not proportionable advancement to their expectations.

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expectations. It is the prerogative of the King of Heaven alone, that he maketh all his Sonnes Heires, all his Subjects Favourites, the gain of one being no losse to the other. Whereas the happiest Kings on Earth are unhappy herein, that unable to gratifie all their Servants (having many Suitors for the same place) by conferring a favour on one, they disoblige all other competitors, conceiving themselves, as they make the estimate of their own deserts, as much (if not more) meriting the same preferment.

6. As for *Doctor Preston*, he still continued, and increased in the favor of the King, and Duke; it being much observed, that on the day of King *James* his death, he [h] rode with Prince, and Duke, in a *Coach shut down* from *Theobalds* to *London*, applying comfort now to one now to the other, on so sad an occasion. His partie would perswade us, that he might have chose his own mitre, much commending the moderation of his mortified minde, denying all preferment which courted his acceptance; verifying the Anagram which a [i] friend of his made on his name *Johannes Prestonius, En stas pius in honore.* Indeed he was conceived to hold the *Helme* of his own partie, able to *steere* it to what *point* he pleased, which made the Duke [as yet] much to desire his favor.

Dr. *Preston* a great favourite.

b See his Life pag. 503.

i Mr. Ayrs of Lincolns Inn.

7. A booke came forth called *Appello Cæsarem* made by M[r]. *Mountague*. He formerly had been Fellow of *Kings Colledge* in *Cambridge*, at the present a Parson of *Essex* and Fellow of *Eaton*. One much skilled in the Fathers, and Ecclesiasticall Antiquity, and in the Latin and Greek Tongues. Our great [k] Antiquarie confesseth as much (*Græcè simul & Latinè doctus*) though pens were brandished betwixt them: and vertues allowed by ones adversarie may passe for undeniable truths. These his great parts were attended with tartnesse of writing, very sharp the neb of his pen, and much gall in his inke, against such as opposed him. However, such the equability of the sharpnesse of his style he was unpartiall therein, be he antient or modern writer, Papist or Protestant, that stood in his way, they should all equally taste thereof.

Mr. *Mountague* his character.

k Mr. *Selden* in his book *De Diis Syris pag.* 362.

8. Passe we from the Author to his Book, whereof this was the occasion. He had lately writen satyrically enough against the Papists in confutation of *The Gagger of Protestants:* Now two Divines of *Norwich* Dioces, M[r]. *Yates*, and M[r]. *Ward* informed against him for *dangerous errours of Arminianisme and Poperie*, deserting our cause, in stead of defending it. M[r]. *Mountague*, in his own vindication, writes a second Book licensed by *Francis White*, Dean of *Carlile*, finished, and partly printed in the reign of *James*, to whom the Author intended the dedication. But on King *James* his death, it seems it descended by succession on King *Charles* his Sonne, to whom M[r]. *Mountague* applyed the words which *Ockam* once used to *Lewes* of *Bavier*, Emperour of *Germanie*, *Domine Imperator defende me gladio, & ego te defendam calamo*, *Lord Emperour defend me with thy Sword, and I will defend thee with my Pen.* Many bitter passages in this his Book gave great exception, whereof largely, hereafter.

Setteth forth his *Appello Cæsarem.*

9. On Sunday being the twelfth of *June*, about seven of the clock at night, Queen *Marie* landed at *Dover*: at what time a piece of Ordinance being discharged from the Castle, flew in fitters, yet did no bodie any harm. Moe were fearfull at the presage, than thankfull for the providence. Next day, the King coming from *Canterburie*, met her at *Dover*, whence with all solemnitie she was conducted to *Sommerset-House* in *London*, where a Chappell was new prepared for her devotion, with a Covent adjoyning of Capuchin-Friers, according to the Articles of her Mariage.

June 13.

Queen *Mary* her first arrival at *Dover.*

10. A Parliament began at *London*, wherein the first Statute agreed upon, was for the more strict observation of the *Lords-day*. Which day, as it first honoured the King (His Reign beginning thereon) so the King first honoured

The King rescueth Mr. *Mountague* from the House of Commons.

honoured it by passing an Act for the greater solemnicie thereof. The *House of Commons* fell very heavie on Mr. *Mountague*, for many bitter passages in his Book: who in all probability, had now been severely censured, but that the King himself was pleased to interpose in his behalf, signifying to the House, *That those things which were then spoken, and determined concerning Mountague, without his Privitie, did not please him*; who by his Court-friends being imployed in the Kings Service, his Majesty signifyed to the Parliament that *he thought his Chaplains* (whereof Mr. *Montague* was one) *might have as much protection as the Servant of an ordinary Burgess*: nevertheless his bond of two thousand pounds wherewith he was *tailed*, continued *uncancelled*, and was called on the next Parliament. Anno Dom. 1625. Anno Regis Caroli 1. July 7 Thursday 9. Saturday.

The Parliament removed to *Oxford*, and brake up in discontent.

11. The Plague increasing in *London*, the Parliament was removed to *Oxford*. But alas! no avoiding Gods hand. The infection followed, or rather met the Houses there, (whereof worthy Dr. *Challenor* died, much lamented) yet were the Members of Parliament, not so carefull to save their own persons from the Plague, as to secure the Land from a worse, and more spreading contagion, the daily growth of Poperie. In prevention whereof they presented a Petition to his Majesty, containing sixteen particulars, all which were most graciously answered by his Majesty, to their full satisfaction. Thus this meeting began hopefully, and cheerfully; proceeded turbulently, and suspiciously, brake off suddenly, and sorrowfully; the reason whereof is to be fetch'd from our Civill Historians.

Dr. *James* his motion in the Convocation.

12. The Convocation kept here, is scarce worth the mentioning, seeing little the appearance thereat, nothing the performance therein. Dean *Bowles*, the Prolocutour, absented himself for fear of infection, Dr. *Thomas Goad* officiating in his place, and their meeting was kept in the Chappell of *Merton Colledge*. Here Dr. *James* that great Book-man, made a motion, that all *Manuscript-Fathers* in the Libraries of the Universities, and elsewhere in *England*, might be perused, and that such places in them as had been corrupted in Popish editions (much superstition being *generated* from such *corruptions*) might faithfully be printed, according to those ancient Copies. Indeed, though *England* at the dissolving of Abbies lost moe Manuscripes than any Countrey of Christendome (of her dimensions) ever had, yet still enough were left her, if well improved, to evidence the truth herein to all posteritie. This designe might have been much beneficiall to the Protestant cause, if prosecuted with as great endevour, as it was propounded with good intention: but, alas! this motion was ended, when it was ended, expiring in the place with the words of the mover thereof.

The insolence of Papists seasonably restrained. Nov. 11.

13. The King according to his late answer in the Parliament at *Ox.* issued out a Commission to the Judges to see the Law against Recusants put in execution. This was read in all the Courts of Judicature at *Reading* (where *Michaelmas* Terme was kept) and a letter directed to the Arch-bishop of *Cant.* to take speciall care for the discovery of Jesuits, Seminary Priests &c. within his Province. A necessary severity, seing Papists (presuming on Protection by reason of the late Match) were grown very insolent. And a Popish Lord when the King was at Chappell was heard to prate on purpose lowder in a Gallery adjoyning then the Chaplain prayed, whereat the King was so moved that he sent him this message; *Either come and doe as we doe, or I will make you prate further off.*

Severall Writers against Mr. *Mountague*.

14. In this, and the next yeer, many Books from persons of severall abilities, and professions, were writen against Mr. *Mountague*, By

1. Dr. *Sutcliffe*, Dean of *Exeter*. One who was *miles emeritus*, age giving him a Supersedeas, save that his zeale would imploy it self, and some conceived, that his choler became his old age.

2. Mr. *Henry Burton*, who then began to be well (as afterwards

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wards too well) known to the World.

3. Mr. *Francis Rowse*, a Lay-man by profession.

4. Mr. *Yates*, a Minister of *Norfolk*, formerly a Fellow of *Emmanuel* in *Cambridge*: he intitles his Book *Ibis ad Cæsarem*.

5. Dr. *Carleton*, Bishop of *Chichester*.

6. *Anthonie Wootton*, Divinitie-Professour in *Gresham-Colledge*.

In this *Armie of Writers* the strength is conceived to consist in the *rere*, and that the last wrote the solidest confutations. Of these six, Dean *Sutcliffe* is said to have chode heartily, Mr. *Rowse* meant honestly, Mr. *Burton* wrote plainly, Bishop *Carleton* very pithily, Mr. *Yates* learnedly, and Mr. *Wootton* most solidly.

15. I remember not at this time any of Master *Mountague's* partie engaged in print in his behalf. Whether, because they conceived this their Champion, sufficient of himselfe to encounter all opposers; or, because they apprehended it unsafe (though of the same judgment) to justifie a Book which was grown so generally offensive. Insomuch as his Majesty himself, sensible of his Subjects great distaste thereat (founded by the Duke of *Buckingham* to that purpose) was resolved to leave Mr. *Mountague* to stand or fall, according to the justice of his cause. The Duke imparted as much to Dr. *Laud*, Bishop of Saint *Davids*, who conceived it of such ominous concernment, that he entred the same in his Diarie, *viz. I seem to see a cloud arising, and threatning the Church of England, God for his mercie dissipate it.*

Mr. *Mountague* left to defend himself.

Jan. 19. 1624

16. The day of the Kings Coronation drawing neer, his Majesty sent to survey, and peruse the *Regalia*, or *Royal Ornaments*, which then were to be used. It happened that the left wing of the Dove on the Scepter was quite broken off, by what casualty God himself knows. The King sent for Mr. *Acton* then his Goldsmith, commanding him that the very same should be set on again. The Goldsmith replied, that it was impossible to be done so fairly, but that some mark would remain thereof. To whom the King in some passion returned, [1] *If you will not do it, another shall.* Hereupon Mr. *Acton* carried it home, and got another *Dove* of Gold to be artificially set on; whereat, when brought back, his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof.

A maim on the embleme of Peace.

[1] His Son succeeding his Father in that place and then present, attested to me the truth hereof.

17. The Bishop of *Lincolne*, Lord-Keeper, was now dayly descendant in the Kings favour; who so highly distasted him, that he would not have him, as Dean of *Westminster*, to perform any part of His Coronation; yet so (was it a favour, or a triall?) that it was left to his free choice, to prefer any Prebendary of the Church to officiate in his place. The Bishop met with a Dilemma herein. To recommend Dr. *Laud*, Bishop of Saint *Davids* (and Prebendary of *Westminster*) for that performance, was to grace one of his greatest enemies: to passe him by, and prefer a *private Prebendary* for that purpose before a Bishop, would seem unhandsome, and be interpreted a neglect of his own Order. To avoid all exceptions, he presented a list of all the *Prebendaries* of that Church, referring the election to his Majesty himself, who made choise of Dr. *Laud*, Bishop of Saint *Davids*, for that attendance.

A Dilemma well waved.

Feb 2.

18. Dr. *Senhouse*, Bishop of *Carlile* (Chaplain to the King when Prince) preached at the Coronation; his text, —— *And I will give unto thee a Crown of life.* In some sort it may be said, that he preached his own funerall, dying shortly after; and even then the black Jaundice had so possessed him (a disease which hings the face with mourning as against its buriall) that all despaired of his recovery. Now, seeing this Coronation cometh within (if not the pales and Park) the purlews of Ecclesiastical Historie, we will present so much thereof, as was acted in the Church of *Westminster*. Let Heraulds marshall the solemnitie of their advance from *Westminster-*

The Coronation Sermon.

Hall to this Church, where our pen takes the first possession of this subject.

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The solemn advance to the Church.

19. But first we will premise the equipage, according to which they advanced from *Westminster-Hall*, to the *Abbey-Church*, in order as followeth.

1. The Aldermen of *London* two by two, ushered by an Herauld.
2. Eightie *Knights* of the *Bath* in their Robes, each having an Esquire to support, and Page to attend him.
3. The Kings Serjeants at Law, Solicitour, Atturney, Masters of Request, and Judges.
4. Privie-Counsellors that were Knights, and chief Officers of the Kings Houshold.
5. Barons of the Kingdome, all bare-headed, in their Parliament-Robes, with swords by their sides.
6. The Bishops with Scarlet-gowns, and Lawn-sleeves, bare-headed.
7. The Vice-Counts, and Earles (not in their Parliament, but) in their Coronation-Robes, with Coronetted-Caps on their Heads.
8. The Officers of State for the day; whereof these are the principall.

Sr. *Richard Winn.*
Sr. *George Goring.*
The Lord *Privie-Seal.*
The Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

The Earl of *Dorset*	carrying	The first Sword naked.
The Earl of *Essex*		The second Sword naked.
The Earl of *Kent*		The third Sword naked.
The Earl of *Montgomerie*		The Spurs.
The Earl of *Sussex*		The Globe, and Crosse upon it.
The Bishop of *London*		The Golden Cup for the Communion.
The Bishop of *Winchester*		The Golden Plate for the Communion.
The Earl of *Rutland*		The Scepter.
The Marquesse *Hammilton*		The Sword of State naked.
The Earl of *Pembroke*		The Crown.

The Lord Maior in a crimson Velvet gown, carried a short Scepter before the King, amongst the Serjeants. But I am not satisfied in the criticalness of his place.

The Earl of *Arundel*, as *Earl-Marshall* of *England*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as Lord *High-Constable* of *England* for that day, went before his Majestity in this great solemnity.

The manner of the Kings Coronation.

20. The King entred at the West-gate of the Church, under a rich Canopy carried by the Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, his own person being supported by Dr. *Neyle* Bishop of *Durham* on the one hand; and Dr. *Lake*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, on the other. His train being six yards long of purple Velvet, was held up by the Lord *Compton* (as belonging to the Robes) and the Lord *Viscount Dorcester*. Here he was met by the Prebends of *Westminster* (Bishop *Land* supplying the Dean his place) in their rich Copes, who delivered into his Majesties hand the Staff of King *Edward* the Confessor, with which he walked up to the Scaffold.

The fashion of the Scaffold.

21. This was made of wood at the upper end of the Church, from the Quire to the Altar. His Majesty mounted it, none under the degree of a Baron standing thereon, save only the Prebends of *Westminster* who attended on the Altar, three Chaires were appointed for him in severall places; one of *Repose*, the second the ancient *Chair* of *Coronation*, and the third (placed on an high square of five Staires ascent) being the Chair of State.

The King presented and accepted by the People.

22. All being settled and reposed, the Lord Archbishop did present his Majesty to the Lords and Commons, East, West, North, South, asking their minds four severall times, if they did consent to the Coronation of King *Charles* their lawfull Soveraign. The King mean time presented himself

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ſelf bare-headed: the conſent being given four times with great acclamation, the King took his *Chaire* of repoſe.

23. After the Sermon (whereof before) the L. Archbiſhop, inveſted in a rich Coape, tendered to the King (kneeling down on cuſhions at the *Communion-Table*) a large Oath, then were his Majeſties Robes taken off him, and were offered on the Altar. He ſtood for a while ſtripped to his Doublet and Hoſe, which were of white Satten (with Ribbons on the Armes and Shoulders, to open them) and he appeared a proper Perſon to all that beheld him. Then was he led by the L. Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of *St. Davids*, and placed in the *Chaire of Coronation* (a cloſe Canopie being ſpread over him) the L. Archbiſhop anointing his head, ſhoulders, armes, and hands with a coſtly ointment, the Quire ſinging an Antheme of theſe words, *Zadok the Prieſt anointed King Solomon.* Sworn and annointed.

24. Hence the *King* was led up in his Doublet and Hoſe with a white *Coyfe* on his head to the Communion Table, where Biſhop *Laud* (Deputy for the *Dean of Weſtminſter*) brought forth the ancient Habiliments of King *Edward the Confeſſour*, and put them upon him. Then was his Majeſtie brought back to the *Chaire of Coronation*, and received the Crown of King *Edward* (preſented by Biſhop *Laud*, and) put on his head by the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*. The Quire ſinging an Antheme, *Thou ſhalt put a Crown of pure Gold upon his head.* Whereupon the *Earles* and *Viſcounts* put on their Crimſon Velvet Caps with Coronets about them (the *Barons* and *Biſhops* alwayes ſtanding bare headed) Then every *Biſhop* came ſeverally to his Majeſty to bring his *benediction* upon him, and he in King *Edwards* Robes with the Crown upon his head, roſe from his Chaire, and did bow ſeverally to every *Biſhop* apart. Solemnly Crowned,

25. Then was *King Edwards Sword* girt about him, which he took off again and offered up at the Communion Table with *two Swords* more (ſurely not in relation to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but to ſome ancient *Principalities* his Predeceſſors enjoyed in *France*.) Then the *Duke* of *Buckingam* (as *Maſter* of the *Horſe*) put on his *Spurres*, and thus completely crowned, his Majeſty offered firſt *Gold*, then *Silver* at the *Altar*, and afterwards *Bread* and *Wine* which were to be uſed at the holy Communion. And girt with ſeveral Swords.

26. Then was his Majeſty conducted by the Nobility to the Throne upon that ſquare Baſis of five aſcents, the Quire ſinging *Te deum*. Here his Majeſty took an Oath of *homage* from the *Duke of Buckingam* (as *Lord high Conſtable* for that day) and the Duke did ſweare all the Nobilitie beſides to be *Homagers* to his Majeſtie at his Majeſties knees. Homage done by the Nobility to his Majeſty.

27. Then as many *Earles* and *Barons* as could conveniently ſtand about the *Throne*, did lay their hands on the Crowne on his Majeſties head, proteſting to ſpend their bloods, to maintain it to him and his lawfull Heirs. The *Biſhops* ſeverally kneeled down, but took no oath as the Barons did, the King kiſſing every one of them. With their ſolemne oath.

28. Then the King took a Scrowle of parchment out of his boſom and gave it to the Lord Keeper *Williams*, who read it to the Commons four ſeverall times, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South. The effect whereof was, that his Majeſty did offer a pardon to all his Subjects who would take it under his Broad-Seale. A Pardon generall granted.

29. From the Throne, his Majeſty was conducted to the Communion Table, where the Lord Archbiſhop kneeling on the North ſide, read prayers in the Quire, and ſung the Nicene Creed. The Biſhop of *Landaff* and *Norwich*, read the Epiſtle and Goſpell, with whom the Biſhops of *Durham* and St. *Davids* in rich Copes kneeled with his Majeſty and received the Communion; the bread, from the Archbiſhop, the wine, from the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, his Majeſty receiving laſt of all, whileſt *Gloria in excelſis* The Communion concludes the ſolemnity.

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excelsis was sung by the Quire, and some prayers read by the Archbishop concluded the solemnity.

The return to *white-Hall*

30. The King after he had disrobed himself in King *Edwards* Chappell, came forth in a short Robe of red Velvet girt unto him, lined with Ermins, and a *Crown of his own* on his head set with very pretious stones, and thus the Train going to the Barges on the water side returned to *White Hall* in the same order wherein they came, about three a clocke in the afternoon.

Our prolixity herein excused.

31. I have insisted the longer on this Subject moved thereunto by this consideration, that if it be *the last* Solemnitie performed on an English King in this kinde, Posteritie will conceive my paines well bestowed, because *on the last*. But if hereafter Divine providence shall assign England another King, though the transactions herein be not wholly precedentiall, something of State may be chosen out gratefull for imitation.

A foul mouth railer.

32. And here if a *Blister was not*, it deserved *to be* on the fingers of that *scandalous Pamphleteer*, who hath written that *King Charles was not Crowned like other Kings*. Whereas all essentialls of his Coronation were performed with as much ceremonie as ever before, and all Robes of State used according to ancient prescription. But if he indulged his own fancie for the colour of his clothes, a *White Sute* &c. Persons meaner than Princes, have in greater matters assumed as much libery to themselves.

Why the King rode not through the Citie.

33. Indeed one Solemnitie (no part of, but *preface* to the *Coronation*) was declined on good consideration. For whereas the Kings of England used to ride from the Tower, through the City to *Westminster*; King *Charles* went thither by water, out of double providence, to save *health* and *wealth* thereby. For though the *infectious Aire* in the City of *London* had lately been *corrected* with a *sharp* Winter, yet was it not so *amended*, but that a just suspicion of danger did remain. Besides such a *procession* would have cost him threescore thousand Pounds, to be disbursed on Scarlet for his Train. A summe which if then demanded of his Exchequer, would scarce receive a satisfactory answer thereunto; and surely some who since condemne him for want of state, in omitting this *Royall Pageant*, would have condemned him more for prodigality, had he made use thereof.

A memorable aberration in a Pagane,

34. As for any other alterations in Prayers or Ceremonies, though heavily charged on *Bishop Land*, are since conceived by unpartiall people, done by a Committee, wherein (though the Bishop accused as most active) others did equally consent. Indeed a passage not in fashion, since the Reign of King *Henry* the sixt, was used in a prayer at this time. *Obtineat gratiam huic populo sicut Aaron in Tabernaculo, Elizeus in Fluvio, Zacharias in Templo, sit Petrus in Clave, Paulus in Dogmate. Let him obtain favor for this people like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple, give him Peters Key of dicipline, Pauls Doctrine.* This I may call a Protestant passage, though anciently used in Popish times, as fixing more spirituall power in the King, than the Pope will willingly allow, jealous that any should finger *Peters Keyes* save himself.

A Conference at *York* House.

Feb 6 11.

35. A few dayes after a *Parliament* began, wherein *Mr. Mountague* was much troubled about his Book, but made a shift by his powerfull Friends to save himself. During the sitting whereof, at the instance and procurement of *Robert Rich Earle of Warwick*, a conference was Kept in *York house*, before the *Duke* of *Buckingam* and other Lords, betwixt *Dr. Buckridge*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Dr. White*, Dean of *Carlile*, on the one side, and *Dr. Morton Bishop of Coventry*, and *Dr. Preston* on the other, about *Arminian points*, and chiefly *the possibilitie of one elected to fall from grace*. The passages of which conference are variously reported. For it is not in *tongue combats*,

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combats, as in *other battails*, where the *victorie* cannot be disguised, as discovering it self *in keeping the field, number of the slain, Captives, and Colours taken*. Whilest here no such visible effects appearing, the persons present were left to their libertie, to judge of the Conquest, as each one stood affected. However *William Earle* of *Pembrooke* was heard to say, that *none returned Arminians thence, save such who repaired thither with the same opinions*.

Feb. 17. 36. Soon after a second conference was entertained, in the same place, on the same points, before the same Persons; betwixt *Dr. White Dean of Carlile*, and *Mr. Mountague*, on the on side; and *Dr. Morton, Bishop of Lichfield*, and *Dr. Preston* on the other. *Dr. Preston* carried it clear at the first, by dividing his adversaries, who quickly perceiving their error, pieced themselves together in a joynt opposition against him. The passages also of this conference, are as differently related as the former. Some makeing it a [a] *clear conquest* on *one*, some on the *other* side, and a third sort a *drawn battail* betwixt both. Thus the success of these meetings, answered neither the *commendable intentions*, nor *hopefull expectations*, of such who procured them. Now whil'st other dare say, *Universally* of such conferences, what *David* saith of mankinde, that of them [b] *there is none that doth good, no not one*, we dare onely intimate, that (what Statesmen observe of *Interviews betwixt Princes*; so) these conferences betwixt *Divines* rather *increase* the differences than abate them.

A second on the same Subject.

a Thus the writer of Dr. *Prestons* Life concludes the conquest on his side

b *Psalms* 14 3.

37. The *Bishop of Lincoln* fell now *through the Dukes*, into the *Kings displeasure*; and such who will read the late letters in the *Cabala*, may conjecture the cause thereof, but the certainty we leave to be reported by the Historians of the State; belonging in his *Episcopall capacity* to my pen, but as *Lord Keeper* properly to theirs.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* loseth his Keepers place.

38. The Bishop finding his own tottering condition, addressed himself to all who had intimacie with the Duke to reingratiate himself. But such After-games at Court seldome succeed. All would not doe, for as *Amicus omnium optimus* was part of the Dukes Epitaph *, so no fiercer foe when displeased, and nothing under the Bishops removall from his office would give him satisfaction.

The Duke incensed against him.

* On his Tomb in *Westminster* Chappell.

39. Sir *John Suckling* was sent unto him from the King, to demand the *broad Seale* of him, which the cautious Bishop refused to surrender into his hands, to prevent such uses as might be made thereof (by *him* or *others*) in the intervall betwixt this resigning it, and the Kings conferring it on another; but he charily locked it up in a *Box*, and sent the Box by the Knight, and *Key* thereof inclosed in a *letter* to his *Majesty*.

The Bishops wariness in resigning the Seale.

40. However his bruise was the less, because he fell but from the first *Loft* and saved himself on the second *Floere*. Outed his Lord Keepership, but keeping his Bishoprick of *Lincoln* and Deanarie of *Westminster*, though forced to part with the *Kings Purse*, he held *his owne* and that well repleniſhed; And now he is retired to *Bugden-great*, where, whither greater his *anger* at his *enemies* for what he had lost, or *gratitude* to *God*, for what he had left, though others may conjecture, his owne Conscience only could decide. Here we leave him at his *hospitable Table*, where sometimes he talked so loud, that his discourse at the second hand was heard to *London*, by those who bare no good will unto him.

But keeps his Bishoprick.

41. An old Hall turned into a new Colledge, was this yeare finished at *Oxford*. This formerly was called *Broadegates Hall* and had many Students therein, amongst whom *Edmund Bonner* afterwards Bishop of *London* (*Scholar enough* and *Tyrant too much*) had his education. But this place was not endowed with any Revenues till about this time, for *Thomas Tisdale* of *Glimpton* in the County of *Oxford* Esquire, bequeathed five thousand Pounds, wherewith Lands were purchased to the value of two

A new Colledge of an old Hall in *Oxford*

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hundred and fiftie pounds *per annum*, for the maintenance of seven Fellowes and six Scholars. Afterwards *Richard Wightwick* Bachelor of Divinity, Rector of *East-Isle* in *Berkshire*, gave Lands to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, for the maintenance of three Fellowes and four Scholars; whereupon petition being made to King *James*, this new Colledge was erected, and a Charter of Mortmain of seven hundred pounds *per annum*, granted thereunto.

Called *Pembrook* Colledge

42. It was called **Pembrook Colledge**, partly in respect to *William* Earle of *Pembrook*, then Chancellor of the University, partly in expectation to receive some favour from him. And probably had not that noble Lord died suddenly soon after, this Colledge might have received more than a *bare Name* from him. The best, where a Child hath *rich parents* it needeth the less any gifts from the *Godfather*.

Masters	Benefactors	Bishops	Learned Writers.
1 Dr. *Clayton*	*King Charles*, who gave the Patronage of St. *Aldates* the Church adjoyning.		
2 Dr. *Langley*			

So that this Colledge consisteth of a Master, ten Fellowes, and ten Scholars with other Students and Officers to the number of one hundred sixty nine.

* Dr. *Prestons* Life, p. 505.
* Rom. 12. 11. τῷ καιρῷ συμφέροντες. *Ambrosius.*

43. *The Doctor and the Duke were both of them unwilling to an open breach, loved for to temporise and wait upon events.* Surely *Temporise* here is taken in the Apostle sense, according to some * copies, *serving the Times*. And henceforwards the Duke resolved to *shake off* the Doctor, who would not *stick close* unto him, betaking himself to the *opposite Interest*. Nor was the other surprized herein, as expecting the alteration long before.

Dr. *Preston* declines in the Dukes favour.

44. By the late conferences at *York-house* it appeared, that by the Dukes *cold carriage* towards him (and smiling on his *Opponents*) *Dr. Preston* was now entring into the *Autumn* of the Dukes favour. Indeed they were *well met*, each observing, neither trusting other (as I read in the Doctors Life, written by his judicious Pupil.)

The death of godly Bishop *Lakes.*

45. This year concluded the life of *Arthur Lakes*, Warden of *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, Master of *St. Crosses*, *Dean* of *Worcester*, and at last promoted Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, not so much by the power of his *Brother Sir Thomas* (Secretarie to *King James*) as his own desert; as one whose piety may be justly exemplary to all of his Order. He seldom (if at all) is said to have *dreamt*, justly imputed, not to the dulness of his fancie, in which faculty he had no defect, but to the staidness of his judgment, wherein he did much excell, as by his learned Sermons doth appear.)

The death and character of Bishop *Andrews.*

46. About the same time *Lancelot Andrews* ended his religious life, born at *Alhallows-Barking* in *London*, Scholar, Fellow, and Master of *Pembrook-Hall* in *Cambridge*. Then Deane of *Westminster*, Bishop of *Chicester*, *Ely*, and at last of *Winchester*. The *world* wanted *learning* to know how *learned* this *Man* was, so skil'd in all (especially *oriental*) Languages, that some conceive he might (if then living) almost have served as an *INTERPRETER GENERALL* at the *confusion of Tongues*. Nor are the *Fathers* more faithfully *cited* in his *books*, than lively *copied* out in his *countenance* and *carriage*, his gravity in a manner awing *King James*, who refrained from that mirth and liberty, in the presence of this Prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself. He lyeth buried in the Chappell of *St. Mary Overees*, having on his Monument a large, elegant *, and TRUE Epitaph.

* *Stows* Survay of *London*, pag.

47. Since his death some have unjustly snarld at his memory, accusing him for

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for covetousness, who was neither *rapax*, to get by unjust courses (as a profest enemy to *usury*, *simony*, and *bribery*:) nor *tenax*, to hold money when just occasion called for it: for in his life time he repaired all places he lived in, and at his death left the main of his Estate to pious uses. Indeed he was wont to say, that *Good Husbandry was good Divinity*, the truth whereof no wise man will deny.

Unjustly accused for Covetousness,

48. Another falls foully upon him for the ornaments of his Chappel as Popish and superstitious, in the [b] superabundant ceremonies thereof. To which I can say little; but this I dare affirm, that whersoever he was a *Parson*, a *Dean*, or a *Bishop*, he never troubled *Parish*, *Colledge*, or *Diocess* with pressing other ceremonies upon them, then such which he found used there before his coming thither. And it had not been amiss, if such who would be accounted his friends and admirers, had followed him in the footsteps of his moderation, content with the *enjoying*, without the *injoyning* their private practises, and opinions, on others.

And Superstition.

b *W. Prynne*, in *Canterbury's Doom pag.* 121 *& sequentibus.*

49. As for such who causlesly have charged his Sermons *as affected, and* [c] *surcharged with verball allusions*, when they themselves have set forth the like, it will then be time enough to make this Bishops first defence, against their calumniations. Nor is it a wonder that the Masters Pen, was so in his writings, whose very Servant (a Lay man) was so successfull in the same: I mean Mr. *Henry Isackson* (lately gone to God) the industrious Author of the usefull *Chronologie*.

Causlesly charged with affectation in his Sermons.

c *Mr. Bayley* in hh *Ladensium Autocatacrites.*

50. It is pitie to part this *Patron* from his *Chaplain*, *Nicholas Fuller*, born, as I take it, in *Hampshire*, bred in *Oxford*, where he was Tutor to Sir *Henry Walhop*, who afterwards preferred him to the small Parsonage of *Aldingeton* in *Wiltshire*: And *Robert Abbot*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, made him Canon of that Church. Afterwards a Living of great value was *sent* by *Bishop Andrews* (the *Patron* [d] thereof) on the *welcom errand* to finde out *Mr. Fuller* to accept the same, who was hardly contented to be surprised with a presentation thereunto; such his love to his former *small Living* and *retired life*. He was the Prince of all our *English Criticks*; And whereas men of that *tribe* are generally *morose*, so that they cannot *dissent* from another without *disdaining*, nor *oppose* without *inveighing* against him, it is hard to say whether more candor, learning, or judgement, was blended in his *Miscellanies*. By discovering how much *Hebrew* there is in the *New-Testament-Greek*, he cleereth many *reall difficulties* from his *verball observations*.

Nicholas Fuller his Chaplain, that profitable Critick.

d See Bishop *And.* his funeral Sermon

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51. A Commission was granted unto five Bishops (whereof *Bishop Laud* of the *Quorum*) to suspend Archbishop *Abbot* from exercising his Authority any longer, because uncanonicall for *casuall Homicide*; the proceeding against him being generally condemned as over-rigid and severe.

Severe proceedings against Archbishop *Abbot* suspended from his Jurisdiction.

1. The Act was committed seven years since, in the reign of *King James*.

2. On a Commission then appointed for that purpose, he was cleered from all *Irregularity*, by Bishop *Andrews*, in *Divinity*; Sir *Ed. Coke*, in *Common*; and Sir *Henr. Martin*, in *Canon* Law.

3. It would be of dangerous consequence to condemn him by the *Canons* of *forain Councels*, which never were allowed any *Legislative Power* in this Land.

4. The Archbishop had manifested much remorse and self-affliction, for this (rather *sad* than *sinful*) act.

5. God may be presumed to have forgotten so much as there was of *fault* in the *fact*, and why then should man remember it?

6. Ever since he had executed his Jurisdiction without any interruption.

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7. The Archbishop had *both feet in the Grave*, and all his whole Body likely soon after to follow them.

8. Such heightning of *Casual-Homicide*, did savour of *Intentional malice*.

The truth is, the *Archbishops* own stiffness and averseness to comply with the *Court-Designes*, advantaged his Adversaries against him, and made him the more obnoxious to the Kings displeasure. But the blame did most light on *Bishop Land*, men accounting this a kinde of *Filius ante diem, &c.* As if not content to *succeed*, he indeavored to *supplant* him; who might well have suffered his decayed old age to have died in honor: What needs the *felling* of the tree a *falling?*

Two good effects of a bad cause.

52. However a double good accrued hereby to the *Archbishop*. First, he became the more beloved of Men: (the *Countrey* hath constantly a *blessing* for those, for whom the *Court* hath a *curse.*) And secondly, he may charitably be presumed to love God the more, whose service he did the better attend, being freed from the drudgery of the World, as that soul which hath the *least* of *Martha*, hath the *most* of *Mary* therein.

The character of Archbishop *Abbot.*

53. And although this Archbishop survived some years after, yet it will be seasonable here for us to take a fair farewell of his memorie, seeing henceforward he was buried to the World. He was bred in *Oxford*, Master of University Colledge; an excellent Preacher, as appears by his Lectures on *Jonah*; Chaplain to the *Earl* of *Dunbar* (with whom he was once solemnly sent by King *James* into *Scotland* to preach there) and afterwards by his means promoted to the *Arch-bishop-rick* of *Canterbury*, haply according to his own; but sure I am above, if not against, the expectations of others; A grave man in his conversavion, and unblameable in his life.

Accounted no great friend to the Clergy.

54. Indeed it is charged on him that *non amavit Gentem nostram, he loved not our Nation*, forsaking the Birds of his own feather to flie with others, and generally favoring the *Laity* above the *Clergie*, in all cases brought before him. But this he endeavored to excuse to a private friend, by protesting he was himself so severe to the *Clergie* on purpose to rescue them from the severity of others, and to prevent the punishment of them from *Lay Judges* to their greater shame.

Accused for the favor of male-contents.

e In answer to the Pamphlet intituled, The Court and Character of King *James*, page 132.

f Dr. *Barnard* his Houshold Chaplain.

55. I also reade in a nameless *e* Author, that towards his death he was not onely discontented himself, but his house was the randezvouz of all male-contents in Church and State: making *mid-night* of *noon-day*, by constant keeping of candles light in his Chamber and Study; as also such visitants as repaired unto him, called themselves *Nicodemits*, because of their secret addresses. But a credible *f* person, and one of his neerest relations knew nothing thereof, which with me much shaketh the probability of the report. And thus we leave this Archbishop, and the rest of his praises to be reported by the poor people of *Gilford* in *Surrey*, where he founded and indowed a fair Almes-house in the Town of his Nativity.

A Toleration blasted in *Ireland.*

56. The Kings Treasury now began to grow low, and his expenses to mount high. No wonder then if the Statesmen were much troubled to make up the distance betwixt his *Exchequer* and his *Occasions*. Amongst other designes, the Papists in *Ireland* (taking advantage of the Kings wants) proffered to pay constantly 5000 Men, if they might but enjoy a Toleration. But that motion was crusht by the Bishops opposing it, and chiefly by Bishop *Downhams* sermon in *Dublin*, on this Text, *Luke* 1. 74. *That we being delivered from the hands of our Enemies might serve him without fear.*

Hopes to spring in *England*:

57. Many a man, sunk in his Estate in *England*, hath happily recovered it by removing into *Ireland*; whereas, by a contrary motion, this project, banknupt in *Ireland*, presumed to make it self up in *England*: Where the Papists promised to maintain a proportion of Ships, on the aforesaid condition,

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tion, of free exercise of their Religion. Some were desirous the King should accept their tender, who might lawfully take what they were so forward to give, seeing *no injury is done to them who are willing.*

58. It was urged on the other side, that where such *willingness to be injured* proceeds from the Principle of an erroneous conscience, there their simplicity ought to be informed, not abused. Grant Papists so *weak* as to buy, Protestants should be more *honest* than to sell such *base wares* unto them. Such *Ships* must needs *spring many leaks*, rig'd, victualed, and manned with il-gotten money, gained by the *sale* of *Souls*. And here all the objections were revived, which in the reign of King *James* were improved against such a *Toleration.* But is rejected.

59. Here Sir *John Savil* interposed, that if the King were pleased but to call on the Recusants to pay *thirds* (legally due to the Crown) it would prove a way more effectual and less offensive to raise a mass of Money: it being but just, who were so rich and free to purchase *new Priviledges*, should first pay their *old Penalties.* This motion was listned unto, and Sir *John* (with some others) appointed for that purpose in the *Counties* beyond *Trent*, scarce a *third* of *England* in *ground*, but almost the *half* thereof for the growth of Recusants therein. But whether the *Returns* seasonably furnished the Kings occasions is to me unknown. Sir *John Savil* his motion.

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60. It is suspicious that all such Projects to *quench the thirst* of the Kings necessities proved no better then *sucking-bottles*, soon emptied, & but *cold* the *liquor* they afforded. Nothing so naturall as the *milk* of the breast; I mean *Subsidies* granted by *Parliament*, which the King at this time assembled. But alas, to follow the Metaphor, *both the breasts*, the two Houses, were so sore with several grievances, that all money came from them with much pain and difficulty; the rather, because they complained of Doctrines destructive to their propriety, lately preached at Court. A Parliament cal'd, which proves full of troubles.

61. For towards the end of this Session of Parliament *Dr. Manwaring* was severely censured for two Sermons he had preached and printed about the power of the Kings Prerogative. Such is the *precipice* of this matter (wherein each casual slip of my Pen may prove a deadly fall) that I had rather the Reader should take all from *Mr. Pimm's* mouth, than from my hand, who thus uttered himself: Mr. Pimm's Speech against Dr. Manwaring.

June 9

Master Speaker, I am to deliver from the Sub-Committee, a Charge *against* Mr. Manwaring, *a Preacher and Doctor of Divinity, but a man so criminous that he hath turned his titles into accusations; for the better they are, the worse is he that hath dishonoured them. Here is a great* Charge *that lies upon him; it is great in it self, and great because it hath many great* Charges *in it:* Serpens, qui Serpentem devorat, fit Draco; *his* Charge, *having digested many* Charges into it, *is become a Monster of* Charges. *The main and great one is this; A plot and policie, to alter and subvert the frame and fabrick of the State and Commonwealth. This is the great one, and it hath others in it, that gains it more greatness. For, to this end, he labours to infuse into the conscience of his Majesty, the perswasion of a power not bounding it self with Laws, which King* James *of famous memorie calls, in his Speech in* Parliament 1619, *Tyrannie, yea Tyrannie accompanied with Perjurie.*

a Transcribed out of his Manuscript Speech.

2. *Secondly, He endeavours to perswade the consciences of the Subjects, that they are bound to obey illegal commands; yea, he damns them for not obeying them.*

3. *Thirdly, He robs the Subjects of the propertie of their goods.*

4. *Fourthly, He brands them that will not lose this propertie, with most scandalous and odious titles, to make them hatefull both to Prince and People,*

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so to set a division between the Head and Members, and between the Members themselves.

5. *Fifthly, To the same end (not much unlike to* Faux *and his fellows) he seeks to blow up Parliaments and Parliamentarie Power. These five being duly viewed, will appear to be so many* Charges, *and withall they make up the main and great* Charge, *A mischievous Plot to alter and subvert the frame and Government of this State and Commonwealth. And now that you may be sure that* Mr. Manwaring, *though he leave us no propriety in our Goods, yet he hath an absolute propriety in his* Charge; Audite ipsam belluam, *heare* Mr. Manwaring *by his own words making up his own* Charge.

Here he produced the Book, particularly insisting on pag. 19. 29. and 30. in the first Sermon, pag. 35. 46. and 48 in the second Sermon. All which passages he heightned with much eloquence and acrimonie; thus concluding his Speech, *I have shewed you an evill Tree that bringeth forth evill Fruit; and now it rests with you to determine, whether the following sentence shall follow, Cut it down and cast it into the fire.*

The severe censure on the Doctor.

62. Four daies after the Parliament proceeded to his censure, consisting of eight particulars, it being ordered by the House of Lords against him, as followeth: June 13

1. *To be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House.*
2. *To be fined a thousand pounds.*
3. *To make his submission at the Bar in this House, and in the House of Commons, at the Bar there,* in verbis conceptis, *by a Committee of this House.*
4. *To be suspended from his Ministerial function three yeers, and in the mean time a sufficient preaching man to be provided out of the profits of his living, and this to be left to be performed by the Ecclesiastical Court.*
5. *To be disabled for ever hereafter from preaching at Court.*
6. *To be for ever disabled of having any Ecclesiastical Dignity in the Church of* England.
7. *To be uncapable of any secular Office or preferment.*
8. *That his Books are worthy to be burned, and his Majesty to be moved that it may be so in* London, *and both the* Universities.

But much of this censure was remitted, in consideration of the performance of his humble submission at both the Bars in Parliament:

His humble submission.

63. Where he appeared on the three and twentieth of *June* following, and on his knees, before both Houses, submitted himself, as followeth, with outward expression of sorrow: 23

I doe here in all sorrow of heart, and true repentance, acknowledge those many errors and indiscretions which I have committed in preaching and publishing the two Sermons of mine, which I called Religion and Allegiance, and my great fault in falling upon this theam again, and handling the same rashly, scandalously, and unadvisedly in my own Parish-Church in St. Giles *in the fields, the fourth of* May *last past. I humbly acknowledg these three Sermons to have been full of dangerous passages and inferences, and scandalous aspersions, in most part of the same. And I doe humbly acknowledge the just proceedings of this Honourable House against me, and the just sentence and judgment past'd upon me for my great offence. And I doe from the bottom of my heart crave pardon of God, the King, and this Honourable House, and the Commonweal in general, and those worthy persons adjudged to be reflected upon by me in particular, for those great offences and errors.*

How

Anno Regis Caroli 4 — Anno Dom 1628

How this Doctor, *Roger Manwaring* (notwithstanding the foresaid censure) was afterwards preferred, first to the Deanarie of *Worcester*, next to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*, God willing in due place thereof.

June 26. 64. On Thursday the 26th. of this moneth, ended the Session of Parliament, wherein little, relating to Religion, was concluded; save onely that diverse abuses on the *Lords-day* were restrained: *All Cariers, Carters, Waggoners, Wain-men, Drovers of Cattell forbidden to travell thereon, on the forfeit of twenty shillings for every offence.* Likewise, *Butchers to lose six shillings and eight pence for killing or selling any victuals on that day.* A Law was also made, *That whosoever goeth himself, or sendeth others beyond the Seas to be trained up in Poperie, &c. shall be disabled to sue, &c. and shall lose all his Goods, and shall forfeit all his Lands, &c. for life.* Five entire Subsidies were granted to the King by the Spirituality, and the said Grant confirm'd by the Act of this Parliament, which now was first prorogued to the twentieth of *October* following, and then, (on some intervening obstructions) put off to the twentieth of *January* when it began again.

The Acts of this Parliament.

65. As for the *Convocation*, concurent [in time] with this Parliament, nothing considerable was acted therein. *Dr. Thomas Winniff*, Dean of *Gloucester*, preach'd the Latin Sermon; his text *Acts* 20. 28. *Attendite ad vos ipsos, & totum gregem, &c. Dr. Curle* was chosen Prolocutor: and a low voice would serve the turn where nothing was to be spoken.

Nothing done in the Convocation.

July 10 66. On the twentieth of *July* following *Dr. Preston* dyed in his native Country of *Northamptonshire*, neer the place of his birth, of a consumption, and was buried at *Fawsley*, *Mr. Dod* preaching his funeral Sermon: An excellent Preacher, of whom *Mr. Noy* was wont to say, that he preached as if *he knew Gods Will*: a subtile Disputant and great Politician; so that his Foes must confess, that (if not having too little of the Dove) he had enough of the *Serpent*. Some will not stick to say he had large parts of sufficient receipt to manage the *Broad Seale* it self, which if the condition had pleased him, was proffered unto him: For he might have been the Dukes right hand, though at last less than his little finger unto him: Who despairing that this Patriarch of the Presbyterian Party would bring off his side unto him, used him no longer who would not or could not be usefull unto him. Most of this Doctor's posthume-books have been happie in their *education*, I mean in being *well brought forth into the World*, though all of them have not lighted on so good *guardians*: But his life is so largely and learnedly written by one of his own* Pupils, that nothing can be added unto it.

The death of Dr. *Preston*.

* Mr. *The. Balle* of *Northampton*.

67. About this time *George Carleton*, that grave and godly Bishop of *Chichester* ended his pious life. He was born at [b] *Norham* in *Northumberland*, where his Father was the Keeper of that important Castle in the Marches; an imployment speaking him wise and valiant, in those dangerous and warlike dayes. He was bred and brought up under *Mr. Bernard Gilpin*, that Apostolical man (whose Life he wrote in gratitude to his memorie) and retained his youthfull and Poeticall studies fresh in his old age. He was selected by King *James* one of the five Divines sent over to the Synod of *Dort*. He wrote many small Tracts (one against *Sir John Heydon*, about judicial Astrology) which conjoyned would amount to a great volume. *Mr. Richard Mountague*, one of a different judgement, succeeded in his See, who at first met with some small opposition on the following occasion.

The death of Bishop *Carleton*.

b *Camden Brit* In *Northumberland*.

Aug. 11. 68. There is a solemnity performed before the consecration of every Bishop, in this manner. The Royall assent being passed on his *election*, the Archbishops Vicar-general proceeds to his *Confirmation*, commonly kept in *Bow Church*. A Process is issued forth to call all persons to appear, to shew cause why the *Elect* there present should not be confirmed. For, seeing a Bishop is in a manner *married* to his *See* (save that hereafter he taketh his surname

Mr. Mountagues Confirmation opposed.

surname from his *Wife*, and not *she* from *him*) this ceremony is a kinde of *asking the Banes*, to see if any can alledge any lawfull cause to forbid them. Now at the confirmation of *Mr. Mountague*, when liberty was given to any objectors against him, one *Mr. Humphreys* (since a Parliament Colonel, lately deceased) and *William Fones*, a Stationer of *London* (who alone is mentioned in the Record) excepted against *Mr. Mountague*, as unfitting for the Episcopal office, chiefly on this account, because lately censured by Parliament for his book, and rendered uncapable of all preferment in the Church. Anno Dom. 1628. Anno Regis Caroli 4

But the opposition ineffectual.

69. But exception was taken at *Fones* his exceptions (which the Record calls *pretensos articulos*) as defective in some legal formalities. I have been informed, it was alledged against him for bringing in his objections *vivâ voce*, and not by a Proctor, that Court adjudging all private persons effectually *dumbe*, who *speak* not by one admitted to plead therein. *Fones* returned, that he could not get any *Proctor*, though pressing them importunately, and proffering them their fee, to present his exceptions, and therefore was necessitated *ore tenus* there to alledge them against *Mr. Mountague*. The Register mentioneth no particular defects in his exceptions, but *Dr. Rives* (Substitute at that time for the *Vicar-general*) declined to take any notice of them, and concludeth *Fones* amongst the contumacious, *quòd nullo modo legitimè comparuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta juris exigentiam diceret, excipiret, vel opponeret.* Yet this good *Fones* did Bishop *Mountague*, that he caused his addresses to the King to procure a pardon, which was granted unto him, in forme like those given at the Coronation, save that some particulars were inserted therein, *for the pardoning of all errors heretofore committed, either in speaking, writing, or printing, whereby he might hereafter be questioned.* The like at the same time was granted to *Dr. Manwaring*, on whom the rich Parsonage of *Stanford Rivers* in *Essex* was conferred, as voyd by Bishop *Mountagues* preferment.

c *Registrum Cantuar. fol.* 140. *in anno* 1628.

Caution seasonably used.

70. An intention there was for the Bishop and all the companie employed at his Confirmation, to dine at a Tavern, but *Dr. Thomas Rives* utterly refused it, rendring this reason; that he had heard, that the dining at a Tavern gave all the colour to that far-spreading and long-lasting lie, of *Matthew Parker* his being consecrated at the *Nags-Head* in *Cheapside*; and, for ought he knew, captious people would be ready to raise the like report on the same occasion. It being therefore Christian caution, not onely to quench the fire of sin, but also (if possible) to put out the smoak of scandal, they removed their dining to another place.

The Parliament dissolved.

71. On the twentieth of *January* the Parliament was reassembled, which dyed *issueless* (as I may say) the *March* following, leaving no Acts (*abortions* are no *Children*) completed behind it. Let the Reader who desireth farther instructions of the passages herein consult the Historians of the State. Indeed if the way were good, and weather fair, a travailer, to please his curiosity in seeing the Countrey, might adventure to ride a little out of the rode; but he is none of the wisest, who in a tempest and miric way will lose time and leave his own journey. If pleasant and generally acceptable were the transactions in this Parliament, it might have tempted me to touch a little thereon, out of the track of my Church-Storie; but finding nothing but stirs and storms therein, I will onely goe on fair and softly in my beaten path of Ecclesiastical affairs. Bishop *Land* had no great cause to be a Mourner at the Funerals of this Parliament, having entred it in his Diarie, that it endevored his destruction. January 20

Proclamation against the Bishop of *Chalcedon*.

72. At this time *Richard Smith* (distinct from *Henrie Smith*, *alias Lloyd*, a Jesuite, whom some confound as the same person) being in *title* Bishop of *Chalcedon* in *Greece*, in *truth* a dangerous English Priest, acted and exercised Episcopal

Anno Regis Caroli 4 March 24 — Anno Dom. 1618

Episcopal Jurisdiction over the Catholiques here, by Commission from the Pope, appearing in his *Pontificalibus* in *Lancashire*, with his *Miter* and *Crosier* to the wonder of poor People, and conferring Orders, and the like. This was much offensive to the Regulars, as intrenching on their Priviledges, who countermined him as much as they might. His Majestie, having notice of this Romish Agent, renewed his Proclamation (one of a former date taking no effect) for his apprehension, promising an hundred pounds to be presently paid to him that did it, besides all the profits which accrewed to the Crown, as legally due from the person who entertained him.

72. However such as hid and harbored him, were neither frighted with the penalty, nor flattered with the profit, to discover him. But *Smith*, conceiving his longer stay here to be dangerous, conveyed himself over into *France*, where he became a *Confident* of Cardinal *Richelieu's*. The conveniencie and validity of his Episcopal power was made the subject of several Books which were written thereon,

He flyeth into *France*.

In favor of him.	In opposition to him.
1. *N. de Maistre*, a *Sorbon*-Priest, in his book entituled *De persecutione Episcoporum, & De illustrissimo Antistite* Chalcedonensi.	1. *Daniel*, a Jesuite.
2. *The Faculty of Paris*, which censured all such as opposed him.	2. *Horucan*.
	3. *Lumley*.
	4. *Nicolas Smith*.

This *Chalcedon Smith* wrote a book called *The Prudential Ballance*, much commended by men of his own perswasion; and, for ought I know, is still alive.

74. Within the compass of this year dyed the Reverend *Tobie Matthew*, Archbishop of *York*. He was born in the *Somersetshire*-side of *Bristol*, and in his childhood had a marvellous preservation, when with a fall he brake his foot, ancle, and small of his leg, which were so soon recovered to eye, [d] use, sight, service, that not the least mark remained thereof. Coming to *Oxford*, he fixed at last in *Christ-Church*, and became Dean thereof. He was one of a proper person (such People, *cæteris paribus*, and sometimes *cæteris imparibus*, were preferred by the Queen) and an excellent Preacher, *Campian* himself confessing, that he did *dominari in Concionibus*. He was of a cheerfull spirit, yet without any trespass on Episcopal gravity, there lying a real distinction between *facetiousness* and *nugacitie*. None could condemn him for his pleasant wit, though often he would condemn himself, as so habited therein, he could as well *not be*, as *not be merrie*, and not take up an innocent jeast as it lay in the way of his discourse.

The death and Character of *Tobie Matthew*.

[d] *Sr. John Harington*, in his continuation of Bishop *Godwin's* Catalogue of Bishops.

75. One passage must not be forgotten. After he had arrived at his greatness, he made one journey into the *West*, to visit his two Mothers; her that bare him at *Bristol*, and her that bred him in learning, the University of *Oxford*. Coming neer to the latter, attended with a train suitable to his present condition, he was met almost with an equall number, who came out of *Oxford* to give him entertainment. Thus augmented with another troop, and remembring he had passed over a small water a poor Scholar, when first coming to the University, he kneeled down and took up the expression of *Jacob*, *With my staff came I over this* Jordan, *and now I am become two Bands*. I am credibly informed, that, *mutatis mutandis*, the same was performed by his Predecessor, Archbishop *Hutton* at *Sophisters Hills* nigh *Cambridge*, and am so far from distrusting either, that I beleeve both.

His gratitude unto God,

76. He dyed *yeerly* in report, and I doubt not, but that in the Apostles sense he *dyed dayly* in his mortifying meditations. He went over the graves of many who looked for his Archbishoprick; I will not say they catched a cold in waiting barefoot for a living mans shoes. His wife, the Daughter of Bishop *Barlow* (a Confessor in Queen *Maries* dayes) was a prudent, and a

Died yeerly.

provident matrone. Of this extraction came *Sir Tobie Matthew*, having all his Fathers name, many of his natural parts, few of his moral vertues, fewer of his spiritual graces, as being an invererate enemy to the Protestant Religion. *George Mountaine* succeeded him, scarce warm in his Church before cold in his Coffin, as not continuing many moneths therein.

Anno Dom. 1528 | Anno Regis Caroli 4

The death of Bishop *Felton.*

77 I humbly crave the Readers Pardon for omitting due time of the death of reverend Dr. *Nicholas Felton* Bishop of *Ely*, as buried before (though dying some dayes after) *Bishop Andrews*: and indeed great was the conformity betwixt them: Both being Sons of *Seafaring* * *Men*, (who by Gods blessing on their industry, attained comfortable estates) both Scholars, Fellows, and Masters of *Pembrook Hall*, both great Scholars, painfull Preachers in *London* for many years, with no less profit to others than credit to themselves, both successively *Bishops of Ely*. This Bishop *Felton* had a *sound Head* and a *sanctified Heart*, beloved of God, and all good men, very Hospitable to all, and charitable to the poor. He died the 5. of *October* 1626, and lieth buried under the Communion Table in *St. Antholins* in *London*, whereof he had been Minister for *twenty* * *eight years*. One (whilst a private man) happy in his Curates (whereof two *Dr. Bowles*, and *Dr. Westfield* afterwards became Bishops) and (when a *Bishop*) no lesse happy in his learned and religious Chaplains.

* Bishop *Andrews* in *London*, and *Felton* in *Yarmouth.*

* Attested unto me by *John Nargate* his Son in Law.

TO

TO

JOHN CARY,

OF

STANSTED in HARTFORD-SHIRE, Esq;

RAre is your hapineſs in leaving *the* Court, *before* it *left* you. *Not in deſerting your attendance on your* Maſter, (*of whom none more conſtantly obſervant*) *but in quitting ſuch vanities, which the* Court *then in* Power *did tender, and* You, *then in* Prime, *might have accepted. Whileſt you ſeaſonably retrenched your Self, and reduced your Soul to an* Holy Seriouſnes, *declining ſuch* expenſive Recreations, (*on Principles of* Piety, *as wel as* Providence) *wherewith your Youth was ſo much affected.*

And now Sir, ſeeing you are ſo judicious in RACING, *give me leave to proſecute the* Apoſtles Metaphore, *in applying my beſt wiſhes to you and to your worthy* Lady, *which hath repaired the* Loſſes *cauſed by Loyalty, ſo that you have* found *in a* virtuous Mate, *what you have loſt for a* gracious Maſter.

Heaven *is your* Mark, Chriſt *your* way *thither, the* Word *the way to* Chriſt, Gods Spirit *the* Guide *to both. When in this Race Impatience ſhall make you to tire, or Ignorance to ſtray, or Idleneſs to ſtay, or Weakneſs to ſtumble, or Wilfulnes to fall; may Repentance raiſe you, Faith quicken you, Patience ſtrengthen you, til* Perſeverance *bring you both to the Mark.*

Anno Regis Caroli 5 — Anno Dom. 1629 — Wednesday May 13.

1. QUeen *Mary* ſurpriſed with ſome fright, (as is generally beleeved) antedated the time of her travel by ſome weeks, and was delivered of a *Son.* But a greater acceleration was endeavoured in his *Baptiſme*, than what happened at his *Birth*, ſuch the forwardnes of the *Popiſh Prieſts*, to ſnatch him from the *hands* of thoſe as *dreſſed* him, had not the care of K. *Charles* prevented them, aſſigning *Dr. Web* (then waiting his Moneth) to *Chriſten* him. He died about an houre after; the King very patiently bearing the loſs, as receiving the

The birth and death of Pr. *Charles.*

Anno Dom. 1629 | Anno Regis Caroli 5

first fruits of some of his *Subjects* estates, and as willingly paying those of his own Body, to the *King* of *Heaven*.

Oxford Musck. 2. The University of *Oxford*, (*Cambridge* being then heavily infected with the Plague) at once in their verses *congratulated* the *safe Birth*, and condoled the *short life* of this *Prince*, and a *Tetrastich*, made by one of *Christ-Church*, (thus in making his addresse to the *Queen*) I must not omit.

Quòd Lucina tuos semel est frustrata Labores,
Nec fortunantes præbuit illa manus,
Ignoscas Regina: uno molimine Ventris,
Non potuit Princeps ad tria Regna dari.

This Prince the next day after was buried by Bishop *Land* in the Chappel at *Westminster*.

Dr. Leighton his railing Book. 3. During the sitting of the last *Parliament*, one *Leighton* a *Scotish-man* presented a Book unto them: had he been an *English man*, we durst call him a *furious*, and now will terme him a *fiery* (whence *kindled* let other ghess) *Writter*. His Book consisted of a continued railing, from the beginning to the end; exciting the Parliament and People to kil all the Bishops, and to smite them under the *fifth Rib*. He bitterly enveyed against the *Queen*, calling her a *Daughter* of *Heth*, a *Canaanite* and *Idolatress*, and *ZIONS PLEA was* the specious Title of his *Pamphet*; for which he was sentenced in the *Star*-chamber, to be whipt and stigmatized, to have his eares cropt and nose slit. But betwixt the *pronouncing* and *inflicting* this *Censure*, he makes his escape into *Bedford-shire*. May 14

Recovered (after his escape) and severely punished. 4. The *Warden* of the *Fleet* was in a *Bushel* of *Troubles* about his escape, though alledging that some helped him over the wal, and that he himself knew nothing thereof til the *noon* after. But no *plea* seemed available for one in his *place* but either the *keeping*, or *recovering* of his *Prisoner*, *unfortunate* in the *former*, he was *happy* in the *latter*, & brought him back into his custody; so that the aforesaid censure was inflicted on him. It is remarkable, that amongst the many accusations charged on Archbishop *Land* at his trial, the *severity* on *Leighton* is not at all mentioned, chiefly because (though he might be suspected active therein) his faults were of so high a nature none *then* or *since* dare appear in his defence. The Papists boast that they have beyond the Seat, with them, his *Son* of *another perswasion*.

Feoffees to buy in impropriations. 5. Some three yeers since, certain *feoffees* were (though not *incorporated* by the Kings *Letters Patent*, or any *Act of Parliament*) legally setled in trust to purchase in *impropriations* with their own and other well disposed Persons money, and with their profit to set up and maintain a constant preaching Ministry in places of greatest need, where the word was most wanting. These consisted of a number neither too *few*, as the *work* should *burden* them, nor so many, as might be a *burden* to the *work*, *twelve* in all, diversly qualified.

1	*William Gouge*	Drs. in Divinity.
2	*Richard Sibbs*	
3	*C. Offspring*	
4	*F. Davenport*	
5	*Ralph Eyre*	of *Lincolns Inn.*
6	*S. Brown*	
7	*C. Sherland*	of *Graves Inn.*
8	*John White*	of *Middle Temple.*
9	*John Geering*	Citizens.
10	*Richard Davis*	
11	*George Harwood*	
12	*Francis Bridges*	

Here

Anno Regis Caroli 6 | Anno Dom. 1630

Here were four *Divines*, to perſwade mens *conſciences*, four *Lawyers* to draw all *conveiances*, and four *Citizens* who commanded rich *Coffers*, wanting nothing, ſave (ſince doth all *things*) ſome *Swordmen*, to defend all the reſt. Beſides theſe the *Capemerchants* (as I may term them) there were other inferiour *Factors*, Mr. *Foxley*, &c. who were imployed by *appointment*, or of *officiouſnes* imployed themſelves in this deſigne.

Begin and proceed hopefully.

6. It is incredible, what large ſums were advanced in a ſhort time towards ſo laudable an imployment. There are indeed in *England* of *Pariſh Churches*, *nine thouſand two hundred eighty four*, endowed with Glebe and Tithes. But of theſe, (when theſe *Feoffees* entered on their work) *three thouſand eight hundred fourty five* were

either { *Appropriated* to *Biſhops*, *Cathedrals* and *Colledges*,
or { *Impropriated* (as *Lay-fees*) to *private perſons*, as formerly belonging to *Abbies*.

The *redeeming* and *reſtoring* of the latter, was theſe *Feoffees* deſigne, and it was verily believed (if not obſtructed in their endeavours) within *fifty yeers*, rather *Purchaſes* then *Money* would have been wanting unto them, buying them generally (as *Candle-rents*) at or under *twelve yeers* valuation. My Pen paſſing by them at the preſent, may ſafely ſalute them with a God ſpeed, as neither ſeeing nor ſuſpecting any danger in the *Deſigne*.

The Biſhop of *Chalcedon* his Epiſcopizing in *England*

7. *Richard Smith* titulary *Biſhop* of *Chalcedon* taking his *honor* from *Greece*, his *profit* from *England* (where he *Biſhoped it* over all the *Romiſh Catholiques*) was now very buſie in his imployment. But *when*, *where* and *how oft* he acted here, is paſt our *diſcoverie*, it being never known when Men of his profeſſion *come* hither, till they be *caught* here. Now if any demand why the *Pope* did not intitle him to ſome *Engliſh* rather then this *Grecian Biſhoprick* (the *grant* of both being but of the ſame price of his *Holyneſs* his breath, and the *confirmation* equally cheap in *wax* and *parchment*) eſpecially ſeeing that in *Ireland* he had made *Anti-Biſhops* to all *Sees*, it is eaſie for one (though none of his *Conclave*) to conjecture. For in *Ireland* he had in every *Dioceſſe* and *Pariſh* a *Counter-Part* of People for number and quality, which he had not in *England*, and therefore to intitle *Biſhops* here, had but rendered it the more ridiculous in the *granter*, and dangerous in the *accepter* thereof.

June 1

Oppoſed by *Nicholas Smith*.

8. *Nicholas Smith* a *Regular*, (and perchance a *Jeſuit*) much ſtomacked the *advancement* and *activitie* of *Richard Smith Biſhop* of *Chalcedon* and wrote bitterly againſt him, the *hammer* of one *Smith* claſhing againſt another. He fell foul alſo on Dr. *Kelliſon Preſident* of the *Colledge* of *Doway*, who lately ſet forth a *Treatiſe of the Dignitie and neceſſity of Biſhop and Secular Clergy*, generally oppoſing his *Doctrine*, and particularly in relation to the *Engliſh Biſhops*, inſtancing in the following exceptions.

Alledging a Biſhop over Engliſh Catholiques uſeleſſe in perſecution.

9. Firſt, a *Biſhop* over the *Engliſh* was uſeleſſe, and might well be ſpared *in times of perſecution*, there being but two peculiar performances of a *Biſhop*. *viz. Ordination and Confirmation*. For the former it might be ſupplyed by *Forein Biſhops*; the *Prieſts* of our *Engliſh nation* being generally bred beyond the *Seas*. As for *confirmation* of the *Children* of *Engliſh Catholiques*, he much decryed the neceſſity thereof (though not ſo far as to *un-ſeven* the *Sacraments* of the *Church* of *Rome*) affirming it out of *St.* * *Thomas* of *Aquin*, and other *Divines*, that, by *commiſſion* from the *Pope*, a *Prieſt*, though no *Biſhop*, might confirme. To this *Dr. Kelliſon* his *Scholar* (or himſelfe under the vizard) replyed, that in the definition of *St. Cyprian*. *A Church was a people united to its Biſhop*, and therefore an abſolute neceſſity of that function.

* 3. p. q. 79. *art.* 11. *ad* 1.

And burthenſome.

10. Secondly, he was *burthenſome* to the *Church*, conſidering the preſent preſſures of poor *Engliſh Catholiques*, needing now no unneceſſary expences for the maintenance of the *Biſhop* and his *Agents*. To this it was anſwered, that *Mr. Nicholas Smith*, and his *Brethren*, *Regulars*, dayly put the *Catholiques*

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to farre greater charges, as [a] appeareth by the *stately Houses, Purchases &c.* Indeed generally the *little finger* of a *Jesuit* was conceived, in his entertainment, heavier than the *Loines* of a *Secular*. Mean time in what care were our *English Lay Catholiques*, with *Issachar couching down between two burthens*, [b] bearing the weight of both *Regulars* and *Seculars*? But who need pity them who will not pity themselves?

[a] Reply to Mr. N. Smith pag. 294.

[b] Gen. 49.

11. Thirdly, he took exceptions at the person of this *Bishop* of *Chalcedon*, as not lawfully called in *Canonical Criticisme*. First, because not estated in his *Episcopall inspection* over *England*, during his life (as a Bishop ought to be) but onely constituted *ad beneplacitum Papæ*, at the pleasure of the *Pope*, which restriction destroyeth his being a *Lawfull Ordinary*. Secondly, he carpeth at him as made by *Delegation* and *Commission*, and therefore a *Delegate* not an *Ordinarie*. To which the other replyed, that even *Legates* have that clause in their *Commission*, limited to the *Popes pleasure*, and yet no *Catholique* will question them to be *Lawfull Ordinaries*. As to the second exception, the same (saith he) doth not destroy his *Ordinary-ship*, but onely sheweth he was made an *Ordinary*, in an *extraordinary manner*: which *distinction* how farre it will hold good in the *Canon Law*, let those enquire who are concerned therein.

And this Bishop no Ordinary.

12. Notwithstanding *Dr. Kellison* his confutation, the insolency of the *Regulars* daily increased in *England*, so that they themselves may seem the most *seculars*; so fixed were they to the *wealth* and *vanity* of this world. The *Irish Regulars* exceeded the *English* in *pride*, maintaining (amongst other *printed propositions*) that *the Superiours of Regulars are more worthy than Bishops themselves*, because the honor of the *Pastor* is to be measured from the condition of the *Flock*: *quemadmodum Opilio dignior est subulco, as a Shepheard is of more esteem than a Hoggard*. In application of the first to themselves, the last to the *Seculars*, it is hard to say whether their pride was more in their owne praise, or charity lesse in condemning of others. It was therefore high time for the *Doctors of Sorbone* in *Paris* (who for many ages have maintained in their *Colledge*, the *hereditarie reputation* of *learning*) to take these *Regulars* to taske. Sixty of the *Sorbone* Doctors censured the aforesaid *proposition*, and the *Archbishop* of *Paris* condemned the *Booke* of *Nicholas Smith*, as also another tending to the same subject, made by one *Daniel* a Jesuit.

Regulars pride & proposition condemned.

163⅓ January 15 30.

13. On what tearms the *Regulars* and *Seculars* stand in *England* at this day, I neither know nor list to enquire. Probably they have learned wit from our woes, and our late sad differences have occasioned their reconcilement. Only I learn this distinction from them, the *Catholiques* [a] *as Catholiques agree always in matters of faith, but the best Catholiques as men may varie in their opinions.* I hope they will allow to us, what liberty they assume to themselves.

Quere whether now reconciled

[a] Reply to Mr. N. Smith preface p. 20.

14. Dr. *John Davenant Bishop* of *Salisburie* preached his course on a *Sunday* in *Lent* at *White-Hall* before the *King* and *Court*, finishing a *Text Rom.* 6. 23. the former part whereof he had handled the yeer before. In prosecution whereof it seems he was conceived to fall on some *forbidden points*, in so much that his *Majestie* (whether at first by his own *inclination*, or others *instigation*, is uncertain) manifested much displeasure thereat. Sermon ending his *Adversaries* at *Court* hoped hereby *to make him fall totally and finally from the Kings favour*, though missing their mark herein, as in fine it did appear.

Bishop Davenant his Sermon at Court.

March

15. Two daies after he was called before the *Privie Councell*, where he presented himself on his knees, and so had still continued for any favour he found from any of his own function there present. But the *Temporall Lords* bad him arise and stand to his own defence, being as yet only accused, not convicted. Dr. *Harsnet Archbishop of York* managed all the businesse against him (*Bishop Laud* walking by all the while in silence spake not one word) making a long oration uttered with much vehemency to this effect.

For which he is convented before the Councell.

First,

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First, He magnified *King James* his bounty unto him, who from a private *Master* of a *Colledge* in *Cambridge* (without any other immediate preferment) advanced him by an unusuall rise to the great and rich *Bishoprick* of *Salisbury*.

Secondly, He extolled the piety and prudence of *King Charles* in setting forth lately an usefull *Declaration*, wherein he had commanded that many intricate questions tending more to distraction then edification of people, should utterly be forborn in preaching, and which had already produced much peace in the Church.

Thirdly, He aggravated the hainousnesse of the *Bishops* offence, who so ill requited his Majesties favour unto him, as to offer in his own presence, in so great an *Auditorie* to break his *Declaration*, inviting others by his example to doe the like.

Fourthly, that *high contempt* was the lowest tearm could be given to such an offence, seeing ignorance could in no probability be pretended in a person of his reputed learning and eminent Profession.

What the other answered hereunto will best appear by his own letter written to his worthy *friend Doctor Ward*, giving him an exact account of all proceedings herein in manner as followeth.

March 24 — Bishop *Davenant* his relation of the whole matter in his letter to Doctor *Ward*.

"16. As for my Court businesse, though it grieved me that the establi-
"shed Doctrine of our Church should be distasted, yet it grieved me the
"lesse, because the truth of what I delivered was acknowledged even by
"those which thought fit to have me questioned, for the deliverie of it.
"Presently after my Sermon was ended, it was signified unto me by my
"L. of *York*, and my L. of *Winchester*, and my L. *Chamberlain*, that his Majesty
"was much displeased, that I had stirred this question which he had for-
"bidden to be medled withall, one way or other: My answer was that I had
"delivered nothing, but the received Doctrine of our Church established
"in the 17 Article, and that I was ready to justify the truth of what I had
"then taught. Their answer was, the Doctrine was not gainsaid, but his
"Highnesse had given command, these questions should not be debated,
"and therefore he took it more offensively that any should be so bold, as
"in his own hearing to break his royall commands. And here my L. of
"*York* aggravated the offence, from many other circumstances. My reply
"was only this. That I never understood that his Majesty had forbid a
"handling of any Doctrine comprised in the Articles of our Church, but
"only raising of new questions, or adding of new sense thereunto, which I
"had not done, nor ever should doe. This was all that passed betwixt us
"on Sunday night after my Sermon. The matter thus rested, and I heard
"no more of it, till coming unto the Tuesday Sermon, one of the Clerks
"of the Councell told me, that I was to attend at the Councell-Table, the
"next day at two of the clock. I told him I would wait upon their Lord-
"ships at the hour appointed. When I came thither, my L. of *York* made
"a speech well nigh of half an hour long, aggravating the boldnesse of mine
"offence, and shewing many inconveniences that it was likely to draw after
"it. And he much insisted upon this; what good effect his Majesties De-
"claration had wrought, how these controversies had ever since been bu-
"ried in silence, no man medling with them one way or other. When his
"Grace had finished his speech, I desired the Lords, that since I was called
"thither as an offender, I might not be put to answer a long speech upon
"the suddain, but that my Lords grace would be pleased to charge me
"point by point, and so to receive my answer, for I did not yet understand
"wherein I had broken any commandement of his Majesties, which my
"Lord in his whole discourse took for granted. Having made this motion,

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" I gave no further answer, and all the Lords were silent for a while. At " length my Lords Grace said I knew well enough the point which was ur- " ged against me, namely the breach of the Kings Declaration. Then I " stood upon this Defence, that the Doctrine of Predestination which I " taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration: First, because in the De- " claration all the Articles are established, amongst which, the Article of " Predestination is one. Secondly, because all Ministers are urged to sub- " scribe unto the truth of the Article, and all Subjects to continue in the " profession of that as well as of the rest. Upon these and such like grounds, I " gathered, it could not be esteemed amongst forbidden, curious, or need- " less Doctrines; and here I desired that out of any Clause in the Declara- " tion it might be shewed me, that keeping my selfe within the bounds of " the Article, I had transgressed his Majesties command; but the Declara- " tion was not produced, nor any particular words in it; onely this was ur- " ged that the Kings will was, that for the peace of the Church these high " questions should be forborne. My answer then was, that I was sorry I " understood not his Majesties intention, which if I had done before, I " should have made choice of some other matter to intreat of, which might " have given none offence; and that for the time to come, I should conform " my self as readily as any other to his Majesties command. The Earle of " *Arundell* seemed to approve of this my answer, and withall advised me to " proceed no further in my defence. This is in substance all which was done " or said in this matter, and so I was dismissed. The Lords said nothing ei- " ther in approbation of what I had alleadged, to shew that I had not wit- " tingly broken the Kings known command, or in confirmation of the con- " trary, urged against me by my Lords Grace. At my departure I intreated " their Lordships to let his Majesty understand, that I had not boldly, or " wilfully and wittingly, against his Declaration, medled with the fore- " named point; and that now understanding fully his Majesties minde, and " intention, I should humbly yeeld obedience thereunto. This business " thus ended, I went the next day to my L. *Chamberlain*, and intreated him " to doe me the favor, that I might be brought to kisse the Kings hand, be- " fore I went out of Town, which his Lordship most readily promised and " performed. When I came in, his Majesty declared his resolution, that " he would not have this high point medled withall or debated, either the " one way or the other, because it was too high for the peoples understand- " ing, and other points which concern Reformation and newnes of life, " were more needfull and profitable. I promised obedience herein, and so " kissing his Majesties hand departed. I thought fit to acquaint you with the " whole cariage of this business, because I am afraid many false reports will " be made of it, and contrary one to another, as men stand contrarily affe- " cted. I shewed no letter or instructions, neither have any but these gene- " rall instructions, which King *James* gave us at our going to Dort, which " make little or nothing to this business. I sought amongst my papers, but " could not finde them on the suddain, and I suppose you have them alrea- " dy. As for my Sermon the brief heads were these: *Eternall life is the gift* Text, Rom. 6. 23. " *of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* As in the former part, I had spoken " of the threefold miserie of the wicked; so here I expounded the threefold " happines of the godly to be considered.

1. *Happy* in the Lord whom they serve: God or Christ Jesus.
2. *Happy* in the reward of their service: Eternall life.
3. *Happy* in the manner of their reward: χαρισμα, or *gratuitum donum in Christo.*

" The two former points were not excepted against. In the third and last I " confidered eternall life in three divers instances, in the eternall destination

" thereunto

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"thereunto which we call Election, in our Conversion, Regeneration, or "Justification, which I termed the *Embryo* of Eternall life, *John* 4. 14. And "last of all in our Coronation, when full possession of eternall life is given "us. In all these I shewed it to be χάρισμα or the free gift of God through "Christ, & not procured, or premerited, by any speciall Acts depending up- "on the free will of Men. The last point, wherein I opposed the Popish Do- "ctrin of Merit was not disliked. The second, wherein I shewed the "effectuall Vocation or Regeneration (whereby we have Eternall life in- "choated and begun in us) is a free gift, was not expressly taxed. Only the "first was it which bred the offence, not in regard of the Doctrin it self, "but because (as my Lords grace said) the King had prohibited the deba- "ting thereof. And thus having let you understand the carriage of this bu- "sinesse I commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

17. This yeer *Thomas Dove Bishop* of *Peterborough* ended his life. He was bred in *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, chosen *Tanquam* therein, which it seems is a *Fellow* in all things save the name thereof. Afterwards *Chaplain* to *Q. Elizabeth* who made him *Dean* of *Norwich*, being much affected with his *Preaching*, as wont to say that, *The* * *Holy Ghost was again come down in the Dove.* He was a constant *Housekeeper* and *Reliever* of the *Poor*, so that such who in his life time condemned him for *Covetousnesse*, have since justly praised his *Hospitality*. Now though *Doves* are generally said to want gall, yet the *Non-conformists* in his *Diocesse* will complain of his severity in asserting *Ecclesiasticall Discipline*, when he silenced five of them in one morning, on the same token that *King James* is said to say *it might have served for five yeers.* He was an aged man, being the only *Queen Elizabeths Bishop* of that *Province* which died in the *Reign* of *King Charles*, living in a *poor Bishoprick*, and leaving a *plentifull estate*: to shew that it is not the *moisture* of the *Place*, but the *long lying* of the *stone*, which gathereth the great *mosse therein.* In a word, had he been more carefull in conferring of *Orders* (too commonly bestowed by him) few of his *Order* had exceeded him for the unblamablenesse of his behaviour.

The death of Bishop *Dove.*

* *Godwin* in the Bishops of *Peterborough*, and Sir *John Harington* in his continuation.

18. Now began great *discontents* to grow up in the *University* of *Oxford* on this occasion. Many conceived that *Innovations* (defended by others for *Renovations*, and now only reduced, as used in the *Primitive times*) were multiplied in Divine service. Offended whereat, they in their Sermons brake out into (what was interpreted) *bitter invectives.* Yea their very *Texts* gave some *offence*, one preaching on *Numbers* 14. 4. *Let us make us a Captain*, and *let us return into Egypt.* Another on 1 *Kings* 13. 2. *And he cried against the Altar in the word of the Lord*, and said, *O Altar, Altar*, &c. In prosecution whereof they had not only tart reflexion on some eminent Persons in the Church, but also were apprehended to violate the *Kings Declaration*, for the sopiting of all *Arminian* controversies.

Troubles begin in *Oxford.*

19. Dr. *Smith* Warden of *Wadham* convented the principal persons (*viz.* Mr. *Thorn* of *Baliol Col.* and Mr. *Ford* of *Magdalen Hall*) as offenders against the *Kings instructions*, and ordered them to bring in the Copies of their Sermons. They suspecting partiality in the *Vice-Chancellor*, appealed from him to the *Proctors*, two men of eminent integrity and ability, Mr. *Atherton Bruch*, and Mr. *John Doughty*, who received their appeal, presuming the same justifiable by the Statutes of the University. But it seems the *Proctors* were better *Scholars* than *Lawyers*, except any will say both *Law*, and *Learning* must submit, when Power is pleased to interpose.

An appeale from the Vice-chancellor to the Proctors.

20. Archbishop *Laud* did not like these *retrograde appeals*, but sensible that his own strength moved rather *ascendendo*, than *descendendo*, procured the cause to be heard before the King at *Woodstock*, where it was so ordered, that,

Severely punished.

1 The Preachers complained of, were expelled the University.

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2. The Proctors were deprived of their places for accepting their appeal.

3. Dr. *Prideaux*, and Dr. *Wilkinson* were shrewdly checkt for engaging in their behalf.

The former of these two Doctors ingenuously confessing to the King, *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit*, wrought more on his Majesties affections, than if he had *harangued* it with a long oration in his own defence.

And ill resented.

21. The *expulsion* of these Preachers *expelled* not, but *increased* the difference in *Oxford*, which *burnt* the more for *blazing* the lesse, many complaining, that the Sword of Justice did not cut indifferently on both sides, but that it was more *Penal* for some to *touch*, than others to *break* the Kings *declaration*.

The death of Mr. Hildersham.

22. This yeare ended the dayes of *Mr. Arthur Hildersham*, born at *Stechworth* in the *County*, bred in *Christ-College* in the *University* of *Cambridge*, whose education was an experimentall *Comment* on the words of *David*, *When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord taketh me up*.*

* Psalm 27. 10.

Mr. Father	*Thomas Hildersham* a Gentleman of an ancient Family.
And Mother	*Anne Poole*, daughter to Sir *Jeffery*, neece to *Cardinall Poole*, grandchild to Sir *Richard Poole*, and *Margaret* Countess of *Sarisbury*, who was daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*.
Forsake me	Quite casting him off because he would not be bred a Papist, and goe to *Rome*.
THEN	An *emphatical Monosyllable*, just in that *nick of time*.
The Lord taketh me up.	Not immediately (miracles being ceased) but in and by the *Hands* of *Henry* Earl of *Huntingdon* (his honorable kinsman) providing plentifull maintenance for him.

Often silenced and restored.

23. However, after he was entred in the Ministery, he met with many molestations, as hereby doth appear.

1	silenced by	The High Commission, 1590. in June.
2		Bishop *Chaderton*, 1605. April 24.
3		Bishop *Neile*, 1611. in November.
4		The Court at *Leeds*. 1630. March 4.
1	restored by	The High Commission, 1591. in January.
2		Bishop *Barlow*, 1608. in January.
3		Doctor * *Ridley*, 1625. June 20.
4		The same Court, 1631. August. 2.

* Vicar Gen. to Archbishop *Abbot*.

And now me thinks I hear the Spirit speaking unto him, as once to the Prophet * *Ezechiel*, *Thou shal speak and be no more dumb*, singing now with the Celestiall Quire of Saints and Angels. Indeed though himself a *Non-conformist*, he loved all honest men, were they of a different judgment, minded like *Luther* herein, who gave for his *Motto*, *In quo aliquid CHRISTI video, illum diligo*.

* 24. 27.

His long and assiduous preaching.

24. He was Minister of *Ashby de la Zouch fourty* and *three yeers*. This putteth me in minde of *Theodosius* and of *Valentinian* (two worthy Christian Emperors) their constitutions making those Readers of the Civil Law, *Counts* of

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of the *first* Order, *cùm* ad viginti annos observatione jugi, ac sedulo docendi labore pervenerint, when with daily observation and diligent labor of teaching they shall arrive at twenty yeers.* Surely the Readers of *Gods Law* which *double that time* shal not lose their reward.

* c. Th. Lib. 6 tit. 21.

25. The same yeer died *Robert Bolton*, born in *Lancashire*, bred in *Brasennose* Colledge in *Oxford*, beneficed at *Broughton* in *Northamptonshire*. An *authoritative Preacher*, who majestically became the Pulpit, and whose life is exactly * written at large, to which I refer such as desire farther satisfaction. And here may the Reader be pleased to take notice, that henceforward we shall on just grounds forbear the description of such Divines, as yeerly deceased. To say nothing of them save the *dates* of their *deaths*, will add little to the *readers* information, to say much in *praise* or *dispraise* of them, (wherein their *relations* are so nearly concerned) may add too much to the *Writers* danger. Except therefore they be persons so eminent for their *learning*, or *active* for their *lives*, as their *omission* may make a *maim* in our *History*, we shall passe them over in silence hereafter.

The death of *Bolton*.

* By my good friend Mr. *Baxshaw*.

26. Archbishop *Land* began to look with a jealous eye on the *Feoffees* for *Impropriations*, as who in process of time would prove a *thorne* in the *sides* of *Episcopacy*, and by their purchases become the *prime Patrones*, for *number* and *greatness* of *benefices*. This would multiply their *dependents*, and give a secret growth to *Non-conformity*. Whereupon by the Archbishops procurement a *Bil* was exhibited in the *Eschequer Chamber*, by Mr. *Noy* the Atturny Generall, against the *Feoffees* aforesaid, and that *great Lawyer* endevoured to overthrow (as one termed it) their *Apocrypha Incorporation*.

Impropriation Feoffees questioned.

8 1632

27. It was charged against them, first, that they diverted the charity, wherewith they were intrusted, to other uses, * when erecting a Lecture every morning at St. *Antholines* in *London*. What was this but *lighting candles to the Sun*, *London* being already the *Land of Goshen*, and none of those *dark* and far *distant corners*, where *Soules* were ready to *famish* for lack of the *food* of the *word*? What was this but a bold *breach* of their *trust*, even in the *Eye of the Kingdome*?

Their first accusation.

* Being by their Feoffment to erect them where preaching was wanting.

28. They answered that *London* being the chief *staple of charity* and the place where the principall contributers to so pious a work did reside, it was but fit, that it should share in the benefit of their bounty. That they were not so confined to the uses in their Feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the *Eminency*, as *Necessity* of the place; that they expended much of their *own* (as well as *other mens*) *money*, and good reason they should doe therewith as they pleased.

And answere thereunto.

29. It was pressed against them, that they generally preferred *Non conformists* to the Lectures of their Erection. To this it was answered, that none were placed therein, but such whose *Sufficiency* and *Conformity* were first examined and approved by the *Ordinary*, to be to such a Degree as the Law required. Yea it is said that Mr. *White*, one of the *Feoffees*, privately proffered Bishop *Land* at his house in *Fulham*, that if he disliked either the Persons, who managed, or Order which they took in this work, they would willingly submit the alteration to his Lordships discretion.

A second charge against them.

30. In conclusion the Court condemned their proceedings, as dangerous to the *Church* and *State*, pronouncing the *Gifts*, *Feoffments* and *Contrivances* made to the *Uses aforesaid* to be *illegall*, and so dissolved the same, confiscating their money unto the Kings use. Their *criminall* part was *referred* to, but never prosecuted in, the *Star-chamber*, because the Design was generally approved, and both discreet and devout men were (as *desirous* of the *Regulation*, so) *dolefull* at the *ruin* of so pious a Project.

They are overthrown.

31. *Samuel Harsenet* about this time ended his life, born in *Colchester*, bred Scholar, Fellow, Master of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, afterwards

The death of Archbishop *Harsenet*.

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Bishop of *Chicheſter* and *Norwich*, Archbishop of *York*, and privy Counſellor. He was a zealous asſerter of ceremonies, using to complain of (the first I believe who used *the expreſſion*) of CONFORMABLE PURITANS, who practiſed it out of policy, yet diſſented from it in their judgments. He lieth buried in *Chigwell Church* in *Eſſex*, (where he built a School) with this Epitaph, *Indignus Epiſcopus Cicestrenſis, indignior Norvicenſis, & indigniſſimus Archiepiſcopus Eboracenſis.*

Bradborn his erroneous opinion.

32. Now the Sabbatarian controverſie begun to be revived, which brake forth into a long and hot contention. *Theophilus Bradborn*, a Miniſter of *Suffolk*, sounded the first trumpet to this fight, who some five yeers since, namely *anno* 1628. set forth a Book, dedicated to his Majesty, intituled, *A defence of the moſt ancient, and ſacred ordinance of God, The Sabbath Day*: maintaining therein,

1. The fourth Commandement simply, and entirely moral.
2. Christians, as well as Jews, obliged to the everlasting observation of that day.
3. That the *Lords-day* is an ordinary working-day, it being will-worship, and superstition to make it a Sabbath by vertue of the fourth Commandement.

But whileſt Mr. *Bradborn* was marching furiously, and crying *Victoria* to himself, he fell into the ambush of the *High Commiſſion*, whose well tempered severity herein so prevailed upon him, that, submitting himself to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundneſſe of his own principles, he became a Convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of *England*.

Sabbatarian controverſies revived.

2. *Francis White* Bishop (formerly of *Norwich*) then of *Ely*, was employed by his Majesty, to confute Mr. *Bradborn* his erroneous opinion. In the writing whereof, some expreſſions fell from his pen, whereat many strict people (but far enough from *Bradborn's* conceipt) took great distaſte. Hereupon Books begat Books, and controverſies on this subject were multiplied, reducible to five principal heads.

1. What is the fittest name to signifie the day set apart for Gods publique service?
2. When that day is to begin, and end?
3. Upon what authority the keeping thereof is bottomed?
4. Whether or no the day is alterable?
5. Whether any recreations, and what kindes of them, be lawfull on that day?

And they are distinguiſhable into three severall opinions:

Sabbatarians.	*Moderate men.*	*Anti-Sabbatarians.*
1	1.	1
Are charged to affect the word *Sabbath* as a *Shibboleth* in their writing, preaching, and discourſing, to distinguiſh the true *Iſraelites* from *liſping Ephraimites*, as a badg of more [pretended] puritie. As for *Sunday*, some would	*Sabbath* (especially if *Chriſtian* be premiſed) may inoffensively be used, as importing in the original only a *Reſt*. And it is strange that some who have a dearneſſe, yea fondneſs, for some words of *Jewiſh extraction* [Altar, Temple, &c.] should have such an *antipathie* against the *Sabbath*. *Sunday* may not only safely be used, without danger of Paganiſme, but with increaſe of piety, if retaining the name, we alter the *notion*, and therewith the *notion* thereof, because	The word *Sabbath* (as now used) containeth therein a secret Magazeen of Judaiſm, as if the affecters thereof by spirituall Necromancy endeavoured the reviving of dead and rotten Moſaicall Ceremonies.

Sabbatarians.

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Sabbatarians.

not have it mentioned in Christian mouthes, as resenting of Saxon Idolatry, so called from, and dedicated to the *Sunne*, which they adored.

2.

Some make the *Sabbath* to begin on *Saturday* night, (*The evening and the morning were the first day*) and others on the next day in the morning, both agreeing on the extent thereof for four and twenty hours.

3.

They found it partly on the law, and light of nature, deriving some countenances for the septenary number, out of heathen authours: and partly on the fourth Commandement, which they avouch equally moral with the rest.

Moderate-Men.

on that day *The*[a] *Sunne of Righteousnesse did arise with healing in his wings.* But the most proper name is the *Lords-day*, as ancient, used in the Apostles[b] time; and most expressive, being both an *Historian*, and *Preacher*. For, the *Lords day* looking backward mindeth us what the Lord did for us thereon, rising from the dead: and, looking forward, it monisheth us what we ought to doe for him on the same, spending it to his glory, in the proper duties thereof.

2.

The question is not of so great concernment. For, in all circular motions, it matters not so much where one beginneth, so be it he continueth the same, untill he return unto that point again. Either of the aforesaid compurations of the day may be embraced.

—— *Diésq; quiésq; redibit in orbem.*

3.

In the *Lords day* three things are considerable.

1. *A day*, founded on the *light of nature*; pure impure Pagans destining whole daies to their idolatrous service.
2. *One day in seven*, grounded on the moral equity of the fourth Commandement, which is like the feet and toes of *Nebuchad-nezzar's*[c] Image, *part of potters clay, and part of iron.* The *clay part*, and *ceremonial moitie* of that Commandement (*viz.* that *seventh day*, or Jewish Sabbath) is mouldred away, and buried in Christ's grave. The *iron part* thereof, *viz.* a mixture of moralitie therein, *one day in seven*, is perpetuall, and everlasting.
3. *This seventh day* (being indeed the eighth from the creation, but one of the seven in the week) is built

Anti-Sabbatarians.

2.

They confine the observation of the day, only to the few hours of publique service.

3.

These *unhinge* the day off from any *Divine Right*, and hang it meerly on Ecclesiasticall authority first introducing it, as custome, and consent of the Church had since established it.

a Mal. 4. 2.

b Revel. 1. 10.

c Dan. 2. 41.

Sabbatarians.	Moderate-Men.	Anti-Sabbatarians.	Anno Dom. 1633	Anno Regis Carol. 9
	on *Divine right* in a larger ſenſe, having an analogy in the Old, and inſinuations in the New Teſtament, with the continued practice of the Church.			
4. The Church, no not *ex plenitudine ſuæ poteſtatis*, may, or can, alter the ſame.	4. Would be right glad of the generall agreement of the Chriſtian Church; but, withall, right ſorry, that the ſame ſhould be abuſed for the alteration of the *Lords day*. But, as there is but little hope of the former: ſo is there no fear of the latter, it being utterly unexpedient to attempt the altering thereof.	4. The Univerſall conſent of the Chriſtian Church may alter it. Yea, [d] one ſaith, that the Church of *Geneva* went about to tranſlate it to *Thurſday*, but, it ſeems, it was carried in the negative.		
5. No exerciſes at all (walking excepted, with which ſtrictneſſe it ſelf cannot be offended) are lawful on this day. Inſomuch as ſome of them have been accuſed of turning the *day of reſt*, into the day of *torture*, and *ſelf-mastration*.	5. The *Sabbath* (in ſome ſort) was Lord (yea, Tyrant) over the Jews; and they by their ſuperſtition, contented vaſſalls under it. Chriſt was [e] *Lord of the Sabbath*, and ſtruck out the teeth thereof. Indeed ſuch recreations as are unlawfull on any day, are moſt unlawfull on that day; yea, recreations doubtfull on other daies, are to be forborn on that day, on the ſuſpicion of unlawfulneſſe. So are all thoſe, which, by their over violence, put people paſt a *praying capacity*. Add alſo thoſe, which, though acted after Evening-Service, muſt needs be preacted by the fancy (ſuch the volatility thereof) all the day before, diſtracting the minde, though the body be at Church. Theſe recreations forbidden, other innocent ones may be permitted.	5. Mixt dancings, Maſques, Interludes, Revells &c. are by them permitted in the intervalls betwixt, but generally after Evening-Service ended.		

d Pocklington in his *Sunday no Sabbath* pag. 8.

e Matth. 12. 8.

f Dr. *Paul Micklewaite*.

A worthy [f] Doctor, who in his Sermons at the *Temple*, no leſs piouſly than learnedly, handled the point of the *Lords-day*, worthily preſſed, that *Gentlefolke* were obliged to a ſtricter *obſervation of the Lords-day, than labouring people. The whole have no need of the Phyſitian, but thoſe who are ſick.* Such as are not *annihilated* with labour, have no title to be *recreated* with liberty. Let Servants, whoſe hands are ever working, whileſt their eies are waking; let ſuch, who all the foregoing week had their Cheeks moiſtned with ſweat, and hands hardened with labor, let ſuch have ſome *recreation* on the *Lords*-day indulged unto them: whilſt perſons of quality, who may be ſaid to *keep Sabbath all the week long*, I mean who reſt from hard labor, are concerned in

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in conscience, to observe the *Lords-day* with the greater abstinence from recreations.

Troubles begin in *Somerset-shire*.

34. Pass we now from the pen, to the practicall part of the Sabbatarian difference. *Somerset-shire* was the stage, whereon the first and fiercest Scene thereof was acted. Here *Wakes* (much different, I dare say, from the *watching* prescribed by our Saviour) were kept on th *Lords day*, with *Church-Ales*, *Bid-Ales*, and *Clerks-Ales*. If the Reader know not the critical meaning, and difference of these words, I list not to be the interpreter; and his ignorance herein, neither is any disgrace, nor can be any damage unto him. The Gentry of that County, perceiving such *revells* the cause of many, and occasion of moe misdemeanors (many acts of wantonness bearing their dates from such meetings) importuned *Sr. Thomas Richardson*, Lord Chief Justice, and Baron *Denham*, then Judges, riding the Western circuit in the Lent vacation, to make a severe Order for the suppressing of all *Ales*, and *Revells* on the *Lords-day*.

March 19

Judg *Richardsons* order against Lords-day Revells.

35. In complyance with their desire, the aforesaid Judges made an order on the 19. day of *March* (founded on former precedents signed by Judge *Popham*, Lord Chief Justice in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth* her Reign) therein *suppressing such Revells, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences daily arising by means thereof*, injoyning the Constables to deliver a copie thereof to the Minister of every Parish, who, on the first *Sunday* in *February*, and likewise the two first *Sundays* before *Easter*, was to publish the same every yeare.

Which he would not revoke.

36. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* beheld this as an usurpation on Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, and complained of the Judges to his Majesty, procuring a Commission to Bishop *Pierce*, and other Divines, to enquire into the manner of publishing this Order, and the Chief Justice his cariage in this business. Notwithstanding all which, the next Assise Judge *Richardson* gave another strict charge against these Revels, required an account of the publication, and execution of the aforesaid Order, punishing some persons for the breach thereof. After whose return to *London* the Archbishop sent for him, and commanded him to revoke his former Order, *as he would answer the contrary at his peril*, telling him it was his Majesties pleasure he should reverse it. The Judge alledged it done at the request of the Justices of the Peace in the County, with the generall consent of the whole Bench, on the view of ancient precedents in that kinde. However, the next Assise he revoked his Order with this limitation, *as much as in him lay*. At what time also the Justices of the Peace in *Somerset shire* (who in birth, brains, spirit and estate were inferiour to no County in *England*) drew up an humble petition to his Majesty, for the suppressing of the aforesaid unlawfull assemblies, concurring with the Lord Chief Justice therein, sending it up by the hand of the *Custos Rotulorum*, to deliver it to the Earle of *Pembroke*, Lord Lieutenant of their County, to present it to his Majesty.

1634

The Kings Declaration. * See the 15. of K. *James*.

37. Just in this juncture of time a Declaration for sports, set forth the fifteenth of King *James*, was revived, and enlarged. For, his Majesty being troubled with petitions on both sides, thought good to follow his Fathers royal example, upon the like occasion in *Lancashire*; and we refer the Reader to what we have writen * before, for arguments *pro* and *con* about the lawfulnesse of publique reading thereof.

The Archbishop excuseth himself.

38. It was charged at his triall, on the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he had caused the reviving, and enlarging of this Declaration, strong presumptions being urged for the proof thereof. He denied it, yet professing his judgment for recreations on that day, alledging the practice of the Church of *Geneva*, allowing shooting in long Bowes &c. thereon. Adding also, that, though indulging liberty to others, in his own person he strictly observed

served that day. A *self-praise*, or rather *self-purging*, because spoken on his life, which seem'd uttered without pride, and with truth, and was not cleerly confured. Indeed they are the best *carvers of libertie* on that day, who cut most for others, and leave least for themselves.

No Injunction to the Ministers.

39. However, there was no expres in this Declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be pressed to the publishing. Many counted it no *Ministers work*, and more proper for the place of the Constable, or Tithing-man to perform it. Must they, who were (if not *worst able*) most unfitting, *hold the Candle* to lighten, and let in licentiousnesse? But, because the Judges had enjoyned the Ministers to read their order in the Church, the Kings Declaration was inforced by the Bishops, to be published by them in the same place.

Yet some silenced for refusall to read the book.

40. As for such whose consciences reluctated to publish the Declaration, various were their evasions. Some left it to their *Curats* to read. Nor was this the *plucking out of a thorn* from their own, *to put it in another Mans conscience*, seeing their *Curats* were perswaded of the lawfulnesse thereof. Others read it indeed themselves, but presently after read the fourth Commandement. And was this fair play, setting God and their King (as they conceived) at odds, that so they themselves might escape in the fray? Others point-blanck refused the reading thereof; for which some of them were suspended *ab officio & beneficio*, some deprived, and moe molested in the High Commission: it being questionable, whether their sufferings procured more pity to them, or more hatred to the causers thereof.

Moderation of some Bishops therein.

41. All Bishops urged not the reading of the Book with rigour alike, nor punished the refusall with equall severity. I hear the loudest, longest, and thickest complaints come from the Dioceses of *Norwich*, and of *Bath* and *Wells*. I knew a Bishop in the *West* (to whom I stood related in kindred, and service) who, being pressed by some to return the names of such as refused to read the Book, to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, utterly denied: and his words to me were these, *I will never turn an accuser of my Brethren, there be enough in the World to take that office.* As for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, much was his moderation in his own Dioceses, silencing but three (in whom also a concurrence of other non-conformities) through the whole extent thereof. But oh! The necessity of the generall day of Judgment, wherein all Mens actions shall be expounded according to their intentions, which here are interpretable according to other Mens inclinations! The Archbishops adversaries imputed this, not to his charity, but policy, Fox-like preying farthest from his own den, and instigating other Bishops to doe more than he would appear in himself. As for his own Visitation-Articles, some complained they were but *narrow* as they were *made*, and *broad* as they were *measured*; his under-officers improving, and enforcing the same, by their enquiries, beyond the letter thereof.

Licentiousness increaseth.

42. Many complain that Mans badness took occasion to be worse, under the protection of these sports permitted unto them. For, although liberty on the *Lords-day* may be so limited in the notions of learned men, as to make it lawfull, it is difficult (if not impossible) so to confine it in the actions of lewd people, but that their liberty will degenerate into licentiousness.

Conceived by some, a concurring cause of our civil Warrs.

43. Many moderate Men are of opinion, that this abuse of the *Lords-day* was a principall procurer of Gods anger, since poured out on this land, in a long and bloody civil war. Such observe, that our fights of chief concernment were often fought on the *Lords-day*, as pointing at the punishing of the profanation thereof. Indeed amongst so many battells which in ten yeers time have rent the bowels of *England*, some on necessity would fall on that day (seeing we have *be-rubrick'd* each day in the week, almost in the yeer, with English blood) and therefore to pick a *solemne providence* out of a

common

Anno Regis Carol. | Anno Dom.

common-casualty, savours more of curiosity than conscience. Ye, seeing *Edge-hill-fight* (which first *brake the peace*, and made an irreconcileable breach betwixt the two parties) was fought on that day, and some battells since of greatest consequence, there may be more in the observation, than what many are willing to acknowledge. But, whatsoever it is which hence may be collected, sure I am, those are the best Christians, who least censure others, and most reform themselves.

A sad alteration.

44. But here it is much to be lamented, that such who at the time of the Sabbatarian controversie, were the strictest observers of the *Lords day*, are now *reeled* by their violence into another extreme, to be the greatest neglecters, yea, contemners thereof. These *Transcendents*, accounting themselves mounted above the *Predicament* of common piety, averr, they need not keep any, because they keep all days *Lords daies*, in their elevated holinesse. But alas, *Christian duties said to be ever done, will prove never done, if not sometimes solemnly done.* These are the most dangerous *Levellers*, equalling all times, places, and persons, making a *generall confusion* to be *Gospell perfection*. Whereas to speak plainly, we in *England* are, *rebus sic stantibus*, concerned now more strictly to observe the *Lords day*, than ever before. *Holy-daies* are not, and *Holy-eves* are not, and *Wednesday* and *Friday-Letanies* are not, and *Lords day eves* are not, and now some (out of errour, and others out of profanencss) goe about to take away the *Lords-day* also, *all these* things make against Gods solemn and publique service. Oh let not his publique worship, now contracted to *fewer chanells*, have also a *shallower stream*. But enough of this subject; wherein if I have exceeded the bounds of an Historian, by being to large therein, such will pardon me, who know (if pleasing to remember) that Divinity is my proper profession.

Irish impropriations restored.

45. At this time miserable the maintenance of the *Irish Clergy*, where *Scandalous means*, made *Scandalous Ministers*. And yet a *Popish Priest* would grow *fat* in that *Parish* where a *Protestant* would be *famished*, as have not their *lively-hood* on the *oblations* of those of their own *Religion*. But now such *Impropriations* as were in the *Crown*, by the King were restored to the *Church*, to a great diminution of the *Royall Revenew*, though his *Majesty* never was sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gain might redound to *God*, in his *Ministers*. Bishop *Laud* was a worthy Instrument in moving the King to so pious a work, and yet this his procuring the restoring of *Irish*, did not satisfy such discontented at his obstructing the buying in of *English Impropriations*: thus those conceived, to have done hurt at *home* will hardly make reparations with other *good deeds* at distance.

The 39 Articles received in *Ireland*.

46. A *Convocation* (concurrent with a *Parliament*) was called and kept at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, wherein the 39. Articles of the Church of *England* were received in *Ireland* for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing that Kingdome complies with *England* in the Civill government, it should also conform thereto in matters of Religion. Mean time the Irish Articles concluded formerly in a Synode 1615. (wherein Arminianisne was condemned *in terminis terminantibus* and the observation of the Lords day resolved *jure Divino*) were utterly excluded.

Bishop *Laud* refuseth a Cardinalls-Cap.

47. A *Cardinals-Cap* once and again offered by the Pope, to Bishop *Laud*, was as often refused by him. The *fashion* thereof, could not *fit* his *Head*, who had studied and written so much against the Romish Religion. He who formerly had foiled the *Fisher* himself in a publick disputation, would not now be taken with so silly a bait, but acquainted the King therewith: *timuit Romam vel dona ferentem*, refusing to receive any thing from *Rome* till she was better reformed.

1633

Bishop *Juxon* made Lord Treasurer.

48. Doctor *William Juxon* Bishop of *London*, was by *Bishop Lauds* procurement made *Lord Treasurer* of *England*, entring on that Office with many and

great disadvantages. First, because no Clergy-man had executed the same, since *William Grey* Bishop of *Ely*, almost two hundred yeare agoe, in the raign of King *Edward the fourth*. Secondly, because the Treasury was very poor, and ill in private houses, *bare walls make giddy Hous-wives*, in Princes Palaces, *empty Coffers make unsteady Statesmen*. Thirdly, because a very Potent (I cannot say *Competitor*, the Bishop himself being never a *Petitor* for the Place, but) desirer of this Office was frustrated in his [almost assured] expectation of the same to himself.

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His commendable carriage.

49. However so discreet his carriage in that place, it procured a generall love unto him, and *politick malice*, despairing to *bite*, resolved not to *bark* at him. He had a perfect command of his passion, (an happiness not granted to all *Clergy-men* in that *age*, though *privy-Counsellors*,) *slow*, not *of speech* as a *defect*, but to *speak*, out of *discretion*, because when speaking he plentifully payed the *principall* and *interest* of his Auditors expectation. No hands, having so much money passing thorough them, had their fingers less soiled therewith. It is probable his frugality would have *cured* the *consumption* of the *Kings Exchequer*, had not the [unexpected] *Scotch* commotion, put it into a *desperate relapse*. In this particular he was happy above others of his order, that whereas they may be said, in some sort to *have left their Bishopricks* (flying into the Kings quarters for safety) he staid at home *till his Bishoprick left him*, rouled from his *Swans-nest* at *Fulham* for a bird of another feather to build therein.

Arch-bishop *Land* presses conformity.

50. Dr. *Land*, (formerly *Archbishop* in *power*) now so in place, after the decease of Bishop *Abbots*, this yeer kept his *metropoliticall visitation*, & hence-forward conformity was more vigorously pressed than before. Insomuch that a Minister was censured in the *High-Commission* for this expression in a sermon, *That it was suspicious that now the night did approach because the shadows were so much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in force then the power of godlinesse*. And now many differences about divine worship, began to arise, whereof many books were writen *pro* and *con*. So common in all hands, that my pains may be well spared in rendering a particular account of what is so universally known. So that a word or two will suffice.

Our Churches succeed not to the Temple, but Synagogues.

51. One controversy was about the Holiness of our Churches, some maintaining, that they succeed to the same degree of sanctity with the *Tabernacle* of *Moses*, & *Temple* of *Solomon*, which others flatly denyed. First, because the *Tabernacle*, and *Temple*, were, and might be, but *one* at a time, whil'st our *Churches*, *without fault*, may be multiplyed *without any* [set] *number*. *They* both for their fashion, fabrick, and utensils, were *jure divino*, their *Architects* being *inspired*, whil'st *our Churches* are the product of humane fancy. Thirdly, God gloriously appeared both in the Tabernacle and Temple, only graciously present in our Churches. Fourthly, The Temple was a type of Christs Body, which ours are not. More true it is, our *Churches* are heirs to the holyness of the Jewish Synagogues, which were many, and to whom a reverence was due, as publiquely destined to divine service.

Adoration towards the Altar.

52. Not less the difference about the manner of adoration to be used in Gods-House, which some would have done towards the Communion-Table, as the most remarkable place of Gods presence. Those used a distinction between bowing *ad altare* towards the Altar, as directing their adoration that way, and *ad altare* to the Altar, as terminating their worship therein; the latter they detested as Idolatrous, the former they defended as lawfull and necessary, such a* slovenly unmannerlynes had lately possessed many people in their approaches to Gods House that it was high time to reform.

* *Mal.* 1. 7.

Disliked by many.

53. But such as disliked the gesture, *could not*, or *would not*, understand the *distinction* as in the *Suburbs* of *Superstition*. These allowing some corporall adoration lawfull, yea necessary, seeing no reason the *Body of Man*, yea the

Totall

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Totall Sunne of Him, which is *visible* [his *Body*,] should be exempted from *Gods service*, except such a *Writ of Ease* could be produced and proved from *Scripture*. But they were displeased with this adoration because such as injoyn it maintain one kinde of reverence due to the very place, another to the Elements of the Sacraments, if on the Table, a third to God himself: these severall degrees of reverence ought to be *rayled about* as well as the Communion-Table and cleerly distinguished, lest that be given to the Creature which belongs to the Creator, and such as shun profanation run into Idolatry.

54. A controversy was also started about the Pasture of the *Lords-Board*, *Communion-Table*, or *Altar*, the *last name* beginning now in many Mens mouths to *out* the *two former*. Some would have it constantly fixed with the sides *East* and *West* ends *North* and *South*, on a graduated advance next the *East-wall* of the Chancell, citing a *Canon* and the practise in the *Kings-Chappell* for the same. Others pressed the Queens injunctions that (allowing it at other times to stand, but not Altar-wise in the Chancell) it ought to be set in the body of the Church when the Sacrament is celebrated thereon.

55. Such the heat about this *Altar* till both sides had almost *Sacrificed* up their *mutual charity* thereon, and this controversy was prosecuted with much needless animosity. This mindeth me of a passage in *Cambridge*, when King *James* was there present, to whom a great Person complained of the inverted situation of a Colledge-Chappell, [North and South] out of designe to put the House to the cost of new building the same. To whom the King answered, *It matters not how the Chappell stands, so their hearts who goe thither be set aright in Gods service.* Indeed if moderate men had had the managing of these matters, the accommodation had been easy with a little condescension on both sides. But as a small accidentall *heat* or *cold* (such as a healthfull body would not be sensible of) is enough to put him into a fit, who was formerly in *latitudine febris*, so mens minds distempered in this age with what I may call a *mutinous tendency*, were exasperated with such small occasions which otherwise might have been passed over and no notice taken thereof.

June 14. Wednesday

Mr *William Prinne.*

56. For now came the censure of Mr. *Prinne*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and Mr. *Burton*, and we must goe a little backwards to take notice of the nature of their offences. Mr. *William Prinne* born (about *Bath*) in *Glocestershire*, bred some time in *Oxford*, afterwards *Utter-Barister* of *Lincolns-Inn*, began with the writing of some usefull and *Orthodox Books*. I have heard some of his *Detractours* account him as only the *hand* of a better *head* setting forth at first the endeavours of others. Afterwards he delighted more to be *numerous* with many then *ponderous* with *select quotations*, which maketh his Books to swell with the loss oft-times of the *Reader*, sometimes of the *Printer*, and his *Pen* generally *querulous* hath more of the *Plaintiff* then of the *Defendant* therein.

a The perpetuity of the regenerate man his estate.

57. Some three yeers since he set forth a *Book* called *Histriomastrix*, or the *Whip* of *Stage-players*. *Whip* so held and used by his hand, that some conceived the *Lashes* thereof flew into the face of the *Queen* her self, as much delighted in *Masques*. For which he was severely censured to lose his EARES on the *Pillory*, and for a long time (after two removalls to the *Fleet*) imprisoned in the *Tower*. Where he wrote, and whence he dispersed new *Pamphlets*, which were interpreted to be *Libells* against the *established Discipline* of the *Church* of *England*, for which he was indited in the *Star-chamber*.

Accused for libelling against the Bishops.

58. Dr. *John Bastwick* (by vulgar errour generally mistaken to be a *Scotchman*) was born at *Writtle* in *Essex*, bred a short time in *Emanuell-Colledge*, then travailed nine yeers beyond the Seas, made Dr. *of Physick* at *Padua*. Returning home he practised it at *Colchester*, and set forth a *Book* in *Latine* (wherein his *Pen* commanded a *pure* and *fluent style*) entituled *Flagel-*

Dr. *Bastwick* his accusation.

lum Pontificis, & Episcoporum Latialium. But it seems he confined not his character so to the *Latian Bishops* beyond the *Alpes*, but that our *English Prelates* counted themselves touched therein. Hereupon he was accused in the *High-Commission*, committed to the *Gate-house*, where he wrote a second *Book* taxing the injustice of the proceedings of the *High-Commission*, for which he was indicted in the Star-Chamber.

Mr. Burton his character.

59. Mr. *Henry Burton Minister* rather took a *snap* then made a *meal* in any *University*, was first *Schoolmaster* to the *Sonnes* of the *Lord Cary* (afterwards *Earl* of *Monmouth*) whose *Lady* was *Governesse* to *King Charles* when Prince. And this *opportunity* (say some) more then his own *deserts*, preferred him to the service of *Pr. Ch.* being designed (as I have heard) to wait on him in *Spain*, but afterwards (when part of his goods were shipped for the *voyage*) excluded the attendance. Whether because his *parts* and *learning* were conceived not such, as to credit our *English Church* in *Forain-Countries*, or because his *Principles* were accounted uncomplying with that imployment.

The cause of his discontent.

60. The *crudity* of this *affront* lay long on his minde, *hot stomachs* (contrary to *corporall concoction*) being in this kinde the slowest of *digestion*. After the venting of many mediate *discontents*, on the last fifth of *November* he took for his *Text Prov.* 24. 21. *My Sonne fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.* This *Sermon* was afterwards printed, charging the *Prelats* for introducing of severall *innovations* into *Divine worship*, for which, as a *Libell*, he was indicted in the *Star-Chamber*.

Their fault generall.

61. But the *fault generall*, which at this day was charged on these three *Prisoners* at the *Barr* in the *Star-Chamber*, was this. That they had not put in their *effectuall answer* into that *Court* wherein they were accused, though *sufficient notice*, and *competent time* was allowed them for the performance thereof. The *Lord Keeper Coventry* minded them, that for such neglect, they had a *Precedent*, wherein the *Court* after *six dales* had taken a cause *pro confesso*, whereas the favour of *six weeks* was allowed unto them, and now leave given them to tender reason, why the *Court* should not proceed to present *censure*.

Mr. Prinne his Plea rejected.

62. Hereat *Mr. Prinne* first moved that they would be pleased to accept a *cross Bill* (which he there tendered) against the *Prelates*. This the *Lord-Keeper* refused to accept of *at the present*, as not being the *business of the day*. Then he moved that the *Prelates* might be dismissed the *Court*: It being agreeable neither to *nature*, *reason*, nor *justice*, that those who were their *Adversaries* should be their *Judges*. This also was rejected by the *Lord Keeper*, because by the same proportion, had he libelled against the *Temporall Lords*, *Judges*, and *Privy Counsellors* in the place; by this *Plea*, none should passe *censure* upon them, because all were made *Parties*.

And his answer refused.

63. *Mr. Prinne* proceeded to shew he had done his endeavour to prepare his *answer*, being hindred first by his *close imprisonment*, denyed *pen*, *ink* and *paper*, and by the *imprisonment* also of his *Servant*, who was to sollicit his *business*. That the *Councell* assigned him came very late, and though twice payed for their pains, deferred the drawing up of his *answer*, and durst not set their hands unto it. *Mr. Hele*, one of his *Councell* being present, confessed that he found his *answer* would be very long, and of such a nature as he durst not subscribe it, fearing to give their *Lordships* distaste.

So is Dr. Bastwicks.

64. *Dr. Bastwick* being spoken to, to speak for himself, why he brought not in his *answer* before; laid the blame on the *cowardise* of his *Councell* that durst not sign it for fear of the *Prelates*. He there tendred his *answer* on oath with his own hand, which would not be accepted. He spake much of his own *Abilities*, that he had been a *Souldier* able to lead an *Army* of men into the *Field*, and now was a *Physitian* able to cure *Kings*, *Princes*, and

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and *Emperors*; and therefore how unworthy it was to curtallize his *EARES*, generally given out by the *Bishops* Servants, as a punishment intended unto him. He minded them of the *mutability* of all *earthly things*, and chiefly of the *changes* in the *Court*; where he, * lately the *chief Judge* therein, was the next day to have his *own cause* censured: wishing them seriously to consider, that some who now sate there on the *Bench*, might stand *Prisoners* at the *Barre* another day, and need the favour which now they denyed.

* The Bishop of *Lincoln*.

65. *Mr. Burton* being asked what he could alledge, why the *Court* should not take his *Fault pro confesso*, pleaded that he had put in his *answer*, drawn up with great *pains* and *cost*, signed by his *Councell*, and received into the *Court*. The *Lord-Keeper* rejoyned that the *Judges* had cast his *answere* out as imperfect. *Judge Finch* affirming that they did him a good turn in making it imperfect, being otherwise as *libellous* as his *Book*, and deserving a *censure* alone.

Mr. *Burtons* cast out for imperfect.

66. Here the *Prisoners* desiring to speak were commanded silence, and the premises notwithstanding the *Court* proceeded to *censure*: namely, that they should lose their *EARES* in the *Palace Yard* at *Westminster*, fining them also five thousand pound a man to his *Majesty*, *perpetuall imprisonment* in three remote places. The *Lord Finch* added to *Mr. Prinnes censure*, that he should be branded in each Cheek with *S. L.* for *Slanderous Libeller*, to which the whole Court agreed. The *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* made a *long speech*, since printed, to excuse himself from the introducing of any *Innovations* in the *Church*, concluding it, that he left the *Prisoners* to *Gods mercie and the Kings justice*.

The severe censure.

67. It will be *lawfull* and *safe* to report the discourse of severall persons hereon. This *censure* fell out scarce *adaquate* to any *judgement*, as conceiving it either too *low*, or too *high* for their *offence*. *High Conformists* counted it too *low*, and that it had been better if the *Pillorie* had been changed into a *Gallowes*. They esteemed it improvidence (but by their leaves more of *Machiavill* than of *Christ* in such *Counsell*) to *kindle revenge*, and not to *quench life* in such *turbulent Spirits*. The only way with them, had been to rid them out of the way.

Esteemed too low by some.

68. Most moderate men thought the *censure* too *sharp*, too *base* and *ignominious* for *Gentlemen* of their *ingenuous vocation*. Besides, though it be easie in the *notion*, it is hard in the *action* to fix *shame* on the *Professors*, and sever it from the *Professions* of *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physick*. As for the former, though *Burton* was first * degraded, yet such who maintain an *indelible character of Priesthood* hold that *Degradation* cannot delete what *Ordination* hath impressed; and grant the *censure* pronounced *ad terrorem*, it might have become the *Bishops* to mediate for a *mitigation* thereof. Let *Canvas* be rough and rugged, *Lawn* ought to be soft and smooth. *Meekness*, *Mildness*, and *Mercy* being more proper for men of the *Episcopall Function*.

Too high by most.

* By Sir *John Lamb* in the high Commission in *St. Pauls*.

June 27

69. Two dayes after, three *Pillories* were set up in the *Palace-yard*, or one double one, and a single one at some distance, for *Mr. Prinne* as the *chief Offender*. *Mr. Burton* first suffered, making a long speech in the *Pillorie*, not entire and continued, but interrupted with occasionall expressions. But the main intent thereof was to parallel his sufferings with our *Saviours*. For at the first sight of the *Pillory*, *Me thinks*, said he, *I see Mount-Calvary whereon the three Crosses were erected. If Christ was numbred amongst Theeves, shall a Christian think much for his sake to be numbred amongst Rogues?* And whereas one told an *Halberteer* standing by, who had an old rusty *Halbert* (the Iron whereof was tacked to the staffe with an old crooked nail) *What an old rusty weapon is this? Mr. Burton* over-hearing them answered: *It seems to be one of those Halberts which accompanied Judas when Christ was betrayed and apprehended.*

30

Mr. *Burton* his words on the Pillory.

Severall censures on his behaviour.

70. His *Eares* were cut off very close, so that the *Temporall* or *Head Artery* being cut, the blood in abundance streamed down upon the *Scaffold*, all which he manfully endured, without manifesting the least shrinking thereat. Indeed of such who *measured* his *minde* by his *words*, some conceived his *carriage farre above*: others (though using the same *scale*) suspected the same to be somewhat *beside himself*. But let such who desire more of his *character*, consult with his printed life, written with his own hand, though it be hard for the most *Excellent Artist* truely to draw his own *Picture*.

Mr. Bastwick his Speech.

71. Dr. *Bastwick* succeeded him, making a Speech to this effect. *Here are many spectatours of us, who stand here as Delinquents, yet am I not conscious to my self of the least trespasse, wherein I have deserved this outward shame. Indeed I wrote a Book against Antichrist the Pope, and the Pope of* Canterbury *said it was written against him. But were the Presse open unto us, we would scatter his Kingdome, and fight courageously against Gog and Magog. There be many here that have set many daies apart in our behalf (let the Prelates take notice thereof) and have sent up strong prayers to God for us, the strength and fruit whereof we have felt all along in this cause. In a word, so farre am I from fear or care that had I as much blood as would swell the Thames* (then visible unto him, his face respecting the *South*) *I would lose every drop thereof in this cause.*

Many Men many mindes

72. His *Friends* much admired and highly commended the erection of his minde triumphing over *pain* and *shame*, making the one *easie*, the other *honourable*, and imputed the same to an immediate *Spirituall support*. Others conceived that *anger* in him acted the part of *patience*, as to the stout undergoing of his *sufferings*, and that in a *Christian* there lyeth a *reall distinction* betwixt *Spirit* and *Stomach*, *Valour* and *Stubbornesse*.

Mr. Prinns his Speech.

73. Mr. *Prinne* concluded the sad sight of that day, and spake to this purpose. *The cause of my standing here is for not bringing in my Answer, God knoweth, my conscience beareth witnesse, and my Counsell can tell, for I paid them twice though to no purpose. But their cowardise stands upon Record. And that's the reason why they did proceed, and take the cause* pro confesso *against me. But rather than I would have my cause a leading cause to the depriving of the Subjects liberties, which I seek to maintain, I choose to suffer my body to become an example of this punishment.*

His behaviour at the censure.

74. The *censure* was with all rigour executed on him, and he who felt the most, fretted the least; commended for more *kindly patience* than either of his *Predecessours* in that place. So various were mens fancies in reading the same letters, imprinted in his face, that some made them to spell the *guiltiness* of the *Sufferer*, but others the *cruelty* of the *Imposer*. Of the latter sort many for the *cause*, more for the *man*, most for humanity sake bestowed pity upon him: and now all three were remanded to their former *Prisons*; and *Mr. Prinne* as he returned by water to the *Tower*, made this *Distick* upon his own *stigmatizing*.

S. L.

Stigmata *maxillis referens, insignia* Laudis,
Exultans remeo, Victima grata Deo.

Not long after they were removed: *Mr. Prinne* to *Carnarvan-Castle* in *Wales*: *Dr. Bastwicke*, and *Mr. Burton*; the one to *Lancaster-Castle*, the other to *Launceston* in *Cornwall*.

Their removall.

75. But it seems these places were conceived to have, either too little of *Privacy*, or too much of *Pleasure*. The two latter therefore were removed again; One to the *Isle* of *Scilly*, the other to the *Isle* of *Gernzey*; and *Mr. Prinne* to *Mount Orgueile-Castle* in *Jersey*. This in vulgar apprehensions, added *breadth* to the former *depth* of their *sufferings*, scattering the same over all

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all the *English Dominions*, making the *Islands* thereof as well as the *Continent* partake of their *patience*. And here we leave them all in their *Prisons*, and particularly *Mr. Prinne* improving the *Rocks* and the *Seas* (good *Spirituall Husbandrie*) with *pious meditations*. But we shall heare more of them hereafter at the beginning of the *Parliament*.

A preparative to the censure of the Bishop of *Lincoln*.

76. Next came the *Bishop* of *Lincoln* to be censured in the *Star-chamber*, and something must be premised preparative thereunto. After the *great Seal* some ten yeares since was taken from him, he retired himself to *Bugden* in *Huntingdonshire*, where he may be said to have lived in a *publick privacie*. So many his *Visitants*, *hospitall* his *house-keeping*: it being hard to say, whether his *Table* were more *free* and *full* in *dyet* or *discourse*: indeed he had a plentifull estate to maintain it, besides his *purchased Land*. The revenues of his *Bishoprick*, and *Deanery* of *Westminster*, out of which, long since he had been shaken, if not fastned therein, by the *Letters Patents* of *King James*. His *Adversaries* beheld him with *envious eyes*, and one great Prelate plainly said in the presence of the *King*, that *the Bishop of Lincoln lived in as much pompe and plenty as any Cardinall in Rome, for Dyet, Musick, and attendance*. They resolved therefore to humble his height, the concurrence of many matters ministring occasion thereunto.

The Bishop his discourse at the table with Sir *John Lamb*.

77. *Sir John Lambe Dean* of the *Arches* formerly a *Favourite* of *Lincoln* (fetcht off from being prosecuted in *Parliament*, and knighted by his means) with *Dr. Sibthorp*, *Allen* and *Burden* (two *Proctors* as I take them) were entertained at the *Bishops* table at *Bugden*, where their table was (the discourse generall of those dayes) against *Puritans*. The *Bishop* advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them that his *Majesty* intended to use them hereafter with more mildeness, as a considerable party having great influence on the *Parliament*, without whose concurrence the *King* could not comfortably supply his necessities: adding moreover that his Majesty had communicated this unto him by his own mouth, with his resolutions hereafter of more gentleness to men of that opinion.

Informed against him in the Star-chamber.

78. Some yeers after upon the denial of an *Officials* place in *Leicestershire* (which notwithstanding, he carried in despight of the *Bishop*) Sir *John Lambe* fell foul with his old *Friend*, and in revenge complained of him for revealing the *Kings* secrets concredited to his privacy. Hereupon *Attorney Noy* was employ'd to put the same into an *Information* in the *Star-chamber*, unto which *Bishop Williams* by good advise of counsell did plead and *demurre*, as containing no matter fit for the cognizance of that *Court*, as concerning words spoken of matters done in *Parliament*, & secrets pretended to be revealed by him, a *Privy Counsellor* and *Peere* of *Parliament*, and therefore not to be heard but in that *High-Court*. This *Demurrer* being heard & argued by *Counsell Pro* and *Con* in *open Court* for two or three houres (the *Lord Keeper* and other *Lords* there present finding no cause nor colour to overrule it) was referred to *Judge Richison* (who lately having singed his *Coat* from blasts at the *Court*) by him to be smothered, who in a private Chamber presently after dinner over-ruled the same in a quarter of an houre.

Deserteth his intents of compounding with the King.

79. The *Demurrer* thus rendred useless in the *Bishops* defence, he used what means he could by the *Lord Weston* (a proper person, because *Treasurer* to meddle in money matters) to compound with his *Majesty*: but his *Majesty* resolved to have the *Bishops* answer, and confession of his fault before he would compound with him. Whereupon the *Bishop* quitting all thoughts of composition, resolved to *weather out* the *Tempest* of his Majesties displeasure at open sea, either out of confidence of the *strength of his tackling*, his own innocence, or skill of his *Pilots*, who were to *steere* his *suit*, having the learnedst Counsel of the Land by whose advise he put in a *strong plea*, which likewise being argued and debated in *open Court*, came at last to the

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the ſame untimely end with the *Demurrer*, as referred to *Judge Richiſon*, and ſmothered by him in a Chamber.

Puts in an eſpeciall anſwer.

80. This *Plea* thus overruled, the *Biſhop* put in an *eſpeciall anſwer* to the *information*, declaring, how all was grounded by a conſpiracy and combination of the perſons named in the *Bill*, to wit, (*Lambe*, *Sibthorpe*, *Allen* and *Burden*) out of an intent to advance themſelves, and hatred they bare to him, for not permitting them to pole and pill the *Kings Subjects* in *Leiceſterſhire*, in their *Eccleſiaſticall Courts* by haling them into their nets *ex officio mero* without any previous complaint, under an imaginary colour of *Puritaniſm*. To this *eſpeciall anſwer*, *Atturney Noy* *rejoyned in iſſue*, admitting the *Biſhop* to prove his *eſpeciall matters*, who proceeded to the examination of his witneſſes therein.

Kilvert entertained his Proſecutor.

81. Now began *Atturney Noy* to grow weary of the matter, and became ſlow and remiſſe in the proſecution thereof, whether out of reſpect to the *Biſhop* whom he honoured (though tart in tearms againſt him to pleaſe a greater *Prelate*) or out of conſciouſneſſe that more weight was hung thereon, then the *ſlender Wyres* of the cauſe would bear. Hereupon *Richard Kilvert* was entertained to follow the *Suite* (though not entring himſelf as he ought *Proſecutour* upon record) at the beſt being a neceſſary evill, to doe what an honeſt man would be aſhamed of. Indeed like an *Engliſh Maſtiffe* he would fiercely *flye* upon any perſon, or project, if *ſet on* with promiſe of profit, and having formerly made his *Breakfaſt* on *Sir John Bennet*, he intended to *dine* and *ſupp* on the *Biſhop*. And though his ſtrength conſiſted much in a *cunning head*, yet farre more in an *able back* as ſeconded in this ſuit and abetted from the Court in his undertakings. This *Kilvert* ſo wrought himſelf into *Warren* an *Examiner* of the *Star-Chamber*, that (ſome ſay) contrary to his oath he revealed unto him that the *Teſtimony* of one *John Pregion Regiſter* of *Lincoln* and *Leiceſter* was moſt materiall in the Biſhop his defence.

Pregion a principall witneſſe of the Biſhop much molefted.

82. Then was it *Kilvert* his deſigne to uncredit the *Teſtimony* of *Pregion*, by charging him with ſeveral accuſations, particularly getting a *Baſtard* though being no matters upon record, to take away the validity of his witneſſe. The *Biſhop* apprehending himſelf neceſſitated to weigh up *Pregion* his repute, engaged himſelf more zealouſly therein, then was conceived conſiſtent with the gravity of ſo great a *Prelate* for ſo inconſiderable a perſon. Eſpecially to ſuch who knew not that Dr. *Morriſon* and this *Pregion*, were the only perſons of note preſent at the *Biſhop* his Table when the diſcourſe paſſed betwixt him and Sir *John Lambe*. The *Baſtard* laid to his charge, is bandied at *Lincoln-Seſſions*, backward and forward betwixt *Pregion* and another. The firſt Court fathe[illegible] upon him, the next freed him from it, and a third returned it upon him again. This laſt order of *Seſſions* was again diſſolved as *illegall*, by the *Judges* of the *Kings-Bench*, and *Pregion* cleared from the child charged on him. Sir *John Munſon* a *Juſtice* of that *County* appearing very active againſt him, and the *Biſhop* no leſſe earneſt in his behalf.

Deſireth his [illegible] with the King.

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83. Here hapned the occasion of that wch was afterwards so highly charged, and heavily censured on the *Bishop Williams, viz. tampering to suborne witnesses.* Henceforward *Kilvert* let fall his *first information*, which from this day sunk in silence, and employed all his power on the proof of *Subornation*. That *Bandogg*, let goe his *first hold*, too hard for his *Teeth* to enter, and fastned his *fangs* on a softer place, so to pinch the *Bishop* to purpose; yea so expensive was the suit that the *Bishop* (well skilled in the charge of charitable works) might with the same cost have built and endowed a small *Colledge*.

Subornation of perjury charged on the Bishop.

84. Some daies before *the hearing*, a *Noble Lord* of his *Majesties Councell*, the *Bishops* great *Friend*, interposed himself to compound the matter, prevailing so farre that on his payment of two thousand pound, the *Suit* should be superseded in the Star-Chamber, and he freed from further molestation. But at this Lords return the *price was risen in the market*, and besides the aforesaid summe, it was demanded of him, that to procure his peace he must part with his *Deanery* of *Westminster*, *Parsonage* of *Walgrave*, and *Prebend* of *Lincoln* which he kept in *commendam*. To this the *Bishop* answered, that he would in no case forgoe those few remainders of the favour which his *dead master King James* had conferred upon him.

In vain endeavoureth a composition with the King

85. Not long after another bargain was driven, by the well intended endeavours of the same *Lord*, that seeing his *Majesty* at that time had much occasion of moneys: if he would but double the former summe, and lay down four thousand pounds, he should be freed from further trouble, and might goe home *with all his parcells about him*. The *Bishop* returned that he took no delight, *to fence at law with his Soveraign*, and thankfully embracing the motion, prepared himself for the payment. When a great *Adversary* stepping in, so violented his *Majesty* to a *Tryall*, that all was not onely frustrated, but this afterwards urged against the *Bishop*, to prove him conscious of a crime from his forwardness to entertain a composition.

frustrated therein by his great Adversary.

May 11. Tuesday.

86. The day of censure being come, *Sir John Finch Lord chief Justice* fined the *Bishop* ten thousand pound *for tampering to suborn Witnesses*; *Secretary Windebank* concurred with (that little Bell, being the lowdest and shrillest in the whole peal) as who alone motioned to degrade him; which was lustily pronounced by a *Knight* and *Layman*, having no *precedent* for the same in former ages. The other Lords brought the fine downe to eight thousand pound, and a thousand marks to *Sir John Munson*, with suspension *ab officio et beneficio*, and imprisoning him, during the Kings pleasure. The *Earl* of *Arundell* added, that the cause in its self was extraordinary, not so much prosecuted by the *Attorney*, as immediately by the King himself recommended to their justice. *Manchester Lord privy Seal* said that this was the first *precedent*, wherein a *Master* had undone himself to save his *Servant*.

His heavy censure.

87. The *Archbishop of Canterbury* did consent thereunto, aggravating the fault of *Subornation of perjury*, with a *pathetical* speech of almost an houre long, shewing how the world was above three thousand years old before ripe enough to commit so great a wickednes, and *Jesabell* the first in *Scripture* branded with that infamie, whose *false Witnesses* the *holy Spirit* refused to name, otherwise than under the *Character* of *Men of Belial*. Wherefore although (as he said) he himself had been five times down on his knees to his Majesty, in the *Bishops* behalf; yet considering the guilt so great, he could not but agree with the heaviest censure. And although some *Lords*, the *Bishops Friends*, as *Treasurer Weston*, Earl of *Dorset* &c. concurred in the fine, with hope the King should have the sole honor of the mitigation thereof, yet his Majesties necessities, meeting with the person adjudged guilty, and well known for solvable; no wonder if the utmost penny of the fine was exacted.

To which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* did concurre.

88. At the same time were fined with the *Bishop*, *George Walker* his *Secretary*,

Three of his Servants fined with him.

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tary, *Cadwallader Powell* his *Steward*, at *three hundred pounds* a piece, and *Thomas Lund* the *Bishop* his *Servant* at a *thousand Markes*, all as *Defendants* in the same cause, yet none of them was imprisoned, save *Lund* for a few weeks, and their fine never called upon unto this day, which the *Bishop* said, was commuted into such *Offices*, as hereafter they were to doe in the favour of *Kilvert*.

The complaints against the unjust proceedings against him, put in by the Bishop into the Parliament.

7. To make this our *History* entire, the *matter* shall rather rule the *time* than the *time* the *matter*, in this particular suite. Be it therefore known to the *Reader*, that some foure years after, *viz.* 1640. when this *Bishop* was fetcht out of the *Tower*, and restored a *Peer* in *Parliament*, he therein presented severall grievances, concerning the indirect prosecution of this cause against him, whereof these the principall.

First, that his *Adversaries* utterly waved, and declined the matter of their first *Information*, about *revealing the Kings secrets*; as hopeless of success therein, and *sprung a new mine* to blow up his credit, about perjury in the examination of Witnesses. Whereas he conceived it just, that all accidentalls and occasionalls should sink with the substance of the accusation, otherwise suits would be endless, if the branches thereof should still survive when the root doth expire.

* These complains I extracted out of the Bishop his Originall.

* Secondly, that he was deprived of the benefit of bringing in any *exceptions* against the *Testimonies* of *Sir John Lambe* and *Dr. Sibthorp*, to prove their combination against him, because they deposing *pro Domino Rege*, none must impeach the credit of the Kings Witnesses, who must be reputed holy and sacred in what they averre, in so much that after *Briefs* were drawn by *Counsells* on both sides, the Court was moved to expunge those Witnesses, which made most against the *King*, and for the *Defendant*.

Thirdly, that *Kilvert* used all wayes to menace, and intimidate the *Bishop* his Witnesses, frighting them as much as he could, out of their own consciences, with dangers presented unto them. To this purpose, he obained from *Secretary Windebank*, that a *Messenger* of the *Star-chamber*, one *Pechye* by name, was directed to attend him all along the speeding of the *Commission* in the *Country*, with his *Coat of Armes* upon him, with power to apprehend, and close imprison any person whom *Kilvert* should appoint, pretending from the *Secretary Warrants for matters of State*, and deep consequence so to doe; by vertue whereof, in the face of the *Commission*, he seised on, and committed *George Walker* and *Thomas Lund*, two materiall Witnesses for the *Bishop*, and by the terror thereof chased away many more, whose *Depositions* were necessary to the cleering of the *Bishop* his integrity: yet when the aforesaid two *Prisoners*, in the custody of the *Messenger* were produced before *Secretary Winchbank*, he told them he had no *matters of State* against them, but turned them over to *Kilvert*, wishing them to give him satisfaction, and were not permitted to have their liberty, untill after long close imprisonment, they were forced to confess under their own hands, Crimes against themselves and the *Bishop*, which afterwards they denyed and revoked upon their *Oathes*.

Lastly and chiefly, that the *Judges* privately overruled his *Plees*, so that what shame, and the honour of the *Court*, with the inspection of so many eyes, would not permit to be done publickly in the *Sunshine* of Justice, was posted over by a *Judge* privately in a corner.

These and many more *Kilvertisms*, as he calls them, did the *Bishop* complain

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plain of in *Parliament*, who so far tendered his innocency therein, that they ordered all the *Records* of that *Suit* in the *Star-chamber* to be obliterated. Yea we may justly conceive, that these *Grievances* of the *Bishop* did much hasten, if not chiefly cause the suppression of that *Court*.

July 14. Monday.

8. Thirteen dayes after he was suspended by the *High-commission*, and imprisoned in the *Tower* for almost four years, during whose durance therein, two *Bishops* and three *Doctors* were sent thither unto him; to take his answer to a *Book of Articles*, of twenty foure Sheets of papes writen on both sides. They proffered him the *Bible* to take the oath thereon, which he utterly refused, claiming the priviledge of a *Peer*, adding moreover that being a *Bishop*, it was against law and *Precedent* in *Antiquity*, that young *Priests* his *Graces* (and some who had been his own) *Chaplains*, and *Lay Doctors* should sit as *Judges* of a *Bishop* his Doctrine, with power to deprive him of his *Bishoprick*, it disliking the same. This was overruled, and he as one of the Kings Subjects required to make his answer.

Is examined again in the Tower.

9. First the article that all *Books* licenced by his *Graces Chaplaines* (as *Chaine* his, and *Sala* his *Book* with *Doctor Manwaring* his *Sermons*) are presumed by all true *Subjects* to be *orthodox*, and agreeable to *sound Religion*. This the *Bishop* utterly denyed, and wondered at their impudencie, to propound such an *Article* unto him.

Whether some Books were orthodox.

10. Secondly they alleadged, that no *Bishop* but his *Grace*, the *Lord* of *London*, and their Chaplains, had power to allow *Bookes*. This the other denyed, saying that all *Bishops*, who were as learned as they, had as much power as they, citing for the same the *Councell* of *Lateran* under *Leo* the tenth. *Reformatio Cleri*, under *Cardinall Poole*. *Queen Elizabeth* her injunctions, and the *Decree* of the *Star-chamber* relating to all these: He also stoutly averred the priviledge, to belong onely to the *Bishops*, and not to their *Servants*: *howbeit his Grace had shuffled* in his *Chaplaines* to the last printed Star-chamber decree. More frivolous were the ensuing *Articles* whereon he was examined.

Who had power to licence them.

That he called a *Book* intitled *A cole from the Altar*, a *Pamphlet*.

That he said, that all flesh in *England* had corrupted their wayes.

That he said scoffingly he had heard of a *Mother-Church*, but not of a *Mother-Chappell*, meaning the *Kings*, to which all *Churches* in ceremonies were to conform.

That he wickedly jested upon *St. Martins hood*.

That he said, that the people are not to be lashed by every mans whip.

That he said (citing a *nationall Councell* for it) that the people are *Gods*, and the *Kings*, and not the *Priests* people.

That he doth not allow *Priests* to jeere and make invectives against the People.

11. To all which the *Bishop* made so warie an answer, that no advantage could be gained thereby: yea though some dayes after they returned to reexamine him, upon the same *Articles*, to try as he thought the steddiness of his memory, or else to plunge him into some crime of perjury, if in any materiall point he dissented from his former depositions; but the *Bishop* like *a good boy said his Lesson over again and again*, so that no advantage could be taken against him, & thereupon they gave him leave to play, proceeding no further in this cause; only they painted him out in an ugly shape to the *King*, as disaffected to the present government, and God willing we shall hear more of their proceedings against him hereafter.

His cautious answer.

12. But now we are summoned to a sadder subject; from the sufferings of a Private Person, to the miseries and almost mutuall ruin of two Kingdomes, *England* and *Scotland*. I confesse my *hands* have alwaies been unwilling

Transition to a sad Subject.

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willing to write of that *cold Country*, for fear my *fingers* should be *frost-bitten* therewith, but necessity to make our story intire, puts me upon the imployment. Miseries caused from the sending of the *Book of Service*, or new Liturgy thither, which may sadly be termed a RUBRICK indeed, died with the blood of so many of both Nations, slain on that occasion.

95. It seemes the designe began in the reign of *King James*, who desired and endeavoured an uniformity of publique Praiers, through the Kingdome of *Scotland*. In order whereunto an Act was passed in the generall *Assembly* * at *Aberdeene* 1616, to authorise some Bishops present to compile, and frame a Publique form of Common Prair: and let us observe the motions thereof.

The project of a publick Prayer-book, began in the reign of King *James*.

1. It was *committed* to the Bishops aforesaid, and principally to the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* * and *William Cooper* Bishop of *Galloway*, to draw up the order thereof.

a The Kings large Declaration concerning the tumults in *Scotland pag.* 16

* See the life of Archbishop *Spotiswood*.

2. It was *transmitted* into *England* to King *James*, who punctually perused every particular passage therein.

3. It was *remitted* with the Kings Observations, Additions, Expunctions, Mutations, Accommodations to *Scotland* again.

But here the designe sunk with the suddain death of King *James*, and lay not only *dormant* but *dead*; till some yeers after it was *awakened* or rather *revived* again.

Why a difference betwixt the Scotch and English Liturgy.

96. In the reign of *King Charles*, the project being resumed (but whether the same book or no God knoweth) it was concluded not to send into *Scotland* the same Liturgy of *England Totidem verbis*, lest this should be misconstrued a *badge of dependence* of that Church on ours. It was resolved also, That the two Liturgies should not differ in substance, lest the Romane party should upbraid us with weighty and materiall differences. A *Similitude* therefore not *Identity* being resolved of, it was drawn up with some, as they termed them, *insensible alterations*, but such as were quickly found and felt by the Scotch to their great distaste. These alterations are of two natures. First, *ingratiating*, which may be presumed, made to gain the affections of that Nation. Secondly, *distasting*, which (if not in the *intent*) in the event proved the great grievance and generall cause that the book was hated and rejected. We will insist on three of the first sort.

b Kings Declaration *pag.* 18.

Canonicall Scripture only used in the Scotch Liturgy

First, Whereas there was an ancient complaint, That so much of the Apocrypha was read in Churches, *viz.* about *sixty Chapters* for the first lesson (from the 28. of *September* till the 24. of *November*) Canonicall Scripture is alone appointed to be read in the Scotch Liturgy, one day alone excepted, *viz.* *All Saints day*, when *Wisdome* the 3, and *Ecclesiasticus* the 14, are ordered for Morning and Evening Praier, on the same token there wanted not such, who said that those two Chapters were left there, to *keep possession*, that all the rest might in due time be reintroduced.

The word Priest therein declined.

Secondly, The word *Priest* often used in the English Liturgy, gave offence to many, in so much that c one writeth, *To call us* Priests *as touching our office, is either to call back again the old Priesthood of the Law, which is to deny Christ to be come, or else to keep a memory of the Popish Priesthood of abomination still amongst us; besides we never read in the New-Testament, that the word* Priest *(as touching office) is used in the good part.* Whereupon to prevent exception, it was mollified into *Presbyter* in the Scotch *Rubrick*.

c Cartwright in his Admonition 3. *cap.* 2. division.

Scotch Saints inserted into the Kalender.

97. The names of sundry Saints omitted in the English, are inserted into the Scotch Kalender (but only in black letters) on their severall daies according to the form following.

Anno Regis Caroli 13 | Anno Dom. 1637

January.	February.	March.
11 *David* King.	18 *Colman.*	11 *Constantine* the 3. King.
13 *Mungo* Bishop, in Latin *Kentigernus.*		17 *Patrick.*
		20 *Cutbert.*

April.	May.	June.
1 *Gilbert* Bishop.		9 *Columba.*
20 *Serfe* Bishop.		

July.	August.	September.
6 *Palladius.*		18 *Ninian* Bishop.
		25 *Adaman* Bishop.

October.	November.	December.
	16 *Margaret* Queen.	4 *Droftane.*
	27 *Ode* Virgin.	

Some of these were *Kings*, all of them *Natives* of that Countrey, (*Scotch* and *Irish* in former ages being effectually the same) and which in probability might render them to the favor of their countrey-men, some of them (as *Colman &c.*) zealous opposites to the *Church of Rome* in the celebration of *Easter*.

98. But these *Scotch Saints* were so farr from making the *English Liturgy* acceptable, that the *English Liturgy*, rather made the Saints odious unto them. Such the *Distasting* alterations in the Book reduceable to 1. *Additions*, 2. *Omissions*, 3. *Variations*, 4. and *Transpositions*. To instance in the most materiall of the first kinde.

Alterations of Addition in the Scotch Liturgie.

1. In the Baptisme, these words are inserted [d] *Sanctifie this fountain of water, thou which art the Sanctifier of all things.* Which words are enjoyned to be spoken by the Minister, so often as the water in the Fount is changed, which must be at least twice a moneth.

d Fol. 106. pag. 2.

2. In the Praier after the Doxologie, and before the Communion,

this Passage (expunged by the English Reformers out of our Liturgy) is out of the *Ordinary* of *Sarum* inserted in the Scotch Prayer Book. *And of thy almighty* [e] *goodnesse vouchsafe so to blesse, and sanctifie with thy word and holy word, these thy gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Sonne*: from which words saith the Scotch Author, all Papists use to draw the truth of the Transubstantiation.

3. He that Celebrateth, is injoyned to cover that which remaineth of the consecrated Elements, with a faire linen Cloth or *Corporall* [f]; a word unknown to vulgar Eares of either Nations, in other sense then to signify an *under-officer* in a *foot Company*, and complained of to be purposely placed here, to wrap up therein all *Romish superstition* of *Christs Carnall Corporall* presence in the Sacrament.

4. In the Prayer for the State of Christs Church Militant, these words are added. *And* [h] *we also blesse thy holy name, for all those thy servants who having finished their course in faith, doe now rest from their labours. And we yeeld unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderfull grace and vertue declared in all thy Saints, who have been the choice vessells of thy grace and the lights of the world in their severall generations: most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastnesse in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandements, that at the day of the generall Resurrection, we, and all they which are of the mysticall body of thy Sonne, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyfull voice, Come yee blessed &c.*

99. Amongst the Omissions none more complained of than the deleting these words, in the delivery of the bread at the Sacrament.

Take [i] *and eat this in remembrance that Christ dyed for thee, and feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving.*

A passage destructive to Transubstantiation, as diverting *Communicants* from Carnall *Manducation*, and directing their Soules to a spirituall repast on their Saviour. All which in the Scotch Liturgy is cut off with an *Amen* from the Receiver.

The *Variations* and *Transpositions* are of lesse moment, as where the money gathered at the offertory, distributable by the English Liturgy to the poor alone, hath a moyety thereof assigned the Minister *therewith to buy him books of holy Divinity*, and some praiers are transposed from their place, and ordered elsewhere, whereat some doe take no small exception. Other smaller differences (if worth the while) will quickly appear to the curious perusers of both Liturgies.

100. Pass we now from the constitution of the book, to the condition of the Scotch Nation, in this unhappy juncture of time when it was imposed upon him. For it found them in a discontented posture (and high Royalists will maintain, that *murmuring* and *muting* against Princes differ only in *degree*, not in *kinde*) occasioned on severall accounts.

1. Some years since, the King had passed an *Act of revocation* of *Crown Lands* (alienated in the minority of his Ancestors) whereby much Land of the Nobility became obnoxious to forfeiture. [k] And though all was forgiven again by the Kings clemency, and nothing acted hereby to the prejudice of any, yet it vexed some to hold that as remitted by the Kings bounty, wherein they conceived themselves to be before unquestionably estated.

2. Whereas many formerly in *Scotland*, were rather Subjects than Tenants, rather Vassalls than Subjects: Such the Land-lords Princely

[e] *fol.* 102. *pagina* 1.

[f] *Reyly* in his Canterburians Self-conviction *pag.*

[g] *fol.* 103. *pag.* 1.

[h] *folio* 98. *pagina* 1.

The most materiall omission.

[i] *fol.* 103. *pag.* 2.

The discontented condition of the Scotch Nation when the Liturgy was first brought unto them.

[k] The Kings declaration at large pag. 6.

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Princely (not to say Tyrannically) power over them, the King had lately freed many from such dangerous dependence. Especially in point of payment of Tythes to the *Lords of the Erection*, equivalent to our English lay Impropriators (but allowing the Land-lords a valuable consideration, according to the purchases [l] of that Countrey) whereby the King got the smiles of those who were most in number, but the frowns of such who were greatest in power.

l *Idem pag.* 9.

3. Many were offended that at the Kings Coronation, some six yeares agoe, and a Parliament following thereon, an act of ratification was passed concerning the Church her liberties and priviledges, which some complained of, was done without Plurality of Suffrages.

4. Some Persons of honor desiring higher Titles [m] were offended, that they were denyed unto them, whilst his Majesty conferred them on others.

m *Pag.* 11.

There want not those also, who confidently suggest it to Posterity, that Pensions constantly payed out of the English Exchequer in the Reign of King *James* to some *principall pastors* in the *Scottish Church* were since detained. So also the bounty of boons was now restrained in the Reign of King *Charles*, which could not fall so freely, as in the dayes of his father (the Cloud being almost *drained*) adding moreover that the want of *watering* of *Scotland* with such *showers*, made them to *chap* into such *Clefts* and *Chinks* of *Parties* and *Factions*, disaffected to the Kings proceedings.

101. To increase these distempers, some complain (how justly, their own Countrey-men best know) of the pride and pragmaticalness of the *Scotch Bishops*, who being but *Probationers* on their *good behaviour* (as but reintroduced by King *James*) offended the ancient Nobility, with their medleing in State matters. And I finde two principally accused on this account; Doctor *Forbes* Bishop of the new Bishoprick of *Edenburg*, and Doctor *Wedderburne* Bishop of *Dunblane*. Thus was the Scotch Nation full of discontents, when this *Book* being brought unto them bare the blame of their breaking forth into more dangerous designs, as when the Cup is brim full before, the last (though least) superadded drop is charged alone to be the cause of all the running over.

The Book bears the blame of all.

102. Besides the Church of *Scotland* claimed not only to be *Independent*, & free as any Church in Christendome (a Sister not Daughter of *England*) but also had so high an opinion of its own puritie, that it participated more of *Moses* his platform *in the Mount*, than other Protestant Churches, being a *reformed reformation*; So that the practice thereof might be directory to others, and she fit to give, not take, write, but receive copies from any Neighbouring Church, desiring that all *others were like unto them, save only in their afflictions.*

The Scotch Church standeth on the termes of its own independency.

103. So much for the [complained of] *burden* of the *book*, as also for the *sore back* of that Nation (galled with the aforesaid grievances) when this Liturgy was sent unto them: and now we must not forget the hatred they bare to the hand, which they accused for laying it upon them. Generally they excused the King in their writings, as innocent therein, but charged *Archbishop Laud* as the principall (and *Doctor* [n] *Cosins* for the instrumentall) compiler thereof, which may appear by what we read, in a Writer [o] of that Nation, after was employed into *England*, about the advancing of the Covenant betwixt both Nations, and other Church affaires.

Arch-bishop *Laud* accused as principall Composer of of the Book.

n *Rasly ut prius pag.* 102.

o *Idem pag.* 95. & 96.

This unhappy Book was his Graces invention, if he should deny it, his own deeds would convince him. The manifold letters which in this Pestiferous

affaire

affaire have passed betwixt him and our Prelates are yet extant. If we might be heard, we would spread out sundry of them, before the Convocation-House of England, *making it clear as the light, that in all this designe his hand had ever been the prime stickler, so that upon his back mainly, will he will he, would be laid the charge of all the fruits good or evill, which from that Tree are like to fall on the Kings Countries.*

Anno Dom. 1637 | Anno Regni Caroli 13

Surely if any such evidence was extant, we shall hear of it hereafter at his arraignment, produced and urged by the Scotch-Commissioners.

The tumult at *Edenborough* at the first reading the book.

102. But leaving the Roots to lye under the Earth, let us look on the Branches spreading themselves above ground, and passing from the secret Author of this Book, behold the evident effects thereof. No sooner had the Dean of *Edenborough* began to read the Book in the Church of St. *Gyles*, in the presence of the Privy-Councell, both the Archbishops, divers Bishops and Magistrates of the City, but presently such a Tumult was raised, that through clapping of hands, cursing, and crying one could neither hear nor be heard. The Bishop of *Edenborough* indeavoured in vain to appease the Tumult; whom a Stool aimed to be thrown at him, had killed, [p] if not diverted by one present, so that the same Book had *occasioned his Death*, and *prescribed the form of his burial*, and this Hubbub was hardly suppressed by the Lord Provost and Bayliffs of *Edenborough*.

July 23. Sunday

[p] The Kings large declaration pag. 23.

More considerable persons engaged in the cause.

[q] The Kings large declaration pag. 37.

The occasion of the Scotch covenant.

105. This first Tumult was caused by such, whom I finde called the *Skum of the City*, considerable for nothing but their number: But few dayes after the *cream of the Nation* (some of the highest and best quality therein) ingaged in the same cause, crying out, *God defend all those who will defend Gods cause, and God confound the Service-Book and all the maintainers of it.*

106. The Lords of the Councell interposed their power, and to appease all parties issued out a Proclamation to remove the *Session* (much like to our *Term* in *London*) to *Lithgow*. This abated their anger as fire is quenched with Oile, seeing the best part of the *Edenburgers* livelyhood depends on the *Session* kept in their City, yea so highly were the People enraged against Bishops as the procurers of all these Troubles, that the Bishop of *Galloway* passing peaceably along the street towards the Councell-House, was way-layed in his coming thither, if by divine Providence, and by *Francis Stewart* Sonne to the late *Earl of Bothwell*, he had not with much adoe been got within the dores of the Councell-House. Indeed there is no *fence*, but *flight*, nor *counsell*, but *concealment*, to secure any single party against an offended multitude.

October 17.

[r] Kings large declaration pag. 35.

107. These troublesome beginnings afterwards did occasion the solemn *League* and *Covenant*, whereby the greatest part of the Nation united themselves, to defend their Privileges, and which laid the foundation of a long and wofull War in both Kingdomes. And here I crave the Readers pardon to break off; and leave the prosecution of this sad subject, to Pens more able to undertake it. For first, I know none will pity me, if I needlesly prick my fingers with meddling with a *Thistle*, which belongs not unto me. Secondly, I despaire of perfect notice of particulars, at so great a distance of place, and greater of Parties concerned therein. Thirdly, if exact intelligence were obtained: as ages long agoe are written with more *safety* then *truth*, so the story hereof might be writen with more *truth* then *safety*. Lastly, being a civill business it is alienes from my subject, and may justly be declined. If any object that it is reducible to Ecclesiastical story, because one as they said termed this, *Bellum Episcopale*, The *Warr for Bishops*: I conceive it presumption for so mean a Minister as my self (and indeed for any under that *great order*) to undertake the writing thereof.

The Authors excuse, why not proceeding in this subject.

TO

Anno Regis Caroli 13 | Anno Dom. 1637

TO

HENRY PUCKERINGNEVVTON

SONNE and HEIRE to

Sr. HENRY PUCKERINGNEWTON

BARONET.

NO Gentleman in this Nation is more advantaged to be a Scholar born *then your self. You may be* free *of the* City *of the* Muſes *by the* Copy *of your Grandfathers.*

By your Fathers ſide, *Sir* Adam Newton, *Tutour to Prince* Henry.

By your Mothers ſide, *Mr.* Murray, *Tutour to K.* Charles.

If you be not more then an ordinary *Scholar, it will not be leſſe then an* extraordinary *diſgrace: Good is not good, where better is expected. But I am confident, if your* pains *be added to your* parts, *your prayers to your pains,* Gods bleſſing *will be added to your* prayers *to crown all with* ſucceſſe.

NOw Biſhop *Williams* was ſentenced the ſecond time in the Star-Chamber on this occaſion, Mr. *Lambert Osbaſton* School-maſter of *Weſtminſter* wrote a Letter unto him wherein this paſſage. *The little vermin the Urchin and Hocus pocus is this ſtormy Chriſtmas at true and reall variance with the Leviathan.* Now the Biſhop was accuſed for divulging ſcandalous Libells on Privy-Counſellors, and that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was meant by the former names. The Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* by the *Leviathan*, becauſe he ſhould have preſented the libellous Letter at the receit thereof,

Biſhop *Williams* his ſecond cenſure.

thereof, to some Justice of Peace, and not dispersed the same. Anno Dom. Anno Regis Carol.

2. The Bishop pleaded, that he remembred not the receiving of any such letter, that he conceived no law directs the subject to bring to a Justice of Peace, Enigmaes or Riddles, but plain literall and grammaticall Libells, against a known and clearly deciphered Person. Mr. *Osbaston* denyed the words so meant by him, and deposed that he intended one Doctor *Spicer* a *Civilian* by *Hocus Pocus*, and the Lord *Richardson* (alive when the letter was written, but then dead) for the *Leviathan*.

3. Here a paper was produced by Mr. *Walker* the Bishops Secretary, and found in a band-box at *Bugden*, wherein the Bishop had thus written unto him.

> *Here is a strange thing, Mr. Osbaston importunes me to contribute to my Lord Treasurers use, some charges upon the little great man, and assures me they are mortally out. I have utterly refused to meddle in this business, and I pray you learn from Mr.* S. *and Mr.* H. *if any such falling out be, or whether some body hath not guld the Schoolmaster in these three last letters, and keep it to your self what I write unto you. If my Lord Treasurer would be served by me, he must use a more neere, solid, and trusty Messenger, and free me from the bonds of the Star-chamber, else let them fight it out for me.*

Now Mr. *Walker* being pressed by a friend, why he would discover this letter to his Masters prejudice, averred, he brought it forth as a main witness of his innocency, and as able to clear him of all in the informaton: however it was strongly misunderstood; for by comparing both letters together the Court collected the Bishop guilty.

4. Sir *John Finch* fined him a just ten thousand pounds, *Rotundi numeri causa*, whom Secretary *Windebank* did follow. The rest brought it down to eight thousand pounds only, one Lord thought fitting to impose no fine upon him, rendring this reason, *Qui jacet in terra non habet unde cadet.*

5. The Bishop already being sequestred from all his Temporall Lands, spirituall preferment, and his Person imprisoned, Mr. *Osbaston* was sentenced five Thousand pounds, loss of his good living at *Whethamstede*, and to have his eares tackt to the Pillory in the presence of his Scholars, whom his industry had improved to as great eminency of learning as any of his Predecessors, insomuch that he had at the present above foureſore Doctors, in the two Universities, and three learned faculties, all gratefully acknowledging their education under him. But this last personall penalty he escaped by *going beyond Canterbury*, conceived seasonably gone beyond the Seas, whilst he secretly concealed himself in *London*.

6. All this put not a period to the Bishops troubles; his unsequestred Spirit so supported him, that some of his Adversaries frowned because he could smile under so great vexations. A design is set a foot, either to make him voluntarily surrender his Bishoprick, Deanary and dignities (permitted perchance a poor Bishoprick in *Ireland*) or else to press his degradation: in order whereunto a new information with ten Articles is drawn up against him, though for the main, but the consequence and deductions of the fault for *tampering with Witnesses*, for which in the 13. of King *Charles* he had been so severely censured. 1638 14

7. To this the Bishop put in a *Plea*, and *Demurrer*, that *Deus non judicat bis in id ipsum*, God punisheth not the same fault twice: that this is the way to make causes immense and punishments infinite: that whereas there was two things that Philosophers denied, infiniteneſſe and vacuity, *Kilvert* had found them both in this prosecution; infiniteneſſe in the Bishops cause and vacuity in his purse: that the profane wits of this age should begin to doubt,

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doubt of the neceſſity of beleeving a Hell hereafter, when ſuch eternall puniſhments are found here in ſuch kind of proſecution: he added alſo that he could prove it that it was a conſpiracy of *Kilverts* with other perſons, if he might have freedome to bring his witneſſes againſt them; which becauſe it caſt ſcandal on thoſe who were *Pro domino Rege*, was now denied him.

8. Then put he in a Rejoynder and an Appeal unto the next Parliament, whenſoever it ſhould be aſſembled, pleading his priviledge of Peerage, as his freehold, and that he could not be degraded of his Orders and Dignities. This was filed in the Star-Chamber under the Clarks Book; and Copies thereof ſigned with the uſuall Officers. Now although this was but a poor help, no light of a Parliament dawning at that time; yet it ſo far quaſhed the proceedings that it never came to farther hearing, and the matter ſuperſeded from any finall Cenſure.

15 | 1639

9. And now began *Scotland* to be an *Actor*, and *England*, [as yet] a ſad *Spectator* thereof, as ſuſpecting ere long to *feel* what ſhe *beheld*. There is an *Hye* Hill in *Cumberland* called *Skiddaw*, & another anſwering thereto, [*Scruſſell* by name] in *Anandale* in *Scotland*, and the people dwelling by, have an old *Rythme*.

Scots broiles begin.

——— If* *Skiddaw* hath a *Cap*,
Scruſſe wots full well of that.

* *Camdens Brit. in Cumber. p. 767.*

Meaning that ſuch the *vicinity* (and as I may ſay *ſympathy*) betwixt theſe two *Hills*, that if one be *ſick* with a *miſt of clouds*, the other ſoon after is *ſad* on the like occaſion. Thus none, ſeeing it now *foul weather* in *Scotland*, could expect it *fair ſunſhine* in *England* but that ſhe muſt ſhare in the ſame miſeries: as ſoon after it came to paſſe.

March 27. June 17.

10. Let thoſe who deſire perfect information hereof, ſatisfy themſelves, from ſuch as have, or may hereafter write the Hiſtory of the State. In whom they ſhall find how King *Charles* took his journey Northward, againſt the *Scottiſh Covenanters*. How ſome weeks after, on certain conditions a Peace was concluded betwixt them. How his Majeſty returned to *London*: and how this *palliated cure* ſoon after brake out again, more dangerous than ever before.

The Reader referred to other Authors.

April 13. Monday.

11. In theſe diſtracted times a Parliament was called, with the wiſhes of all, and hopes of moſt that were honeſt, yet not without the feares of ſome, who were wiſe, what would be the ſucceſſe thereof. With this Parliament began a Convocation; all the mediate tranſactions (for ought I can finde out) are embezled; and therein it was ordered, that none preſent ſhould take any private notes in the Houſe; whereby the particular paſſages thereof are left at great uncertainty. However, ſo far as I can remember, I will faithfully relate; being comforted with this conſideration, that generally he is accounted an unpartial *Arbitratour* who diſpleaſeth both ſides.

A Parliament and Convocation called.

14. Tuesd.

12. On the firſt day thereof Dr. *Turner*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, made a Latine Sermon in the Quire of St. *Pauls*. His text *Matth.* 10. 16. *Behold, I ſend you forth as Sheep in the mid'ſt of Wolves*. In the cloſe of his Sermon he complained, that all Biſhops held not the reins of Church-diſcipline with an even hand, but that ſome of them were too eaſie, and remiſs, in the ordering thereof. Whereby whiles they ſought to gain to themſelves the popular praiſe of meekneſſe, and mildneſſe, they occaſionally caſt on other Biſhops (more ſevere then themſelves) the unjuſt imputation of rigour, and tyranny; and therefore he adviſed them all with equall ſtrictneſs to urge an univerſal conformitie. Sermon ended, we choſe Dr. *Stewart* Dean of *Chicheſter* Prolocutor.

Doctor *Turner* his text, and Sermon.

17. Friday.

13. Next day of ſitting we met at *Weſtminſter*, in the Chappell of King

The effect of the Archbiſhop. Latin ſpeech.

Anno Dom. 1640 | Anno Regis Caroli 16

Henry the seventh both the Houses of Convocation being joyned together; when the Archbishop of *Canterbury* entertained them with a Latin Speech, welnigh three quarters of an hour gravely uttered, his eies oft-times being but one remove from weeping. It consisted most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the Church, but concluded it with a speciall passage, acquainting us how highly we were indebted to his Majesties favour so far intrusting the integrity, and ability of that Convocation, as to empower them with his Commission, the like whereof was not granted for may yeers before, to alter old, or make new Canons for the better government of the Church.

The just suspicions of wise men.

14. Some wise men in the Convocation began now to be jealous of the event of new Canons, yea, became fearfull of their own selves, for having too great power, lest it should tempt them to be over tampering in innovations. They thought it better, that this Convocation, with its predecessors, should be censured for lazinesse, and the solemn doing of just nothing, rather than to runne the hazard by over activity to doe any thing unjust. For, as waters long dammed up, oft-times flownce, and fl e out too violently, when their sluces are pulled up, and they let loose on a sudden: so the judicious feared, lest the Convocation, whose power of meddling with Church-matters, had been bridled up for many yeers before, should now, enabled with such power, over-act their parts, especially in such dangerous, and discontented times. Yea, they suspected, lest those who formerly had *out-runne* the Canons with their additionall conformitie (ceremonizing more then was enjoyned) now would make the Canons *come up* to them, making it necessary for others, what voluntarily they had prepractised themselves.

The Parliament suddenly dissolved.

15. Matters began to be in agitation, when on a sudden the Parliament (wherein many things were *started*, nothing *hunted down*, or brought to perfection) was dissolved. Whilest the immediate cause hereof is commonly cast on the King, and Court, demanding so many Subsidies at once (*England* being as yet unacquainted with such prodigious payments;) the more conscientious look higher, and remoter, on the crying sinnes of our Kingdome. And from this very time did God begin to gather the twiggs of that rod [a civill warr] wherewith soon after he intended to whip a wanton nation. May 5

Yet the Convocation still continues.

16. Next day the Convocation came together, as most supposed, meerly meeting to part, and finally to dissolve themselves. When, contrary to generall expectation, it was motioned, to improve the present opportunity, in perfecting the new Canons which they had begun. And soon after a new Commission was brought from his Majesty, by virtue whereof we were warranted still to sit, not in the capacity of a Convocation, but of a Synod, to prepare our Canons for the *Royall Assent* thereunto. But Doctor *Brownrigg*, Doctor *Hacket*, Doctor *Holdsworth*, Master *Warmistre* with others, to the number of thirty six (the whole House consisting of about six score) earnestly protested against the continuance of the Convocation. 6

A party dissenters, and protests against the continuance thereof.

17. These importunately pressed that it might sink with the Parliament, it being ominous & without precedent, that the one should survive, when the other was expired. To satisfy these, an Instrument was brought into Synod, signed with the hands of the Lord Privy-Seal, the two chief Justices, and other Judges, justifying our so sitting in the nature of a Synod, to be legal according to the Lawes of the Realm. It ill becometh Clergy-men to pretend to more skill in the Lawes, then so learned Sages in that profession, and therefore unpartiall judgements may take off from the fault of the *followers*, and lay it on the *leaders*, that this Synod sate when the Parliament was dissolved. This made the aforesaid thirty six dissenters (though solemnly making their orall protests to the contrary, yet) not to dissever themselves,

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themselves, or enter any act *in Scriptis* against the legality of this Assembly: the rather, because they hoped to moderate proceedings with their presence. Surely some of their own coat, which since have censured these dissenters for cowardly compliance, and doing no more in this cause, would have done lesse themselves, if in their condition.

18. Thus was an old Convocation converted into a new Synod; and now their disjoynted meeting being *set together* again, they betook themselves to consult about new Canons. Now because great bodies move slowly, and are fitter to be the consenters to, than the contrivers of businesse, it was thought fit to contract the Synod into a select Committee of some six and twenty, beside the Prolocutour, who were to ripen matters, as to the propounding and drawing up the formes to what should passe, yet so, that nothing should be accounted the act of the House, till thrice (as I take it) publiquely voted therein.

Out of the burial of an old Convocation the birth of a new Synod.

19. Expect not here of me an exemplification of such Canons, as were concluded of in this Convocation. Partly, because being printed they are publique to every eie, but chiefly because they were never put in practice, or generally received. The men in *Persia* did never look on their little ones, till they were seven yeers old (bred till that time with their Mothers, and Nurses) nor did they account them in their Genealogies amongst their children (but amongst the more long-lived abortives) if dying before seven yeers of age. I conceive such Canons come not under our cognizance, which last not (at least) an apprenticeship of yeers in use, and practice, and therefore we decline the setting down the Acts of this Synod. It is enough for us to present the number, and titles of the severall Canons.

Why the Canons of this Synod are not by us exemplified.

1. Concerning the Regal power.
2. For the better keeping of the day of his Majesties most happy Inauguration.
3. For suppressing of the growth of Popery.
4. Against Socinianism.
5. Against Sectaries.
6. An Oath injoyned for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.
7. A Declaration concerning some Rites, and Ceremonies.
8. Of Preaching for Conformity.
9. One Book of Articles of inquiry to be used at all Parochiall Visitations.
10. Concerning the Conversation of the Clergy.
11. Chancellors Patents.
12. Chancellors alone not to censure any of the Clergy in sundry Cases.
13. Excommunication, and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest.
14. Concerning the Commutations, and the disposing of them.
15. Touching concurrent Jurisdictions.
16. Concerning Licences to Marry.
17. Against vexatious Citations.

20. As for the Oath concluded on in this Synod, because since the subject of so much discourse, it is here set forth at large, according to the true tenour thereof, as followeth.

The form of the Oath &c.

I A. B. doe swear, That I doe approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England, *as containing all things necessary to salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my self or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that which is so established: nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpation and superstitions of the Sea of* Rome. *And all*

these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plaine and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mentall evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I doe heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God, in Jesus Christ.

A motion for a new edition of the Welsh Bible.

21. Towards the close of the Convocation Doctor *Griffith*, a Clark for some Welsh Diocesse, (whose moderate carriage all the while was very commendable) made a motion that there might be a new edition of the Welsh Church-Bible, some sixty yeers since first translated into Welsh, by the worthy endeavours of Bishop *Morgan*, but not without many mistakes and omissions of the printer. He insisted on two most remarkable, a whole verse left out *Exod.* 12. concerning the *Angels passing over the houses besprinkled with blood*, which mangleth the sense of the whole Chapter. Another *Habak.* 25. where that passage, *He is a proud man*, is wholly omitted. The matter was committed to the care of the Welsh Bishops, who (I fear) surprised with the troublesome times effected nothing therein.

Glocester his singularity why armed with suspension.

22. The day before the ending of the Synod, *Godfrey Goodman*, Bishop of *Glocester*, privately repaired to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, acquainting him, that he could not in his conscience subscribe the new Canons. It appeared afterwards that he scrupled some passages about the *Corporal presence*. But, whether upon Popish, or Lutheran principles, he best knoweth himself. The Archbishop advised him to avoide obstinacy, and singularity therein. However the next day, when we all subscribed the Canons (suffering our selves, according to the order of such meetings, to be all concluded by the majority of Votes, though some of us in the Committee privately dissenting in the passing of many particulars) he alone utterly refused his subscription thereunto. Whereupon the Archbishop, being present with us in King *Henry* the seventh his Chappell, was highly offended at him; *My Lord of Glocester*, (said he) *I admonish you to subscribe:* and presently after, *My Lord of Glocester, I admonish you the second time to subscribe:* and immediately after, *I admonish you the third time to subscribe:* To all which the Bishop pleaded conscience, and returned a denial.

His Suspension suspended.

23. Then were the judgements of the Bishops severally asked, whether they should proceed to the present suspension of *Glocester*, for his obstinacy herein. *Davenant*, Bishop of *Sarisbury*, being demanded his opinion, conceived it fit some Lawyers should first be consulted with, how far forth the power of a Synod in such cases did extend. He added moreover, that the threefold admonition of a Bishop ought solemnly to be done with some considerable intervalls betwixt them, in which he might have time of convenient deliberation. However since they did subscribe what committed (by the Kings command, as I take it) to the *Gate-house*, where he got by his restraint what he could never have gained by his liberty, namely, of one reputed Popish, to become for a short time popular, as the only Confessor suffering for not subscribing the Canons. Soon after the same Canons were subscribed at *York*, where the Convocation is but three days journey distant, and sitting, and pointing as directed by the clock of the Province of Canterbury: and so on the last of *June* following, the said Canons were publiquely printed, with the Royall Assent affixed thereunto.

June 30.

Hot exceptions against the Canons.

24. No sooner came these Canons abroad into publique view, but various were mens censures upon them. Some were offended, because bowing toward the *Communion-Table* (now called Altar by many) was not only left indifferent, but also caution taken, that the observers, or the omitters thereof should not mutually censure each other: yet many complained, that this ceremony, though left indifferent as *hereafter* to salvation, was made necessary as *here* to preferment. Yea, this *knee-mark* of bowing or not bowing,

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ing, would be made the distinguishing character, that hereafter all such should be condemned as halting in conformity, who were not through paced in these additionall ceremonies.

25. Many took exception at the hollownesse of the Oath in the middle thereof, having its bowells puffed up with a windie &c. a *cheverel* word, which might be stretched as men would measure it. Others pleaded for it, as only inserted to save the enumeration of many mean Officers in the Church, whose mention was beneath the dignity of an Oath, and would but clog the same. Yea since, some have endeavoured to excuse the same by the interpretative &c. incorporated into the body of the *Covenant*, whereby people are bound to defend the priviledges of Parliament, though what they be is unknown to most that take the same. Second exception.

26. But most took exception against that clause in the Oath, *we will never give any consent to alter this Church-government*, as if the same were intended to abridge the liberty of King and State in future Parliaments, and Convocations, if hereafter they saw cause to change any thing therein. And this obligation seemed the more unreasonable, because some of those Orders specified in the Oath (as Archbishops, Deans, Archdeacons) stand only establshed *jure humano, sive Ecclesiastico*; and no wise man ever denied, but that by the same power, and authority they are alterable on just occasion. Third and greatest exception.

27. Yet there wanted not others, who with a favourable sense endeavoured to qualify this suspicious clause, whereby the taker of this Oath was tied up from consenting to any alteration. These argued, that if the Authority Civil, or Ecclesiasticall, did not herein impose an Oath, binding those that took it hereafter to disobey themselves, and reject such orders, which the foresaid Civil, or Ecclesiastical power might afterwards lawfully enact, or establish. For, seeing in all oaths this is an undoubted Maxime, *Quacunque forma verborum juratur, Deus sic juramentum accipit, sicut ille cui juratur intelligit*, none can probably suppose, that the governors in this oath intended any clause thereof, to be an abridgment of their own lawfull power, or to debar their inferiours from consenting, and submitting to such alterations, as by themselves should lawfully be made. Wherefore these words, *We will never give any consent to alter*, are intended here to be meant only of a voluntary, and pragmaticall alteration; when men conspire, consent, labour, and endeavour to change the present government of the Church, in such particulars as they doe dislike, without the consent of their superiours. Endeavoured to be excused.

28. But the exception of exceptions against these Canons, is, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the fundamentall liberty of the Subject, whereof we shall hear enough in the next Parliament. Mean time some Bishops were very forward in pressing this Oath, even before the time thereof. For, whereas a liberty was allowed to all, to deliberate thereon, untill the feast of *Michael* the Archangel, some pressed the Ministers of their Dioceses, for the taking thereof, and, [illegible] knowledge, enjoyned them to take this oath kneeling. A ceremony (to my best remembrance) never exacted, or observed in taking the Oath of Supremacy or Allegiance; which some accounted an essay of their activity, if providence had not prevented them. The ever activity of some Bishops.

29. Many impressions of English-Bibles, printed at *Amsterdam*, and one at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, were daily brought over hither, and sold here. Little their volumes, and low their prices, as being of bad paper, worse print, little Margent, yet greater then the care of the Corrector, many most abominable errata being passed therein. Take one instance for all. The importation of false printed Bibles.

For.

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Jer. 4. 17. speaking of the whole Common-wealth of *Judah*.

Instead of, it is printed *Edinburgh* 1637.

because she hath been rebellious *against me, saith the Lord.* *because she hath been* religious *against me, saith the Lord.*

Many complaints were made, especially by the company of Stationers, against these false printed Bibles, as giving great advantage to the Papists, but nothing was therein effected. For in this juncture of time came in the Scotish Army, and invaded the Northern parts of *England*. What secret solicitations invited them hither, is not my work to enquire. Many beheld them as the only Physitians of the distempered State, and believed, that they gave not their *Patient* a visit on pure *charity*, but having either received, or being well promised their *fee* before.

Parliament and Convocation begin.

30. Soon after began the long lasting Parliament, so known to all posterity for the remarkable tranactions therein. The King went to the House privately by water, many commending his thrift in sparing expences, when two Armies in the bowels of the Land expected their pay from his purse. Others distinguishing betwixt needlesse Pomp, and necessary State, suspected this might be misinterpreted as if the Scotch had frighted him out of that Ceremony of Majesty: and some feared such an omission presaged that Parliament would end with sadnesse to him, which began without any solemnity. Abreast therewith began a *Convocation* though unable long to keep pace together, the latter soon tyreing as never inspirited by commission from the King to meddle with any matters of Religion: Mr. *Warmistre* (a Clark for *Worcester*) made a motion therein, that they should endeavour (according to the Leviticall Law) to *cover the pit which they had opened*, and to prevent their adversaries intention, by condemning such offensive Canons, as were made in the last Convocation. But it found no acceptance, they being loath to confesse themselves guilty before they were accused.

The insolence of Anabaptists.

31. This day hapned the first fruits of Anabaptisticall insolence, when 80 of that Sect meeting at a house in St. *Saviours* in *Southwark*, preached that the Statute in the 35. of *Eliz.* for the administration of the *Common-Prayer* was no good Law because made by Bishops. That the King cannot make a good Law because not *perfectly regenerate*. That he was only to be obeyed in Civill matters. Being brought before the Lords they confessed the articles, but no penalty was inflicted upon them. 1641 Jan. 11.

The 3 Exiles brought home in Triumph.

32. About this time Mr. *Prinn*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and Mr. *Burton* were brought out of durance and exile, with great Triumph into *London*, it not sufficing their friends to welcome them *peaceably*, but *victoriously*, with *bayes and rosemary* in their hands and hats. Wise men conceived that their private returning to the Town, had signifyed as much gratitude to God, and lesse affront to authority. But some *wildnesse of the loooks* must be pardoned in such, who came suddenly into the light out of long darknesse.

Dr Pocklinton and Dr. *Bray* censured.

33. As Bishop *Williams* and Mr. *Osbaston*, were the two first Clergy-men who found the favour of this Parliament, (being remitted their fines, and restored to their livings and liberty) so Doctor *Pocklington* and Doctor *Bray* were the two first that felt their displeasures. The former for preaching and printing, the latter for licencing two books, one called *Sunday no Sabbath*, the other *The Christian altar*. Bishop *Williams* moved, that Doctor *Bray* might recant *seven* errours in the first, *four* and *twenty* in the second Treatise. Soon after both the Doctors decealed, for *grief*, say some, that they had *writen* what they *should not*, for *shame*, say others, that they had *recanted* what they *would not*; though a third sort more charitably take notice neither of the one nor the other, but meerly impute it to the approach of the time of their dissolution.

34. Doctor

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34. Doctor *Cosen* soon after was highly accused, for superstition and unjust proceedings against one Mr. *Smart* on this occasion. The Doctor is charged to have set up in the Church of *Durham* a Marble Altar with Cherubins, which cost two thousands pounds, with all the appurtenances thereof, namely, a *Cope* with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man, another with a Crucifix and the Image of Christ, with a red Beard and blew Cap. Besides he was accused for lighting two hundred wax Candles about the Altar on *Candlemas day*. For forbidding any Psalmes to be sung before or after Sermon, though making an Anthem, to be sung of the *three Kings of Collen* (by the names of) *Gasper*, *Balthazar*, and *Melchior*; and for procuring a *consecrated Knife* only to cut the Bread at the Communion.

Superstitions charged on Dr. Cosen.

35. Mr. *Smart* a prebendary of the Church, one of a grave aspect and reverend presence, sharply enveyed in a Sermon against these innovations, taking for his text: *I hate all those that hold superstitious vanities, but thy law doe I love.*

Cruel usage of Mr. *Smart*.

36. Hereupon he was kept prisoner four moneths by the *high Commission* of *York*, before any Articles were exhibited against him, and five moneths before any Proctor was allowed him. Hence was he carried to the High-Commission at *Lambeth*, and after long trouble remanded to *York*, fined 500. pounds, committed to prison, ordered to recant, and for that neglect thereof, fined again, excommunicated, degraded, and deprived, his damage (as brought in) amounting to many thousand pounds.

Relieved by Parliament.

37. But now Mr. *Rows* of the House of Commons, bringing up the charge to the Lords against Doctor *Cosen*, termed Mr. *Smart* the *Proto martyr of England in these latter dayes of persecution*, and large reparations was allowed unto him, though he lived not long after to enjoy them.

Dr. *Cosen* his due praise.

38. Now though none can excuse and defend Doctor *Cosen* his carriage herein, yet this must be reported to his due commendation. Some yeers after getting over into *France*, he neither joyned with the Church of French Protestants at *Charentoun* nigh *Paris*, nor kept any communion with the Papists therein, but confined himself to the Church of old English Protestants therein. Where by his pious living and constant praying and preaching, he reduced some recusants to, and confirmed more doubters in the Protestant Religion. Many his incounters with Jesuits and Priests defeating the suspicions of his foes, and exceeding the expectation of his Friends, in the successe of such disputes.

Jan. 23

39. The Commons desired the Lords to joyn with them to finde out, who moved the King to reprieve *John Goodman* a seminary Priest, who (as they said) had been twice condemned, and now the second time reprieved, whilest the Parliament sate.

Goodman a Priest handled betwixt life and death.

Jan. 25

40. The King sent a message by the Lord Privy-Seal, that *Goodman* was not (as the Commons were informed) condemned and banished, but only sentenced for being a Priest, and therefore that in reprieving him he shewed but the like mercy which Queen *Eliz.* and King *James* had shewed in the like cases.

Jan. 27

41. The Lords joyned with the Commons in their desire concerning *Goodman*, that the Statutes might speedily be executed upon him, as necessary in this juncture of time, wherein Papists swarmed in all parts presuming on indemnity. With what credit or comfort could they sit to enact new Lawes, whilst they beheld former Statutes dayly broken before their eyes?

Feb. 3

42. The King acquainted the Houses that though Queen *Eliz.* and King *James* never condemned Priest meerly for Religion, yet rather then he would discontent his Subjects he left him to the judgment of

both Houses, to be disposed of at their pleasure.

Yet he escapeth with life at last.

43. *Goodman* petitioned the King that like *Jonah the Prophet*, he might be cast into the Sea, to still the tempest betwixt the King and his People, conceiving his blood well spent to cement them together. But in fine he escaped with his life, not so much by any favour indulged him, as principally because the accusations could not be so fully proved against him.

The first mention of the Protestation.

44. About this time was the first motion of a new *Protestation*, to be taken all over *England* (the Copy whereof is omitted as obvious every where) which some moneths after, was generally performed as containing nothing but what was lawfull and commendable therein. Yet some refused it as suspecting the adding of new, would substract obedience from former oathes, (men being prone to love that best which left the last relish in their souls) and in fine such new obligations of conscience like *suckers*, would draw from the *stock* of the old oathes of supremacy and alleagiance.

A Committee of the Lords to settle religion.

45. *March* began very blusteringly, on the first day whereof *Archbishop Laud* was in Mr. *Maxfeild* his *Coach* carried to the *Tower*, and not long after the *Lords* appointed a *Committee* of their own *Members* for settling of peace in the *Church*. What hopefull opinion the aforesaid *Archbishop* had of their *proceedings*, will appear by the following note which he entred into his [a] *Diarie*.

a March 21. pag. 34.

> A Committee for Religion settled in the upper house of Parliament. Ten Earles, ten Bishops, ten Barons. So the Lay-Votes will be double to the Clergy. This Committee will meddle with Doctrine as well as Ceremonies, and will call some Divines to them to consider of the businesse, as appears by a Letter hereto annexed, sent by the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln* to some Divines, to attend this service: upon the whole matter, I believe this Committee will prove the Nationall Synod of *England*, to the great dishonour of the Church. And what else may follow upon it, God knowes.

A Sub-Committee for the same purpose.

46. At the same time the Lords appointed a *Sub-committee*, to prepare matters fit for their cognizance, (the Bishop of *Lincoln* having the *Chair* in both) authorized to call together divers *Bishops* and *Divines*, to consult together for correction of what was amisse, and to settle peace. *viz.*

b More were named, but these chiefly were present.

[b] The Archbishop of *Armagh*.	Doctor *Ralph Brounrigg*.
The Bishop of *Durham*.	Doctor *Richard Holdsworth*.
The Bishop of *Exeter*.	Doctor *John Hacket*.
Doctor *Samuel Ward*.	Doctor *Cornelius Burges*.
Doctor *John Prideaux*.	Master *John White*.
Doctor *William Twisse*.	Master *Stephen Marshall*.
Doctor *Robert Sanderson*.	Master *Edmund Calamy*.
Doctor *Daniel Featlye*.	Master *Thomas Hill*.

Jerusalem-Chamber in the Dean of *Westminsters* house, was the place of their meeting, (where they had solemn debates six severall dayes) alwaies entertained at his Table with such bountifull chear as well became a Bishop. But this we behold as the *last course*, of all *publick Episcopall-Treatments*, whose *Guests* may now even *put up their Knives*, seeing soon after the *Voider* was called for, which took away all *Bishops lands*, and most of *English-Hospitality*.

They consult on Innovations in Doctrin

47. First they took the *Innovations of Doctrine* into consideration, and here some complained, that all the tenets of the *Councell of Trent*, had (by one or other) been preached and printed, abating only such points of *State-Popery* against the *Kings Supremacy*, made treason by the Statute. *Good works co-causes with faith, by justification: private confession, by particular enumeration of sinnes,*

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ſinnes, needfull neceſſitate medii to ſalvation, that the *oblation* (or as others, the conſumption) of the Elements, in the Lords-Supper, *holdeth the nature of a true ſacrifice, prayers for the dead, lawfulneſſe of monaſticall vowes*, the groſſe ſubſtance of *Arminianiſm*, and ſome dangerous points of *Socinianiſme*.

48. Secondly, they enquired into *preter-canonicall conformity*, and *innovations in diſcipline*. Advancing *Candleſticks* in parochiall Churches in the day time, on the *Altar ſo called*. Making Canopyes over, with traverſes of Curtains (in imitation of the *Vaile* before the *Holy* of *Holyes*) on each ſide and before it. Having a *credentia*, or *ſide-Table*, (as a *Chappel of eaſe*, to the *Mother Altar*) for divers uſes in the Lords Supper. Forbidding a direct prayer before Sermon, and Miniſters to expound the Catechiſm at large to their Pariſhioners, carrying children (when baptized) to the Altar ſo called, and there offering them up to God, pretending for ſome of theſe innovations, the injunctions and advertiſements of Queen *Eliz.* which are not in force, and appertaining to the printed *Liturgy ſecundo & tertio Edvardi ſexti*, which is reformed by Parliament. And in diſcipline.

49. Thirdly, they conſulted about the *Common Prayer-Book*, whether ſome *legendary*, and ſome much *doubted ſaints*, with ſome *ſuperſtitious memorialls* were not to be expunged the calendar.[c] Whether it was not fit that the Leſſons ſhould be only out of Canonicall Scripture, the Epiſtles, Goſpells, Pſalmes, and Hymes, to be read in the new tranſlation, &c. Whether times prohibited for Marriage, are not totally to be taken away. Whether it were not *fit that hereafter none ſhould have a Licence*, or have their *Banes of Matrimony* asked, *ſave ſuch who ſhould bring a Certificate from their Miniſter, that they were inſtructed in their Catechiſm*. Whether the Rubick is not to be mended, altered and explained in many particulars. And concerning the Common-Prayer.

[c] This I did write out of the private notes of one of the Committe.

50. Laſtly, they entered on the regulating of *Eccleſiaſticall government*, which was not brought in, becauſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had undertaken the draught thereof, but not finiſhed it, as imployed at the ſame time in the managing of many matters of State: ſo eaſy it is for a great perſon never to be at leiſure, to doe, what he hath no great minde ſhould be done. And regulation of government.

51. Some are of opinion that the moderation and mutuall compliance of theſe Divines, might have produced much good, if not interrupted, conceiving ſuch *lopping* might have ſaved the *felling* of Epiſcopacy. Yea they are confident, had this *expedient* been purſued and perfected, Divers opinions what this conference might have produced.

Troiaq. nunc ſtares, Priamiq. arx alta maneres.
Troy ſtill had ſtood in power,
And King *Priams* lofty Tower,
Had remained at this hower:

it might, under God, have been a means, not only to have *checkt*, but *choakt* our civill War in the infancy thereof. But the Court prelates expected no good from the reſult of this meeting, ſuſpecting the *Doctrinal Puritans*, (as they nicknamed them) joyned with the *Diſciplinary Puritans*, would betray the Church betwixt them. Some hot ſpirits would not have one *ace* of epiſcopal power or profit abated, and (though ſince *confuted by their own hunger*) preferred *no bread, before half a loaf*. Theſe maintained that any giving *back of ground*, was in effect the *granting of the day* to the oppoſit party, ſo covetous they be to multiply their *cravings*, on the others *conceſſions*. But what the iſſue of this conference concluded would have been, is only known to him who knew what * *the Men of Keilah would doe*, and whoſe preſcience extends not only to things *future*, but *futurable*, having the certain cogniſance of contingents, which might, yet never actually ſhall, come to paſſe.

* 1 Sam. 23. 12.

52. This conſultation continued till the middle of *May*, and the *weaving* thereof was fairly forward on the *Loome*, when *Atropos occat*, the bringing Broken off.

in the *Bill* against *Deanes* and *Chapters*, *Root* and *Branch*, cut off all the threds, putting such a distance betwixt the fore-said Divines, that never their Judgements, (and scarce their Persons) met after together. Anno Dom. 1641. Anno Regis Caroli 16.

The death of Bishop *Davenant*.

53. In the midst of these troublesome times, *John Davenant* Bishop of *Salisbury* ended his life. His Father was a wealthy and religious Citizen of *London*, but born at *Davenants-lands* in *Sible Henningham* in *Essex*. Where his Ancestours had continued in a worshipfull degree from *Sir John Davenant*, who lived in the time of King *Henry* the third. He bred his sonne a Fellow Commoner in *Queens Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and would not suffer him to accept a Fellowship, though offered, as conceiving it a bending of these places from the direct intent of the Founders, when they are bestowed on such as have plenty. Though indeed such preferments are appointed, as well for the reward of those that are worthy, as the relief of those that want: and after his Fathers death he was chosen into that Society. In his youthfull exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that *Dr. Whitacre*, hearing him dispute, said, *The he would in time prove the Honour of the University.* A Prediction that proved not untrue; when afterward he was chosen *Margaret Professour* of Divinity, being as yet but a private Fellow of the Colledge. Whereof some yeers after he was made Master, and at last Bishop of *Salisbury*. Where with what gravity, and moderation he behaved himself, how humble, hospitable, painfull in preaching and writing, may better be reported hereafter, when his memory (green as yet) shall be mellowed by time. He sate Bishop about twenty yeers, and died of a Consumption *anno* 1641. to which, sensibleness of the sorrowfull times, (which he saw were bad, and foresaw would be worse) did contribute not a little. I cannot omit, how some few hours before his death, having lyen for a long time (though not speechless, yet) not speaking, nor able to speak (as we beholders thought, though indeed he hid that little strength we thought he had lost, and reserved himself for pupose) he fell into a most emphaticall prayer for half a quarter of an hour. Amongst many heavenly passages therein, *He thanked God for this his fatherly correction, because in all his life time he never had one heavie affliction, which made him often much suspect with himself, whether he was a true Child of God or no, untill this his last sickness.* Then he sweetly fell asleep in Christ, and so we softly draw the Curtains about him.

Deans and Chapters first opposed by Parliament.

54. The whole *Bodies* of *Cathedrall Churches*, being of too great a *bulk*, to be *blown up* by their *adversaries* at once, they began with the Quires, accusing the members thereof for useless and unprofitable. The Prelaticall Court Clergy, were not so active and diligent in defending these foundations, as it was expected from their interest and relations. Whether because they were disheartned at the imprisonment of their chief the Archbishop of *Cant.* or because some of them being otherwise obnoxious to the Parliament were loath therein to appear; or because they vainly hoped that this heat once over, all things would continue in their pristine condition; or because they were loath to plead in that Suit, wherein they despaired to prevaile, as foreseeing those places destined to dissolution.

An unjust charge.

55. Yet some of the same side causelesly complained of the backwardnesse of other moderate Cathedrall men, that they improved not their power with their Parliament friends so zealously as they might in this cause, as beginning too late, and proceeding too lazily therein, who should sooner have set their shoulders and backs to those tottering Quires, so either to support them, or to be buried under the ruines thereof. Whereas they did whatsoever good men could, or wise men would doe in their condition, leaving no stone unturned which might advantage them herein.

The Cathedrall-men endeavour to preserve their foundations.

56. Indeed it was conceived inconsistent with their gravity, to set themselves

April 21.

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ſelves to fight againſt the ſhadow of common rumour (and ſo to feign an enemy to themſelves) whileſt as yet no certainty of the Parliaments intentions to deſtroy Deanes and Chapters. What had this been but perchance to put that into their brains, which otherwiſe they charitably beleeved would not enter therein? But no ſooner were they certified of the reality of their deſigne, but they vigorouſly in their callings endeavoured the prevention thereof.

By
- Appointing one in each Cathedrall Church to ſollicite their friends on this behalf.
- Drawing up a Petition (the ſame *mutatis mutandis*) to Houſe of Lords and Commons, which (becauſe never formally preſented) I forbear to inſert.
- Retaining and inſtructing learned Councell to move for them in the Houſe.

Untill they were informed that the *Orders of the Houſe*, would not bear any to plead for them, but that they muſt perſonally appear and *viva voce* plead for themſelves.

May 12. 57. Leſt therefore their longer ſilence ſhould by poſterity be interpreted, either *Sullenneſſe*, that they would not; or *guiltineſſe*, that they durſt not ſpeak for themſelves, by their friends they obtained leave to be admitted into the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and to be heard what they could alledge in their own behalf. They made choice of *Dr. John Hacket*, Prebendary of *Pauls*, and Archdeacon of to be the mouth in the behalf of the reſt. The brief heads of whoſe ſpeech, copied (by his leave) out of his own papers, are here inſerted.

Dr. Hacket his Speech in the defence of Deans and Chapters.

58. Firſt he craved the favour of that Honourable Houſe, to whom he was to ſpeak on a double diſadvantage. One cauſed from the ſhortneſſe of time, this employment being impoſed on him but in the afternoon of the day before. The other becauſe he had not heard what crimes or offences were charged on Deanes and Chapters, (that ſo he might purge them from ſuch imputations) reports only flying abroad that they were accounted of ſome, of no uſe, and convenience; the contrary whereof he ſhould endeavour to prove, reducing the ſame to two heads, *quoad res, & quoad Perſonas*, in regard of things of great moment, and divers *Perſons* concerned in ſuch Foundations.

59. To the firſt. It is fit that to ſupply the defects of *prayer* committed by *private men*, the publick duty thereof ſhould be conſtantly performed in ſome *principall place* (in imitation of the *primitive practice*) and this is dayly done in *Cathedrall Churches*. And whereas ſome complain that ſuch *ſervice* gives offence for the *ſuper-exquiſiteneſſe* of the *Muſick* therein, (ſo that what was intended for *Devotion* vaniſhed away into *Quavers* and *Aire*) he with the reſt of his *Brethren* there preſent wiſhed the amendment thereof, that it might be reduced to the *form* which *Athanaſius* commends, *ut legentibus ſint quàm cantantibus ſimiliores*. And here he ſpake much in prayſe of the *Church-Muſick*, when moderated to *Edification*.

60. Hence he paſſed to what he tearmeth the *other wing of the Cherubin*, which is *Preaching*, firſt planted ſince the *Reformation* in *Cathedrall Churches*, as appears by the *learned Sermons* which *Dr. Allens* (afterwards *Biſhop* of *Exceſter*) preached in the *Church* of *St. Pauls*, and ſince continued therein. Where by the way he took occaſion to refell that *ſlander*, which ſome caſt on *Lecture-Preachers* as an *upſtart-Corporation*, alledging that the *locall Statutes* of moſt, or all *Cathedrall Churches* doe require *Lectures* on the week dayes. And in the name of his *Brethren* he requeſted that *Honourable Houſe*, that the godly and profitable performance of *preaching* might be the more exacted.

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61. In the third place he insisted on the advancement of *learning*, as the proper *use* and *convenience* of *Cathedralls*, each of them being a small *Academie*, for the *Champions* of *Christ* his *cause* against the *Adversarie* by their *learned pens*. Here he proffered to prove by a *catalogue* of their *names* and *works*, which he could produce, that most excellent labours in this kinde (excepting some few) have proceeded from persons preferred in *Cathedralls* or the *Universities*. Now what a disheartning would it be to *young Students*, if such *promotions* were taken away, witnesse the fewnesse of such admitted this last yeer into the *Universities*, and the deadnesse of the sale of good *Books* in *St. Pauls Church yard*, meerly upon a timorous imagination abroad, that we are now *shutting up learning in a case* and laying it aside. But if the *bare threatening* make such a *stop* in *literature*, what wil the *blow* given doe thereon?

62. Fourthly, he alledged that the ancient and genuine use of *Deans* and *Chapters* was, as *Senatus Episcopi*, to assist the Bishop in his jurisdiction. Now whereas some of his reverend Brethren had lately complained, that Bishops have for many yeers usurped the sole government to themselves, and their Consistories, the continuing of *Chapters* rightly used, would reduce it from one *Man*, to a plurality of assistants.

63. Lastly, the *structures* themselves should (said he) speak for the *structures*. Not that he would have them with *Christs disciples* fondly to admire the Fabricks, but to put them in remembrance, that *Cathedrall Churches* were the first monuments of Christianity in the Kingdome.

64. From *things*, he passed to *Persons*, and began with the multitude of such members as had maintenance from *Cathedralls*, (some one of them allowing lively-hood to three hundred, and) the totall amounting to many thousands. All which by the dissolutions of *Deans* and *Chapters*, must be exposed to poverty. Next he instanced in their *Tenants*, who holding Leases from *Deans* and *Chapters*, are sensible of their own happinesse, (in enjoying *six* parts of *seven* in pure gain) and therefore have petitioned the *House* to continue their ancient Land-lords. Thirdly, such Cities wherein Cathedrals stand, (if maritime) being very poor in Trade, are inriched by the hospitality of the Clergy, & the frequent resort of strangers unto them.

65. Then proceeded he to speak of the branches of the whole Kingdome, all being in hope to reap benefit by the continuance of *Deans* and *Chapters* lands as now emploied. For all men (said he) are not born elder Brothers, nor all elder Brothers inheriters of Land. Divers of low degree, but generous Spirits would be glad to advance themselves, and atchieve an estate by qualifying themselves by industry and virtue, to attain a share of *Cathedrall Endowments*, as the *common possession* of the *Realm*, *inclosed* in no *private mens* estate.

66. And whereas travailers inform them, that all ranks and degrees of people in *England*, [*Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *Yeamen*,] live more freely and fashionably, than in any other Countries, he trusted *their Honours* would account it reasonable, that the *Clergy* had in some sort, a better maintenance then in neighbouring reformed Churches, and not with *Jeroboams Priests*, to be the basest of all the People.

67. Then did he instance in some famous Protestants of forrain parts, who had found great relief and comfort by being installed *Prebendaries* in our Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, as *Dr. Saravia*, preferred by Queen *Elizabeth*, *Dr. Casaubon*, (*Father* and *Son*) by King *James*, *Dr. Primrose*, *Mr. Vossius*, in the reign of King *Charles*, and *Dr. Peter Moulin* alive at this day, and who intended to leave *Sedan*, (if the warlike preparations there proceeded) and come over into *England*, where he should have but sad welcome if all his livelyhood were taken away from him.

68. Nor could an *Act* be done more to gratify the Church of Rome, than

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than to destroy *Deans* and *Chapters*, seeing * *Sanders* himself seemeth to complain, that Queen *Elizabeth* had left *Provosts*, *Deans*, *Canons* and *Prebendaries*, in Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, because he foresaw, such foundations would conduce to the stability of religion, so that by his words, a fatter Sacrifice could not be offered up, to such as himself, than the extirpation of them.

* De schismate Anglicano pag. 163.

69. He went forwards to shew the benefit the King, and Commonwealth reapt by such Lands, as paying greater summs to the Exchequer, for *first fruits*, *tenths* and *subsidies*, according to the proportion, than any other estates, & Corporations in the Kingdome. And are ready (said he) if called upon, cheerfully to contribute in an extraordinary manner to the charge of the Kingdome.

70. Now as he was by their Honours favour admitted to plead under that roof, where their noble Progenitors had given to the Clergy, so many *Charters*, *Priviledges*, & *Immunities*, so he implored to finde the ancient & honourable justice of the House unto his Brethren, who were not charged, much lesse convicted of any scandalous faults, justly for the same to forfeit their estates.

71. At last he led them to the highest degree of all considerations, *viz.* the honour of God, to whose worship and service such Fabricks and Lands were dedicated, and *barred all alienation* with (which he said is *tremenda vox*) *curses* and *imprecations*; he minded them of the *censers* of *Korah* and his complices, pronounced *hallowed*, * because pretended to doe God service therewith. And lest any should wave this as a *Leviticall nicety*, it was * *proverbiall Divinity* a received rule in every mans mouth. *It is a snare to a man that devoureth that which is holy.* He added the smart question of *St. Paul*, *Thou that abhorrest Idols, doest thou commit Sacrilege?* and concluded, that on the ruins of the rewards of learning, no structure can be raised but *ignorance*, and upon the chaos of ignorance, nothing can be built but profaneness and confusion.

* Numbers 16. 38.

* Proverbs 20. 25.

72. This his speech was uttered with such becoming gravity, that it was generally well relented and wrought much on the House for the present, so that had the aliening of such Lands been then *put to the Vote*, some (who conceived themselves knowing of the *sense of the House*) concluded it would have been carried *on the Negative* by more than six score suffrages.

The Speech well accepted.

73. In the afternoon *Dr. Cornelius Burges*, as Speaker for his Party, made a vehement invective against *Deans* and *Chapters*, and the unprofitablenesse of such Corporations. He heavily aggravated the debauchednesse of Singingmen, not only useleſse, but hurtfull by their vicious conversations. Yet he concluded with the utter unlawfulnesse, to convert such Endowments to any private Persons profit. So that the same Doctrine was delivered by both the *Doctors*, only they differed in their *Applications*, the former being for the *continuing* such lands to their *ancient*, the latter for diverting them to other, but neither for alienating them from publique and pious imployments.

Dr. Burges his Speech against Deans and Chapters.

74. If since *Dr. Burges* hath been a large purchaser of such lands to himself, if since *St. Andrew* * *the first converted*, and *St. Paul the last converted* Apostle have met in his purse, I doubt not but that he can give sufficient reason for the same, both to himself and any other, that shall question him therein. The rather because lately he read his learned Lectures in *St. Pauls*, on the *Criticisms of Conscience*, no lesse carefully then curiously weighing satisfaction to *scruples*, and if there be any fault, so able a Confessor, knows how to get his absolution.

His ability in casuistical Divinity. * 1 Joh. 1. and Luke.

75. A Bill brought up from the Commons to the Lords against Bishops and Clergy-men, which having severall branches was severally voted.

A medly Bill against Bishops partly granted, partly denyed.

1. That they should have no votes in Parliament.
2. That they should not be in the Commission of the Peace, nor Judges in Temporall Courts.
3. Nor sit in the Star-Chamber, nor be Privy-Counsellors.

The

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The two last branches of this Bill passed by generall consent; not above two dissenting. But the first branch was voted in the *Negative*, wherein all the Bishops gave their own voices for themselves. Yet had their suffrages been secluded, and the question only put to the *lay Lords*, it had been carried for the Bishops by sixteen decisive.

June 8

76. After some dayes debate, the Lords who were against the Bishops, protested that the former manner of *voting the Bill by branches*, was *unparlamentary* and *illegall*. Wherefore they moved the House that they should be so joyned together, as either *to take the Bill in wholly* or *cast it all out*. Whereupon the whole Bill was utterly cast out by many voices; had not the Bishops (as again they did) given their suffrages in the same.

At last wholly cast out.

77. Master *Maynard* made a Speech in the Committee of Lords against the Canons, made by the Bishops in the last Convocation, therein with much learning indeavouring to prove

Mr. *Maynards* Speech against the Canons.

1. That in the Saxons times (as *Malmesbury*, *Hoveden*, Sir *Henry Spelman* &c. doe witnesse) Lawes and constitutions Ecclesiasticall had the confirmation of *Peers* and sometimes of the People, to which great Councells our Parliaments do succeed.
2. That it appears out of the aforesaid Authors, and others, that there was some *checking* about the disuse of the generall making of such Church Lawes.
3. That for Kings to make Canons without consent of Parliament cannot stand, because built on a bad foundation, viz. *on the Popes making Canons by his sole Power*, so that the groundwork not being good the superstructure sinketh therewith.
4. He examined the Statute [illegible] of *Henry* 8, avouching that that clause, *The Clergy shall not make Canons without the Kings leave*, implyeth not, that by his leave alone they may make them.

Lastly he endeavoured to prove that these Canons were against the Kings *Prerogative*, the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the Subject, insisting herein on severall particulars.

1. The first Canon puts a penalty on such as disobey them.
2. One of them determineth the Kings Power and the Subjects right.
3. It sheweth that the Ordinance of Kings is by the Law of Nature, and then they should be in all places and all alike.
4. One of the Canons saith that the King may not be resisted.
5. Another makes a Holy Day, whereas that the Parliam[illegible] there shall be such and no more.

This his Speech lost neither life nor lustre, being reported to [illegible]y the Bishop of *Lincoln* a back friend to the Canons, becaus[illegible] absence and durance in the Tower.

Severall judgments of the Clergyes offence.

78. One in the House of Commons heightned [illegible] lergy herein, into Treason, which their more moder[illegible] into a Premunire. Many much insisted on [illegible]on for presuming (being but private men [illegible] Parliament) to grant subsidies, and so without [illegible] to give away the estates of their fellow-subjects.

A Bill read against the High-Commission.

78. A Bill was read to repeal that Statute of 1 *Eliz.* whereby the *High-Commission Court* is erected. This Bill a[illegible]'s for[illegible] Archbishop, Bishop &c. deriving power from the K[illegible] pain, penalty, amercement, imprisonment, or corpor[illegible] any ecclesiasticall offence or transgression. Forbidding them likewise to administer the Oath *Ex officio* or give Oath to *Church-Wardens*, Sides-men or any others, whereby their own or others offences should be discovered.

June 17

DIGNISIMO

Anno Regis Caroli 16 | Anno Dom. 1640

DIGNISSIMO

DOM. THOMAE FISHER

BARONETTO.

CUM *Insignia* tua *Gentilitia* intueor, non sum adeò *Heraldicæ Artis* ignarus, quin probè sciam, quid sibi velit *Manus illa, Scutello* inserta.

Te scilicet *Baronettum* designat, cùm omnes in illum *Ordinem* cooptati, ex *Institutione* sua, ad * *Ultoniam, (Hiberniæ Provinciam) forti dextrâ* defendendam teneantur.

At sensum (præter hunc *vulgarem*) alium *latiorem*, & (quoad meipsum) *lætiorem, Manui illi expansæ*, quæ in tuo *Clypeo* spectabilis, subesse video. *Index* est summæ tuæ *Munificentiæ*, quo nomine me tibi divinctissimum profiteor.

* *Seldenus in titulis Honoris.*

June 14

1. 

Mitting matters of greater consequence, know that the Bill against the *High Commission*, was the third time read in the House of Lords and passed it, which some dayes after was confirmed by his Majesty. Thus the edge of the Spiritual Sword, as to discipline, was taken away. For although I read of a *Proviso* made in the House of Lords, that the generall words in this Bill should extend only to the High-Commission-Court, and not reach other Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction: yet that *Proviso* being but writen and the Statute printed, all coercive power of Church Consistories were taken away. Mr. *Pim* triumphed at this successe, crying out, *Di-*

The High Commission Court put down.

June 17

gitus Dei, it is the finger of God, that the Bishops should so supinely suffer themselves to be surprised in their power. Some disaffected to Episcopy observed a Justice, that seeing many simple souls were in the high Commission Court by captious interrogatories circumvented into a self-accusation, an unsuspected clause in this Statute should abolish all their lawfull authority. Anno Dom. 1641 | Anno Regis Caroli 16

The Bill for Regulation of Bishops. July 2

2. The Bishop of *Lincoln* brought up a Bill to regulate Bishops and their jurisdiction, consisting of severall particulars:

1. That every Bishop being in his Dioceſſe not sick should preach once every Lords day, or pay five pounds to the poor to be levyed by the next Justice of Peace, and distresse made by the Constable.
2. That no Bishop shall be Justice of Peace, save the *Dean* of *Westminster* in *Westminster*, and St. *Martines*.
3. That every Bishop should have twelve assistants (besides the Dean and Chapter) four chosen by the King, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons, for jurisdiction and ordination.
4. That in all vacancies they should present to the King, three of the ablest Divines in the Dioceſſe, out of which his Majesty might choose one to be Bishop.
5. Deans and Prebends to be resident at the Cathedralls but sixty
6. dayes.
That Sermons be preached therein twice every Lords day, once every Holy day, and a Lecture on Wednesday *mpathe* salary of 100. Marks.
7. All Archbishops, Bishops, Collegiate Churches, &c. to give a fourth part of their fines and improved rents, to buy out Impropriations.
8. All double beneficed men to pay a moiety of their benefice to their Curates.
9. No appeal to the Court of *Arches* or Audience.
10. Canons and Eccleſiaſtcall capitulations, to be drawn up and fitted to the Lawes of the Land by sixteen learned men, chosen six by the King, five by the Lords, and five by the Commons.

This Bill was but once read in the House, and no great matter made thereof: the Antiepiscopall party conceived it needleſſe to shave their beards, whose heads they intended to cut off, designing an utter extirpation of Bishops.

A crying sinne of the English Clergy.

3. By the way the mention of a *moiety to the Curats*, minds me of a crying sin of the English Clergy conceived by the most conscientious amongst them, a great incentive of Divine anger against them; namely, the miserable and *scandalous* Stipends afforded to their Curats. Which made *Lay-men* follow their pattern in *Vicaridges* unindowed, seeing such who knew most what belong to the work, allowed the least wages to the Ministry. Hence is it that God since hath *changed his hand*, making many who were poor *Curats* rich *Rectors*, and many wealthy *Incumbents* to become poor *Curats*. It will not be amisse to wish thankfulneſſe without pride to the one, and patience without dejection to the other.

A Bill against Bishop *Wren*. July 10

4. A Bill was sent up by the Commons against *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, containing twenty five Articles, charging him for being Popishly affected, a suppreſſor of Preaching, and introducer of *Arbitrary Power* to the hazard of the estates and lives of many. They desired he might be sequestred from the Kings Person and Service.

The Bishops impeached for making of Canons.

5. To return to the Bishops, the Commons perceiving that they were so tenacious of their votes in Parliament, resolved vigorously to prosecute the impeachment against them for making of Canons, expecting the Bishops should willingly quit their votes as Barons to be acquitted of their Premunire,

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premunire, whereby they forfeited all their Personall estates, yet the sound of so great a charge did not so affright them but that they persisted legally to defend their innocence.

6. The Bishops that were impeached for making Canons, craved time till *Michaelmas* Term to make their answer. This was vehemently opposed by some Lords, and two questions were put.

1. Whether the Bishops should sit still in the House though without voting (to which themselves consented) whilst the circumstance of time for their answer was in debate.
2. What time they should have for their answer.

Have time and councell allowed them.

The first of these was carried for them by one present voice, and four *proxies*; and for the second, time was allowed them till the tenth of *November*. And although the adverse Lords pleaded that in offences criminall, for matters of fact, no councell should be allowed them, but to answer yea or no: yet on the Lord Keepers affirming it ordinary and just to allow councell in such cases, it was permitted unto them.

The impeachment of the Bishops waved and why.

Bishop *Wren* of *Norwich* is chosen by joynt consent, to solicite the cause, and to argue the point of cost therein. Of the *Councell* he retained, two only appeared, Serjeant *Fermin*, who declined to plead for them, except the Bishops would first procure him a Warrant from the House of *Commons* (which they refused to doe:) and Mr. *Chuite*, who being demanded of the Lords whether he would plead for the Bishops, Yea (said he) *so long as I have a tongue in my head*. Soon after he drew up a *Demurrer* in their behalf, that their offence in making Canons could not amount to a Premunire. This being shown to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, he protested that he never saw a stronger demurrer all the dayes of his life: and the notice hereof to the Lords was probably the cause, that they waved any further prosecution of the charge, which thenceforward sunk in silence.

The Bishops accused for mean birth.

8. Fain we now from the *outworks* of Episcopacy (I mean the *Deans* and *Chapters*) unto which fiercely stormed (but as yet not taken) to the Bishops themselves, who began to shake, seeing their interest and respects in the House of Lords did daily decay, and decline. Yea, about this time came forth and Lord *Brook* his book against Bishops, accusing them in respect of their parentage to be *de fæce populi*, *of the dregs of the people*; and in respect of their studies no way fit for government, or to be Barons in Parliament.

Vindicated their parentage.

9. Whereupon the Bishops taking this accusation to heart, meet together; and in their own necessary defence, thought fit to vindicate their extractions, some publickly, some in private discourse.

Dr. *Williams* began, then Archbishop of *York* (*Canterbury* being in the Tower) was accused in the *Star-Chamber*, for purchasing the two ancientest Houses and and inheritances in *North-Wales* (which are *Penrhyne* and *Quowilocke*) in regard he was descended from them. So that he might as truely accuse all the ancient Nobility of *Britain*, as tax him for meanly descended.

Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London* did or might plead that his parents lived in good fashion, and gave him large allowance first in the University, then in *Grays-Inn*, where he lived as fashionably as other Gentlemen, so that the Lord *Brooks* might question the parentage of any Inns-of-Court-Gentlemen, as well as his.

Bishop *Morton* of *Durham*, averred that his father had been Lord Major of *York*, and born all the Offices of that City with credit and honour; so that the Lord *Brook* might as justly quarrell the descent of any Citizens Sons in *England*.

Bishop *Curle* of *Winchester* his father was for many yeers Auditor in

the *Court* of *Wards*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*: and the aforesaid Lord may as well condemn all the sonnes of Officers to be meanly born as accuse him.

Bishop *Cook* of *Hereford*, his Fathers family had continued in *Darbyshire*, in the same house, and in the same means, four hundred yeers at least, often Sheriffs of that County, and matched to all the best houses therein. So that the Lord *Brook* might as well have charged all the ancient Gentry of that shire for mean parentage as accuse him.

Bishop *Owen* of *Asaph*, that there was not a Gentleman in the two Counties of *Carnarvan* and *Anglesey*, of three hundred pounds a yeer, but was his Kinsman or allieman in the fourth degree; which he thinks, will sufficiently justify his parentage.

Bishop *Goodman* of *Glocester*, that though his very name seemed to point out his descent from Yeomantry, yet (though the youngest sonne of the youngest brother) he had more left unto him, than the Lord *Brook* his father had to maintain him and all his family. That his grandfather by his father side, purchased the whole estate of Sir *Thomas Exmew*, Lord Maior *London* 1517. and that by his mothers side he was descended of the best parentage of the City of *London*.

The rest of the Bishops might sufficiently vindicate their parentage, as most the Sonnes of Ministers, or Lay-Gentlemen, whose extractions ran not so low as to any such *feculencie* charged upon them.

The degrees whereby the Bishops declined in Parliament.

10. But moe symptomes of their dying power in Parliament daily discovered themselves, some whereof we will recount, that posterity may perceive by what degrees they did lessen in the House, before they lost their Votes therein.

First, whereas it was customary, that in all Commissions, such a number of Bishops should be joyned with the temporall Lords, of late their due proportions were not observed.

The Clark of the Parliament, applying himselfe to the prevalent party, in the reading of Bills turned his back to the Bishops, who could not (and it seems he intended they should not) distinctly hear any thing, as if their consent or dissent were little concerned therein.

When a Bill passed for exchange of Lands, betwixt the Bishop of *London* and Sir *Nicolas Crispe*, the temporall Lords were offended that the Bishop was styled *Right Honourable* therein, which at last was expung'd and he intitled, *one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councell*; the *honour* being fixed upon his State imployment, not Episcopall function.

On a solemn Fast in their going to Church, the temporall Lords first took precedency of the Bishops (who quietly submitted themselves to come behind) on the same token, that [a] one of the Lay-Lords said, *Is this a day Humiliation, wherein we shew so much pride, in taking place of those to whom our ancestors ever allow'd it?*

[a] The young Lord *Spenser* afterwards E. of *Sunderland*.

But the main matter was, that the Bishops were denied all medling even in the Commission of preparatory examinations concerning the Earl of *Strafford*, as *causa sanguinis*, and they as men of mercy not to deal in the condemnation of any person. The Bishops pleaded, though it was not proper for them to condemn the guilty, yet they might acquit the innocent, and such an one as yet that Earl was charitably presumed to be, untill legally convicted to be otherwise. They alledged also in their own behalf, that a Commission was granted in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, to certain Privy-Counsellors,

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Counsellors for the examination of the Queen of *Scots*, even to her condemnation if just cause appear'd, [b] and *John Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, first named therein. All would not prevaile, the Bishops being forbidden any interposing in that matter.

b *Camdens Eliz.* in *An.* 1586.

11. It must not be forgotten, how about this time the Lord *Kimbolton* made a motion to perswade the Bishops, willingly to depart with their Votes in Parliament; adding, that if the same would surrender their suffrages, the temporall Lords who remained in the House, were obliged in honour, to be more tender of and carefull for the Bishops preservation in their Jurisdictions and Revenues. An instrument was imployed by the Earl of *Essex* (or else he imployed himself, conceiving the service acceptable) who dealt privately with severall Bishops to secure themselves by prevention, to surrender that which would be taken away from them. But the Bishops persisted in the negative, refusing by any voluntary act to be accessarie to their own injury, resolving to keep possession of their Votes, till a prevalent power outed them thereof.

Bishops refuse willingly to resigne their Votes.

12. Now no day passed, wherein some petition was not presented to the Lords or Commons, from severall persons against the Bishops as grand grievancers, causing the generall decay of trade, obstructing the proceedings in Parliament, and what not? In so much, that the very Porters (as they said) were able no longer to undergoe the burden of Episcopall tyranny, and petitioned against it. But hitherto these were but *blunt petitions*, the last was a *sharp one* (with point and edg) brought up for the same purpose by the armed Apprentices.

Multitudes of petitions against Bishops

13. Now, seeing mens judgments are at such a distance, about the nature of this their practice, some terming it a tumult, mutiny, riot; others calling it courage, zeal, and industry; some admiring them as acted with a publique spirit, above their age and education; others condemning them much, their countenancers more, their secret abetters and contrivers, most of all: I say, when men are thus divided in point of judgement, it will be safest for us to confine our selves, meerly to matter of fact. Wherein also we meet with much diversity of relation; though surely, what a [c] Parlitary Chronicler writes thereof, must be believed.

A land-tide of Apprentices flow to *Westminster*.

c *John Vicars* in his *God in the Mount* or *Parliamentarie Chronicle*, *lib.* 1. *pag.* 58.

Decem. 26.

Now, see how it pleased the Lord it should come to passe; some of the Apprentices, and Citizens were again affronted about *Westminster-Abbey*, and a great noise and hubbub fell out thereabouts. Others, some of them, watched (as it seems by the sequell) the Bishops coming to the Parliament, who, considering the disquiet and great noise by land all about *Westminster*, durst not come to Parliament that way, for fear of the Apprentices, and therefore intended to have come to Parliament, by water in Barges. But the Apprentices watched them that way also; and as they thought to come to land, they were so pelted with stones, and frighted at the sight of such a company of them, that they durst not land, but were rowed back, and went away to their places.

Thus the Bishops were fain to shelter themselves from the showre of stones ready to fall upon them, and with great difficulty made their escape. Who otherwise on St. *Stephans day*, had gone St. *Stephans* way, to their graves.

14. As for the hubbub at *Westminster Abbey* lately mentioned, eye-witnesses have thus informed me of the manner thereof. Of those Apprences who coming up to the Parliament cryed, *No Bishops, no Bishops*, some rudely rushing into the *Abby Church*, were reproved by a Virger for their irreverent behaviour therein. Afterwards quitting the Church, the doors thereof by command from the Dean were shut up, to secure the Organs and Monuments therein, against the return of Apprentices. For though

The manner of the tumult at *Westminster Abby* and *White-Hall* belongs to the pens of State Historians.

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others could not foretell the intentions of such a tumult, who could not certainly tell their own, yet the suspicion was probable, by what was uttered amongst them. The multitude presently assault the Church, (under pretence that some of their party were detained therein) and force a pane out of the North door, but are beaten back by the officers & Scholars of the Colledge. Here an unhappy tile was cast by an unknown hand, from the leads or battlements of the Church, which so bruised Sir *Richard Wiseman* (conductor of the Apprentices) that he died thereof, and so ended that dayes distemper.

Why no more then 12 of the Bishops present at the Protest.

15. To return to the Bishops, the next day *twelve* of them repaired to *Jerusalem-Chamber* in the Deans lodgings; and if any demand where were the rest of them to make up *twenty six*, take this account of their absence.

13 Dr. *Laud* Archbishop of *Cant.* was in the Tower.
14 Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, was keeping his hospitality, (it being Christmas) at *Fulham*.
15 So was Dr. *Curle* at *Winchester-House*, and it was conceived unsafe (though but cross the *Thames*) to send unto him.
16 So also was Dr. *Warner* of *Rochester*, returned to entertain his neighbours in the Country.
17 Dr. *Bridgeman* of *Chester*
18 Dr. *Roberts* of *Bangor*
} were not as yet come out of the Country.
19 Dr. *Manwaring* Bishop of St. *Davids* sate not in the house, as disabled long since by his censure in Parliament.
26 Dr. *Duppa* Bishop of *Salisbury*, was attending his charge Prince *Charles*.

21 Dr. *John Prideaux*	were not yet consecrated Bishops of	*Worcester.*
22 Dr. *Winniffe*		*Lincoln.*
23 Dr. *Ralf Brounrigge.*		*Exeter.*
24 Dr. *Henry King*		*Chicheſter.*
25 Dr. *John Weſtfield*		*Briſtoll.*

20 *Carlile* was void by the late death of Dr. *Potter*, only confer'd by the King on Archbishop *Usher* to hold it in *Commendam*.

Thus have we made up their numbers, and must not forget that a secret item was given to some of the Bishops, by some of their well-wishers, to absent themselves in this licentious time of Christmas, though they had not the happinesse to make use of the advice.

The form thereof.

16. The other *twelve* Bishops being not yet fully recovered from their former fear, grief, and anger (which are confest by all, to be but bad counsellors, in cases of importance) drew up in hast and disturbance such a *Protestation*, that posterity already hath had more years to discusse and examine, then they had hours, (I had almost said minutes) to contrive and compose, and (most of them implicitly relying on the conceived infallability of the Archbishop of *York* in point of *common law*) all subscribed, as followeth.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty and the Lords and Peers, now assembled in Parliament.

Decem. 27.

WHereas the Petitioners are called up by ſeverall and reſpective writs, and under great penalties to attend the Parliament, and have a cleer and indubitable right to vote in Bills, and other matters whatſoever debatable in Parliament by the ancient cuſtomes,

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cuſtomes, Lawes and Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be protected by your Majeſty quietly to attend, and proſecute that great ſervice. They humbly remonſtrate, and proteſt before God, your Majeſty, and the noble Lords, and Peers, now aſſembled in Parliament, That as they have an indubitate right to ſit and vote in the Houſe of the Lords; ſo are they, if they may be protected from force and violence, moſt ready and willing to perform their duties accordingly. And that they doe abominate all actions or opinions tending to Popery, and the maintenance thereof, as alſo all propenſion and inclination to any malignant party or any other ſide or party whatſoever, to the which their own reaſons, and conſcience ſhall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at ſeverall times violently menaced, affronted and aſſaulted by multitudes of people in their coming to perform their ſervices in that Honourable Houſe, and lately chaſed away, and put in danger of their lives, and can finde no redreſſe or protection upon ſundry complaints made to both Houſes in theſe particulars; They humbly proteſt before your Majeſty, and the Noble Houſe of Peers, that ſaving unto themſelves all their rights and intereſt of ſitting, and voting in that Houſe at other times, they dare not ſit or vote in the Houſe of Peers, untill your Majeſty ſhall further ſecure them from all affronts, indignities and dangers in the premiſes. Laſtly, whereas their fears are not built upon phantaſies and conceits, but upon ſuch grounds and objects as may well terrifie men of reſolution and much conſtancy; they doe in all humility and duty proteſt before your Majeſty, and Peers of that moſt Honourable Houſe of Parliament, againſt all Lawes, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions, and Determinations, as in themſelves Null and of none effect, which in their abſence, ſince the 27th of this inſtant moneth of December 1641. *have already paſſed; as likewiſe againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſſe in that moſt Honourable Houſe, during the time of this their forced and violent abſence from the ſaid moſt Honourable Houſe: not denying, but if their abſenting of themſelves were wilfull and voluntary, that moſt honourable Houſe might proceed in all their premiſes, their abſence or this proteſtation notwithſtanding. And humbly beſeeching your moſt excellent Majeſty to command the Clark of that houſe of Peers to enter this their Petition and Proteſtation among his Records.*

They will ever pray God to bleſſe &c.

John Eborac.	Jo. Aſaph.	Ma. Ely.
Jho. Dureſme.	Guli. Ba. *and* Wells.	Godfry Glouc.
Ro. Co. Lich.	Geo. Heref.	Jo. Peterburg.
Joſ. Norw.	Robt. Oxon.	Morice Landaſf.

This inſtrument they delivered to Archbiſhop *Williams*, who according to their deſire, his own counſell, and promiſe, at the next opportunity, preſented it to his Majeſty.

17. His

The Bishops impeached of High-Treason

17. His Majesty would not meddle therewith in this dangerous juncture of time, (his great Councell then sitting) but wholly remitted the matter to the Parliament. The next morning, a Privy-Counsellor brought this protestation into the house, at the reading whereof the anti-episcopall party much triumphed, that the Bishops had gratified them with such an advantage against themselves, which their adversaries might wish, but durst not hope for heretofore. A conference is desired with the Commons in the painted Chamber, and therein concluded, that the Bishops should be impeached of high Treason, for indeavouring to subvert the fundamentall laws of the land, and the very being of Parliaments.

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And committed to the Tower.

18. Hereupon the next day the *twelve* subscribers were voted to be committed to the Tower, save that Bishop *Morton* of *Durham*, and *Hall* of *Norwich*, found some favour, partly in respect of their old age; and partly in regard of the great good they had done with their pens and preaching, to the Church of God: So that they alone were sent to the custody of the black rod. The rest being brought into the Tower, had that honour granted them in the prison which was denied them in the Parliament, to be esteemed equall with, yea above, *temporall Lords*, as appeared by the fees demanded of them; Though in fine Sir *John Biron* Lieutenant of the Tower, proved very courteous in removing the rigor thereof. The Archbishop of *Cant.* by a civill message, excused himself for not conversing with them, because he was committed on a different account from them, and probably they might mutually fare the worse, for any intercourse. And here we leave them prisoners for eighteen weeks together, and proceed.

19 | 30

Viscount *Newwark* his two Speeches in the behalf of Bishops.

19. Now was the *Bill* against *the Bishops sitting in Parliament* brought up into the *house of Lords*, and the matter agitated with much eagerness on both sides. Amongst those, who sided with them, none *appeared in print* more zealous, then the Lord Viscount *Newwarke* (afterward *Earle of Kingstone*, &c.) whose *two speeches* in *Parliament* although spoken some * moneths before, yet for the entireness of the *History* may now seasonably be inserted.

* The first May 21. The second May 24 anno 1641.

I shall take the boldnesse to speak a word or two upon this subject, first as it is in it self, then as it is in the consequence: For the former, I think he is a great stranger in Antiquity, that is not well acquainted with that of their sitting here, they have done thus, and in this manner, almost since the conquest; and by the same power and the same right the other Peers did, and your Lordships now doe; and to be put from this their due, so much their due, by so many hundred yeers, strengthned and confirmed, and that without any offence, nay, pretence of any, seems to me to be very severe; if it be jus, *I dare boldly say it is* summum. *That this hinders their Ecclesiasticall vocation, an argument I hear much of, hath in my apprehension more of shadow than substance in it: if this be a reason, sure I am it might have been one six hundred yeers agoe.*

A

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A Bishop, my Lords, is not so circumscribed within the circumference of his Diocesse, that his sometimes absence can be termed, no not in the most strict sense, a neglect or hinderance of his duty, no more then that of a Lieutenant from his County; they both have their subordinate Ministers, upon which their influences fall, though the distance be remote.

Besides, my Lords, the lesser must yeeld to the greater good; to make wholsome and good Lawes for the happy and well regulating of Church and Common-wealth, is certainly more advantagious to both, then the want of the personall execution of their office, and that but once in three yeers, & then peradventure but a month or two, can be prejudicall to either. I will goe no further to prove this, which so long experience hath done so fully, so demonstratively.

And now my Lords, by your Lordships good leave, I shall speak to the consequence as it reflects both on your Lordships, and my Lords the Bishops. Dangers and inconveniences are ever best pre onginquo; *this Precedent comes neer to yo* ..ps, *the bill indeed hath a direct aspect only upo* ..n, *but an oblique one upon your Lordships, and such a one, that* mutato nomine de vobis. *Pretences are never wanting, nay, sometimes the greatest evills appear in the most fair and specious outsides; witnesse the Shipmony, the most abominable, the most illegall thing that ever was, and yet this was painted over with colour of the* Law; *What Bench is secure, if to alleage be to convince, and which of your Lordships can say that he shall continue a member of th House, when at one blow six and twenty are cut off? It then behoves the Neighbour to look about him,* cùm proximus ardet Ucalegon.

And for the Bishops, my Lords, in what condition will you leave them? The House of Commons represents the meanest person, so did the Ma.. r his Slave, but they have none to doe so much for them, nd what justice can *tie them to the observation of those Lawes, to whose consti-*

tution they give to consent? [illegible]isedome of former times gave proxies unto this House [illegible]y upon this ground, that every one might have a hand [illegible]e making of that, which he had an Obligation to obey: [illegible] House could not represent, therefore proxies in room of persons were most justly allowed.

And now my Lords, before I conclude, I beseech your Lordships to cast your eyes upon the Church, which I know is most dear and tender to your Lordships; you will see her suffer in her most principall members, and deprived of that honour which here and throughout all the Christian World ever since Christianity she constantly hath enjoyed; for what Nation or Kingdome is there in whose great and publique assemblies, and that from h[illegible]ginning, she had not some of hers, if I may not say as [illegible]ll, I am sure I may say as integrall parts thereof: [illegible]truly my Lords, Christianity cannot alone boast of this, [illegible]llenge it only as hers, even Heathenisme [illegible] an equ[illegible]bare.

I never [illegible] any of [illegible], Civill or Barbarous, that gave not due honour to the [illegible]legion, so that it seems to me to have no other originall [illegible]law from no other spring, then nature it self.

But I have done, and will trouble your Lordships no longer; how it may stand with the honour and justice of this house to passe this Bill, I most humbly submit unto your Lordships, the most proper and only Judges of them both.

His second Speech.

I shall not speak to the preamble of the Bill that Bishops and Clergy-men ought not to intermeddle in temporall affaires. For, truly, My Lords, I cannot bring it under any respect to be spoken of. Ought is a word of relation, and must either refer to Humane or Divine Law: to prove the [illegible]fulnesse of their intermeddling by the former, would be to no more purpose, than to labour to convince that by reason, which is evident to sense. It is by all acknowledged. The unlawfulnesse by the later, the Bill by no means admits of, for, it excepts Universities and such persons as shall have honour descend upon them. And your Lordships know, that circumstance and chance alter not the nature and essence of a thing, nor can except any particular from an universall proposition

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position by God himself delivered. I will therefore take these two as granted, first that they ought by our Law to intermeddle in Temporall affaires; secondly, that from doing so they are not inhibited by the Law of God, it leaves it at least as a thing indifferent. And now my Lords, to apply my self to the businesse of the . I shall consider the conveniency, and that in the severall habitudes the f. But, very briefly; first in that which it hath to them meerly as men, à tales: then as parts of the Common-weale: Thirdly, from the best inner of constituting Laws: and lastly, from the practice of all times bo Christian and Heathen.

Homo sum, nihil humanum à me alienum puto, was indeed the saying of the Comedian, but it o bt well have become the mouth of the greatest Philosopher. We allo to sense, all the works and operations of sense, and shall we restrain rea n? Must only man be hindred from his proper actions? They are mo fit to doe reasonable things that are most reasonable. For, Science commonly is accompanied with conscience; so is not ignorance: they seldome or never meet. And why should we take that capacity from them, which God and nature have so liberally bestowed? 1.

My Lords, the politick body of the Common-wealth is analogicall to the body naturall: every member in that contributes something to the preservation of the whole, the superfluity or defect which hinders the performance of that duty, your Lordships know what the Philosopher calls, ἁμαρτίαν τῶν μορίων, natures sinne. And truly my Lords, to be part of the other body, and doe nothing beneficiall thereunto, cannot fall under a milder term. The Common-wealth subsists by Lawes and their execution: and they that have neither head in the making, nor hand in the executing of them, confer not any thing to the being or well being thereof. And can such be called members unless most unprofitable ones? only fruges consumere nati. 2.

Me thinks it springs from nature it self, or the very depths of justice, that none should be tyed by other lawes then himself makes; for, What more naturall and just, then to be bound only by his own consent? to be ruled by anothers will is meerly tyrannicall. Nature there suffers violence, and man degenerates into beast. The most flourishing Estates were ever governed by Lawes of an universall constitution; witnesse this our Kingdome, witnesse Senatus Populusq; Romanus, the most glorious Common-wealth that ever was, and those many others in Greece and elsewhere of eternall memory. 3.

Some things, my Lords, are so evident in themselves that they are difficult in their proofs. Amongst them I reckon this conveniency I have spoken of: I will therefore use but a word or two more in this way. The long experience that all Christendome hath had hereof for these 1300 yeers, is certainly, argumentum ad hominem. Nay, my Lords, I will goe further (for the same reason runs through all Religions) never was 4.

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there any Nation that imployed not their religious men in the greateſt affairs. But to come to the buſineſſe that now lyes before your Lordſhips. Biſhops have voted here ever ſince Parliaments began, and long before were imployed in the publique. The good they have done your Lordſhips all well know, and at this day enjoy: for this I hope ye will not put them out, nor for the evill they may doe, which yet your Lordſhips doe not know, and I am confident never ſhall ſuffer. A poſition ought not to be deſtroyed by a ſuppoſition, & à poſſe ad eſſe non valet conſequentia. My Lords I have done with proving of this poſitively, I ſhall now by your good favours doe it negatively in anſwering ſome inconveniences that may ſeem to ariſe.

Object. 1. For the Text, No man that wars intangles himſelf with the affairs of this life, which is the full ſenſe of the word both in Greek and Latine, it makes not at all againſt them, except to intermeddle and intangle be terms equivalent. Beſides my Lords, though this was directed to a Church-man, yet it is of a generall nature and reaches to all, Clergy and Laity, as the moſt learned and beſt expoſitors unanimouſly doe agree. To end this, Argumentum ſymbolicum non eſt argumentativum.

Object. 2. It may be ſaid that it is inconſiſtent with a ſpiritu[illegible] truly my Lord, Grace and Nature are in ſome reſpects [illegible] in ſome others moſt harmoniouſly agree, it perfects nature, and [illegible] it to a height above the common altitude, and makes it moſt fit for thoſe great works of God himſelf, to make lawes, to doe Juſtice. There is then no inconſiſtency between themſelves, it muſt ariſe out of Scripture, I am confident it doth not formally out of any place there, nor did I ever meet with any learned writer of theſe or other times that ſo expounded any Text.

Object. 3. But though in ſtrict terms this be not inconſiſtent, yet it may peradventure hinder the duty of their other calling. My Lords, there is not any that ſits here, more for preaching then I am, I know it is the ordinary means to ſalvation, yet, I likewiſe know, there is not that full neceſſity of it as was in the primitive times. God defend that 1600 yeers acquaintance ſhould make the Goſpell of Chriſt no better known unto us. Neither, my Lords, doth their office meerly and wholly conſiſt in preaching, but partly in that, partly in praying and adminiſtring the bleſſed Sacraments, in a godly and exemplary life, in wholſome admonitions, in exhortations to vertue, dehortations from vice, and partly in eaſing the burthened conſcience. Theſe my Lords compleat the office of a Churchman. Nor are they altogether tyed to time or place, though I confeſſe they are moſt properly exerciſed within their own verge, except upon good occaſion, nor then the omiſſion of ſome can be termed the breach of them all. I muſt add one more, an eſſentiall one, the very form of Epiſcopacy that diſtinguiſheth it from the inferiour Miniſtery, the orderly and good government of the Church: and how many of theſe, I am ſure, not the laſt, my Lords, is interrupted by their ſitting here, once in 3 yeers, and then peradventure but a very ſhort time: and can there be a great

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a greater occasion than the common good of the Church and State? I will tell your Lordships what the great and good Emperour Constantine *did, in his expedition against the* Persians, *he had his Bishops with him, whom he consulted about his military affairs, as* Eusebius *has it in his life,* lib. 4. c. 56.

Reward and punishment are the great negotiators in all worldly businesses; these may be said to make the Bishops swim against the stream of their consciences; And may not the same be said of the Laity? Have these no operations, but only upon them? Has the King neither frown, honour, nor offices, but only for Bishops? Is there nothing that answers their transactions? Indeed my Lords, I must needs say, that in charity it is a supposition not to be supposed; no nor in reason, that they will goe against the light of [illegible] *ing. The holinesse of their calling, their know-* [illegible] *tions and affections to which youth is very ob-* [illegible] *es of death, which, though not shut to any,* [illegible] *ld age: these my Lords, will surely make* [illegible]

Object. 4.

Bu [illegible] *disputation, some of them have done ill, Cri* [illegible] *es, is a poeticall not a logicall argument. S* [illegible] *one so, some of the Magistrates, and Officers; and* [illegible] *ce neither Judge, Magistrate, nor Officer more? A pers* [illegible] *oes not beyond the person that commits it, nor can anothers fa* [illegible] *me offence. If they have contracted any filth or cor-* [illegible] *ion through* [illegible] *wn or the vice of the times, cleanse and purge them but st* [illegible] *mber the great difference between reformation and nd be pleased to think of your Trienniall Bill which will save you this labour for the time to come; fear of punishment will keep them in* [illegible] *ld not themselves through the love of vertue. I have now my Lords, according to my poor ability, both shewed the conveniences, and answered those inconveniences that seem to make against them. I should now propose those that make for them. As their falling into a condition worse then slaves, not represented by any, and then the dangers and inconveniences that may happen to your Lordships; but I have done this heretofore, and will not offer your Lordships,* Cramben bis coctam.

Object. 5.

These speeches (though they *converted* none of the opposite) confirmed those of the *Episcopall* party, making the Lords very zealous in the *Bishops* behalf.

Temporall Lords favourers of Bishops.

20. There were in the *House*, many other *defenders* of Episcopacy; as *William, Lord Marques* of *Hartford*; the *Earle* of *Southampton*, the *Earle* of *Bristol*, and the *Lord Digby*, his *Son*, and (the never to be forgotten) *William, Earle* of *Bath*, a *learned Lord*, and lover of *learning*, oftentimes on occasion, speaking for *Bishops*, once publiquely professing it, one of the greatest *Honours* which ever happily happened to his *family*, that *one* thereof, (*Thomas Bourcher* by name) was once dignified with the *Archbishoprick* of *Canterbury*. Many other *Lords* (though not *haranging him long Orations*,) by their effectuall *Votes* for *Bishops*, manifested their unfained affections unto them.

The death of Bishop *Mountague.*

22. About this time, there were many vacant *Cathedrals*, which the *King lately had*, or *now did* furnish with new *Bishops*; Dr. *Joseph Hall* being removed from *Exeter* to *Norwich*, voyd by the *death* of *Richard Mountague*, *born* in *Westminster*, bred in *Eaton School*, *Fellow* in *Kings Colledge*; a great Grecian, and *Church Antiquary*, well read in the *Fathers*. But (all in his *Diocesse*, not being so well skilled in *Antiquity* as himself) some charged him, with superstitious urging of *Ceremonies*, and being accused in Parliament, he appeared not (being very weak) but * went a more *compendious way*, to answer all in the *High-Court* of *Heaven*.

* He died on the 12 of *April*

Eminent and popular persons made Bishops.

22. As for new elected *Bishops*, his *Majesty* was most carefull to chuse them out of the most *sound* for *Judgement*, and *blameless* for *Conversation*.

1. Dr. *John Prideaux*, almost *grown* to the *Kings-Professors-Chair* in *Oxford*, he had set so *long* and *close* therein: Procuring by his painfull and learned *Lectures*, deserved repute at *home*, and amongst *Forain Protestants*: he was made *Bishop* of *Worcester*.

2. D. *Thomas Winniffe*, *Dean* of St. *Pauls*, a grave, learned, and moderate Divine; made *Bishop* of *Lincoln*.

3. Dr. *Ralph Brownrig*, of most quick, and solid parts, equally eminent for disputing, and preaching, made *Bishop* of *Exeter*.

4. Dr. *Henry King*, acceptable on the account of his own merit, and on the score of a *Pious*, and *popular Father*, made *Bishop* of *Chichester*.

5. Dr. *John Westfield*, for many yeers the painfull and profitable *Preacher*, of great St. *Bartholomews London*, made *Bishop* of *Bristol*. He dyed not long after.

Surely, *si urbs defensa fuisset his dextris*, if *Divine Providence* had appointed, that *Episcopacy* (at this time) should have been kept up and maintained, more probable Persons for that purpose, could not have been pick'd out of *England*, so that *envie* and detraction might even *feed* on their *own flesh*, their *teeth* finding nothing in the aforesaid *Elects* to *fasten upon*.

All would not don.

23. But *Episcopacy* was so far from faring the *better for them*, that they fared the *worse for it*, insomuch that many, who *much loved* them in their *Gowns*, did not at all *like them* in their *Rochets*.

A disadvantageous juncture of time for Bishops.

24. The Bill was again brought in, against *Bishops Votes* in *Parliament*, and that in a disadvantageous juncture of time, the *Bishops* then being under a threefold qualification.

1. Imprisoned in the Tower. Of these *eleven* besides *Archbishop Laud*, whose absence much weakned the party.

2. *Lately* Consecrated, and *Later* inducted into the *House* of *Lords*, as the *Bishops* of *Worcester*, *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, *Chichester*, *Bristol*, such their modesty, and manners, they conceived it fitting to practise their *hearing*, before *speaking* in the *House*. So that in some sort, they may be said, to have *lost their Voices*, before they *found* them in the *Parliament*.

3. The remainder of ancient *Bishops*, *London*, *Salisbury*, *Bangor*, &c. who seldome were *seen* (detained with other occasions) and more seldome *heard* in the Parliament.

So that the *Adversaries* of *Episcopacy* could not have obtained a fitter *opportunity* (the *spirits* of *time at large being distilled* thereinto) then in this very instant to accomplish their desires.

Bishop *Warner* the best Champion for Bishops.

25. Only Dr. *John Warner Bishop* of *Rochester*, was he, in whom *dying Episcopacy* gave the *last groan* in the *House of Lords*, one of *good speech*, and a *cheerfull spirit*, and which *made both*, a *good Purse*, and which made *all three*, a *good cause*, as he conceived in his conscience, which made him very pertinently and valiantly defend the *Antiquity* and *Justice* of *Bishops Votes* in Parliament.

Anno Regis Caroli 17 — Anno Dom. 1641

liament. This is he, of whose bounty many *distressed soules* since have tasted, whose reward no doubt is laid up for him in another World.

The principall Plea against Bishops Baronies.

26. The main argument which was most insisted on, against their *temporall Baronies*, were the words of the *Apostle*, * *No man which warreth, entangleth himself with the affaires of this life.* Their friends pleaded, 1. That the words equally concerned all *Militant Christians*, *Bishops* not being particularized therein. 2. That it was uncharitable to conclude their *fingers* more *clasping* of the World, or the World more *glutinous* to *stick* to their *fingers*, that they alone, of all persons, could not *touch* the World, but must be *entangled* therewith. But it was answered, that then, *à fortiore*, *Clergy-men* were concerned in the Text aforesaid not to meddle with Worldly matters, whose *Governing* of a whole *Diocesse*, was so great an imployment, that their attendance in Parliament must needs be detrimentall to so carefull a vocation.

* 2 Tim. 2. 4

Earl of Bristols Plea for Bishops.

27. The *Earl* of *Bristol* engaged himself a *valiant Champion* in the *Bishops* behalf, he affirmed, that it was according to the *Orders* of the *House*, that no *Bill being once cast out, should be brought in again at the same Sessions.* Seeing therefore the *Bill* against *Bishops Votes*, had formerly been cleerly carried by many *decisive Votes* for the *Bishops*, it was not only *prater*, but *contra-Parliamentarie*, it should be brought again this *Sessions.*

Refuted by others.

28. But seeing this Parliament was extraordinary in the manner and continuance thereof (one *Session* being likely to last for *many yeers*) it was not conceived fit they should be tied to the observance of such punctuall nicetie; and the resumption of the *Bill* was not only overruled by *Votes*, but also it was cleerly carryed in the *Negative*, *that Bishops never more should vote as Peers in Parliament.*

The King unwilling to consent.

29. Nothing now wanted, save the *Royall Assent*, to passe the said *Votes* into a Law. The *King* appeared very unwilling therein, partly because he conceived it an injury, to give away the *Bishops* undoubted right, partly because he suspected, that the *haters of the function, and lovers of the Lands of Bishops*, would *grow* on his *grants*, and improve themselves on his concessions, so that such yeelding unto them, would not *satisfie* their *hunger*, but *quicken* their *Appetites* to demand the more hereafter.

Febr. — But is importuned thereunto.

30. The importunity of others pressed upon him, that to *prune* off their *Baronies*, was the way to *preserve* their *Bishopricks*; that his *Majesty* lately obnoxious to the *Parliament*, for *demanding the five Members*, would now make plenary satisfaction, and give such assurance of his affections for the future, that all things would answer his desired expectation. This was set home unto him, by some (not the *farthest*) relations, insomuch that at last he signed the *Bill*, as he was in *St. Augustines* in *Canterbury*, passing with the *Queen* towards *Dover*, then undertaking her voyage into the Low-Countries.

18 — 1642 — Keep in thy calling.

31. Many expected, and more desired that the *Kings condescension* herein should put a *period* unto all differences. But their expectations were frustrate, and not long after the *King* apprehending *himself* in danger by tumults, deserted *Whitehall*, went into the *North*, erected his Standard at *Nottingham*, *Edge-Hill* field was fought, and much English blood on both sides shed in severall battles. But I seasonably remember that the *Church* is my *Castle*, *viz.* that the *writing thereof* is my *House* and *Home*, wherein I may *stand on my own defence* against all who *assault me.* It was good counsell *King Joash* gave to *King Amaziah*, * *Tarry at home.* The practise whereof shall I hope secure me from many mischiefs.

* 2 Kings 14. 10.

Malignant first coyned.

32. About this time the word *Malignant*, was first born (as to the *Common use*) in *England*; the deduction thereof being *disputable*, whether from *malus ignis bad fire*; or, *malum lignum, bad fewell*; but this is *sure*, betwixt both

both, *the name* made a *combustion* all over *England*. It was fixed as *a note of disgrace* on those of the *Kings party*, and (because one had as good be *dumb*, as not *speak* with the *Vulgar*) possibly in that sense it may occur in our ensuing Historie. However the *Royalists* plead for themselves, that *Malignity* (a *Scripture word*) properly denoteth activity in *doing evill*, whereas they being ever since on the *suffring side*, in their *Persons*, *Credits*, and *Estates*, conceive the *name* improperly applied unto them. Which plea the *Parliamentary-party* smile at in stead of answering, taking notice of the affections of the *Royalists*, how *Malignant* they would have appeared, if successe had befriended them.

Anno Dom. 1642 — Anno Regis Caroli 18

* Rom. 1. 29

33. Contemporary with *Malignant*, was the word, *Plunder*, which some make of Latine originall, from *planum dare*, to *levell*, or *plane all* to *nothing*. Others make it of Duch extraction, as if it were to *plume* or pluck the feathers of a Bird to the bare skin. Sure I am, we first heard thereof in the *Swedish wars*, and if the *name* and *thing* be sent back from whence it came, few English eyes would weep thereat.

And the word, Plunder.

34. By this time ten of the *eleven Bishops*, formerly subscribing their *protestation* to the *Parliament*, were (after some moneths durance) upon good bale given) released, two of them, finding great favour in their tees from the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, in respect of their *great charge*, and *small estate*. These now at liberty severally disposed themselves; some went home to their own *Diocesse*, as the *Bishops*, of *Norwich*, *Oxford*, &c. Some continued in *London*, as the *Bishop* of *Durham*, not so *rich* in *Age*, as in all commendable *Episcopall qualities*. Some withdrew themselves into the *Kings* quarters; as *Archbishop Williams*, &c. Only *Bishop Wren* was still detained in the *Tower*, where his long imprisonment, (being never brought in to a publick answer) hath converted many of his adversaries into a more charitable opinion of him.

1642

The Bishops in the Tower released.

35. The *Bishops Votes* in Parliament, being *dead*, and *departed*, (neither to be *helps* with *flatterie*, nor *hurt* with *malice*) one word of enquiry in what notion, they formerly voted in Parliament.

A query, worth enquiring.

Whether, as a distinct third Estate of the Clergy, or,

This was formerly received for a trueth, countenanced with some passages in the old Statutes, reckoning the *Lords spirituall*, and *Lords temporall*, and the *Commons*, to be the *three Estates*, the *King*, (as Paramount of all) not comprehended therein.

Whether, as so many single Barons in their temporall capacity.

This is maintained by those, who account the *King*, the *Lords*, and *Commons* the *three Estates*, amongst which *Lords* the *Bishops* (though *spirituall persons*) appeared as so many *temporall Barons*: Whose absence, is no whit prejudiciall to the *Acts* past in Parliament.

Some of the *Aged Bishops* had their *Tongues* so used to the *language* of a *third Estate*, that more then once they *ran* on that [*reputed*] *Rock*, in their *Speeches*, for which they were *publickly shent*, and enjoyned an *acknowledgement* of their mistake.

36. The Convocation now not sitting, and *matters* of *Religion* many being brought under the *Cognizance* of the *Parliament*, their *Wisdomes* adjudged it, not only convenient but necessary, that some *prime Clergy-men* might be consulted with. In order whereunto, they resolved, to select some out of all Counties, whom they conceived best qualified, for their designe herein, and the first of *July* was the day appointed for their meeting.

1643 — 19

Divines consulted with in Parliament.

SECT.

Section IX.

To Mr { *Giles Vandepit* / *Clegat* / *Peter Matthewes* } of *London Merchants.*

A Threefold Cable is not eaſily broken, *and a* Triplicate *of* Friends *may be preſumed effectual to protect my endeavours. Of whom* two *are of* Dutch, *the* third *in the midſt of* Engliſh Extraction, *not* falling *there by* caſual confuſion, *but* placed *by* deſigned Conjunction. *Me thinks it is a good ſight, to behold the* Dutch *embracing the* Engliſh, *and this* Dedication *may paſs for the* Emblem *of the late* Agreement, *which* God *long continue, if for the mutual good of both* Nations.

Anno Regis Carol. 19. July 1. Satur. Anno Dom. 1643.

1. WHen on this day the *Aſſembly of Divines*, to conſult about matters of *Religion*, met at *Weſtminſter* in the *Chappel* of *King Henry* the *Seventh*. Then the conſtitution of this *Aſſembly*, as firſt elected, and deſigned, was to conſiſt of about one hundred and twenty perſons choſen by the *Parliament* (without reſpect of *Dioceſſes*) in relation to *Shires*, two or more of a *County*. They thought it not ſafe to entruſt the *Clergie* with their own choice, of whoſe generall corruption they conſtantly complained, and therefore adjudged it unfit that the *Diſtempered Patients* ſhould be or chooſe their own *Phyſicians*.

The firſt meeting of the Aſſembly.

The foure English quarters of the Assembly.

Anno Dom. 1643. Anno Regis Carol 19.

2. These *Elects* were of foure severall natures, as the quarters of the same body, easily distinguishable by these *conditions* or *opinions*.

First, men of *Episcopal perswasion*, as the *Right Reverend James Usher Arch-Bishop* of *Armagh*, *Doctor Brownrig Bishop of Exeter*, *Doctor Westfield Bishop of Bristol*, Dr *Daniel Featly*, Dr *Richard Holdsworth* &c.

Secondly, such who in their judgements favoured the *Presbyterian Discipline*, or in proces of time were brought over to embrace it, amongst whom (to mention those who *seemed to be pillars*, as on whose abilities the weight of the work most lay) we take special notice of.

Dr *Hoyle Divinity Professor* in *Ireland*.

Cambridge.	Oxford.
Dr *Thomas Gouge* of *Black-Fryars*.	Dr *William Twisse*.
Dr *Smith* of *Barkeway*.	Dr *Cornelius Burgess*.
Mr *Oliver Boules*.	Dr *Stanton*.
Mr *Thomas Gataker*.	Mr *White* of *Dorchester*.
Mr *Henry Scudder*.	Mr *Harris* of *Hanwell*.
Mr *Anthony Tuckeners*.	Mr *Edward Reynolds*.
Mr *Steven Marshall*.	Mr *Charles Herl*.
Mr *John Arrowsmith*.	Mr *Corbet of Merton Colledge*.
Mr *Herbert Palmer*.	Mr *Conant*.
Mr *Thomas Throughgood*.	Mr *Francis Cheinell*.
Mr *Thomas Hill*.	Mr *Obadiah Sedgewick*.
Mr *Nathanael Hodges*.	Mr *Carter* Senior.
Mr *Gibbons*.	Mr *Carter* Junior.
Mr *Timothy Young*.	Mr *Joseph Caryll*.
Mr *Richard Vines*.	Mr *Strickland*.
Mr *Thomas Coleman*.	
Mr *Matthew Newcomen*.	
Mr *Jeremiah Whitaker*.	
&c.	&c.

I hope an *et cætera* (so distastfull elsewhere) may be permitted in the close of our *Catalogue*, and am confident that the rest here omitted as unknown unto me will take no exception. The like assurance I have, that none will cavil if not reckoned up in their just *Seniority*, both because they know I was none of the *Register* that entred their *Admissions* in the *Universities*, and because it may savour something of a *Prelatical spirit* to be offended about præcedencie.

Thirdly, some *zealous Ministers*, who formerly disliking *conformity*, to avoid the *Censures* of *Episcopal Consistories* removed themselves beyond the Seas, chiefly to *Holland*, where some had plentifull, all comfortable subsistence, whence they returned home at the beginning of this *Parliament*. These afterwards proved *Dissenting Brethren* to some transactions in the *Assembly*, as *Tho: Goodwin*, *Sidrach Symson*, *Philip Nye* &c.

Fourthly,

Anno Regis Carol. 19. Anno Dom. 1643.

Fourthly, ſome *members* of the *houſe* of *Lords* and *Commons*, were mingled amongſt them, and voted joyntly in their *conſultations*, as the *Earl of Pembroke*, the *Lord Say*. The *moſt learned Antiquary* Mr *John Selden*. Mr *Francis Rouſe*, Mr *Bulſtrod: Whitlock* &c.

Thus was this *Aſſemblie* (as firſt choſen and intended) a *Quint-Eſſence* of four *Parties*. Some conceive ſo *motly a meeting* promiſed no good reſults, whilſt others grounded their *hopes* on what was the motive of the former to *deſpair*. *The Miſcellaneous nature of the Aſſembly*. For what ſpeedier way to make peace in a *Diſtracted Church*, then to take in all *Intereſts* to conſult together. It had been little better then a *Spiritual Monopolie*, only to employ thoſe of one *Party*, whileſt if all mens *Arguments*, *Objections Complaints*, *Deſires*, be indifferently admitted, an *Expedient* may be the ſooner found out for their juſt and general ſatisfaction.

The Scots Commiſſioners joyned in the Aſſembly.

3. So much for the Engliſh party of this *Aſſembly*. For know, that *Commiſſioners* from *Scotland* were joyned with them; ſome of the *Nobility*, as the *Earl* of *Lothian*, The *Lord Lauderdale*, The *Lord Warriſtone*. Others of the *Clergie*, as Mr *Alexander Henderſon*, Mr *Galaſphie* &c. So that as *Livy* calleth the general meeting of *Ætolia Pan-Ætolium*, this *Aſſembly* endeavoured to put on the face of *Pan-Britanicum*, that the walls of the *Palace* wherein they met might in ſome ſort be like the waves of the *Sea*, within the compaſs whereof they lived, as ſurrounding one *Iſland* and two *Nations*.

Dr *Twiſſe* the Prolocutor his ſermon.

4. Dr *Twiſſe* preached the firſt Sermon at the meeting of the *Aſſembly*, though the *Schools* not the *Pulpit* was his *proper Element*, (witneſs his *Controverſal writings*) and in his ſermon he exhorted them faithfully to diſcharge their high calling to the glory of God and the honour of his *Church*. He much bemoaned that one *thing was wanting*, namely the Royall aſſent to give comfort and encouragement to them. Yet he hoped that by the efficacie of their fervent prayers, it might in due time be obtained, and that a happy union might be procured betwixt *him* and the *Parliament*. *Sermon* ended, the *Ordinance* was read, by which was declared the cauſe, ground, and intent of their *Convention*, namely, to conſult with the *Parliament* for the ſetling of *Religion*, and *Church-government*: Then the liſt of their names was called over who were appointed to be preſent there, and a mark, (but no penalty) ſet on ſuch who appeared not at the time prefixed.

The Royaliſts reaſons of their non-appearance.

5. The appearance of the perſons elected anſwered not expectation, ſeeing of an hundred and twenty, but ſixty nine were preſent, and thoſe in *Coats* and *Cloaks*, of ſeveral *forms* and *faſhions*, ſo that Dr *Weſtfield* and ſome few others ſeemed the only *Non-conformiſts* amongſt them, for their *conformity* whoſe *gowns* and *Canonical habits* differed from all the reſt. For of the firſt ſort of *Royaliſts*, *Epiſcopal* in their judgements very few appeared, and ſcarce any continued any time in the *Houſe* (ſave Dr *Daniel Featly*, of whom hereafter) alledging privately ſeverall reaſons for their *abſence* or *Departure*.

1. Firſt, they had no call from the King, (having read how anciently the *breath* of *Chriſtian Emperours* gave the firſt *being* to *Councils*) Yea ſome on my knowledge had from his Majeſty a flat command to the contrary.

2. They were not choſen by the *Clergy*, and ſo could not appear as *Repreſentatives*, but in their *perſonal capacities*.

3. This *meeting* ſeemed ſet up to pluck down the *Convocation* (now neither ſitting, nor legally diſſolved) which ſolemnly was ſummoned for *Eccleſiaſtical affairs*.

4. If a[ny] ...ng there they should be beheld by the rest (what *Joseph* ...s on his *Brethren*) as *spies* come thither *to see the nakedness of the Assembly*.

5. Being [few], they should easily be out-voted by the *Opposite Party*, and so only worn as *Countenances* to credit their *proceedings*.

Anno Dom. 1643. Anno Regis Caroli 19.

However I have [heard] many of both *Parties* desire, that those *Defenders* of the *Hierarchy* had accepted their presence, as hoping that their *learning* and *abilities*, their temper and *moderation* might have conduced much to mitigate some violence and extremity in their proceedings. But God in his all-ordering providence saw it [otherwise], and whether or no any good had been effected by them, if present (seeing as yet no law to order mens conjectures) is left to the liberty of every mans opinion.

The Assembly constituted.

6. Soon after, the Assembly was compleatly constituted with all the *Essentials* thereunto, Dr *Twisse Prolocutor*, Mr *Reborough* and *Adoniram Byfield*, their *Scribes* and *Notaries*; And now their good success (next to the *Parliaments*) was publickly prayed for by the *Preachers* in the *City* and books dedicated unto them, under the title of the most * *Sacred Assembly*, which because they did disavow, by others they were interpreted to approve, *four shillings* a day allowance was allowed them, much too little as some thought for men of their merit, others grumbling at it as too much for what by them was performed. And now what place more proper for the *building of Sion* (as they propheticked it,) then the *Chamber* of *Jerusalem* (the fairest in the *Deans Lodgings* where late *King Henry the fourth* died, and) where these Divines did daily meet together.

* Mr *Stalmarsh* his Book against *Tho. Fuller*.

The superadded Divines.

7. Be it here remembred, that some (besides those *Episcopally affected*) chosen to be of the *Assembly* notwithstanding absented themselves, pretending age, indisposition, &c. as it is easie for *ableunwillingness* to finde out excuses, and [hard] proveable. Fit it was therefore so many evacuities should be filled up, to remount the *Meeting* to a competent number and *Assemblies*, as well as *Armies* grown thin, must be *recruited*. Hence it was that at severall times the Lords and Commons added more *Members* unto them, by the name of the *Superadded Divines*. Some of these though equall to the former in *power*, were [reputed] to fall short in *parts*, as chosen rather by the *affections* of others, then their own *abilities*, the *Original members* of the *Assembly* not overpleased that [power], such addition making the former rather *more*, then more considerable.

The Assemblies first petition for a fast.

8. One of the first *publick Acts*, which I finde by them performed, was the humble presenting of a *Petition* to both *Houses*, for the appointing of a solemn fast to be generally observed. And no wonder if their request met with fair *acceptance*, and full *performance*, seeing the *Assemblies Petition*, was the *Parliaments intention*, and this *Ordinance* of the *Divines* did not create new, but quicken the old resolutions in both *Houses*, presently a *Fast* is appointed, and accordingly kept on the following *Friday*, Mr *Boules* and Mr *Newcomen* (whose sermons are since printed) preaching on the same, and all the rest of the particulars promised to be taken into speedy consideration.

July 11. Frid.

The Covenant entreth England.

9. It was now pressed to finde out some *Band* or *Tie*, for the streighter *Union* of the *English* and *Scotish* amongst themselves, and both to the *Parliament*. In order whereunto the *Covenant* was now presented. This *Covenant* was of *Scottish extraction*, born beyond *Tweed*, but now brought to be bred on the *South-side* thereof.

The Covenant first taken.

10. The *House* of *Commons* in *Parliament*, and the *Assembly* of *Divines* solemnly took the *Covenant* at St. *Margarets* in *Westminster*,

Sept. 25. Mon.

11. It

11. It was ordered by the *Commons* in *Parliament* that this *Covenant* be forthwith printed and published. Commanded to be printed.

12. Divers *Lords*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *Collonels*, *Officers*, *Souldiers* and others, then residing in the City of *London* met at S^t *Margarets* in *Westminster*, and there took the said *Covenant*. M^r *Coleman* preaching a *Sermon* before them concerning the piety and legality thereof. Taken by Gentlemen.

13. It was commanded by the authority of both *Houses*, that the said *Covenant* on the *Sabbath day* ensuing, should be taken in all *Churches* and *Chappels* of *London* within the *lines* of *Communication*, and thoroughout the *Kingdom* in convenient time appointed thereunto, according to the *Tenour* following. Enjoyned all in *London*.

A Solemn league and Covenant, for Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happiness of the King, *and the peace and safety of the three* Kingdomes, *of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

WE *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *Gentlemen*, *Citizens*, *Burgesses*, *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, and *Commons*, of all sorts in the *Kingdom* of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the providence of God living under one *King*, and being of one *Reformed Religion*, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the *Kingdom* of our *Lord* and *Saviour Jesus Christ*, the honour and happiness of the *King's Majesty* and his posterity, and the true publick liberty, safety and peace of the *Kingdom*, wherein every ones private condition is included; And calling to minde the *Treacherous* and *Bloody Plots*, *Conspiracies*, *attempts*, and *Practises* of the *enemies* of *God*, against the *true Religion* and the professors thereof in all places, especially in these three *Kingdoms* ever since the *Reformation* of *Religion*, and how much their *rage*, *power*, and *presumption* are of late, and at this time encreased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *Ireland*, the distressed estate of the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *England*, the dangerous estate of the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *Scotland*, are *present* and *publick Testimonies*, We have now at last after (other means of *Supplications*, *Remonstrances*, *Protestations*, and *sufferings*) for the preservation of our *selves* and our *Religion* from utter *ruine* and *destruction*, according to the *commendable practises* of these *Kingdoms* in former times, and the example of *Gods people* in other *nations*, after mature deliberation resolved and determined to enter into a mutual solemn *League* and *Covenant*, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most *High God* do swear,

That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland* in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against our common enemies, the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches, and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the neerest conjunction, and uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, form of Church-Government, directory for Worship and Catechizing; That we and our posterity after us may as Brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

That

That we ſhall in like manner without reſpect of perſons endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacie, that is, Church-government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellours, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers, depending on that Hierarchie, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the power of godlineſs; leſt we partake in other mens ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three Kingdomes. Anno Dom. 1643. Anno Regis Carol. 19.

We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our eſtates and lives mutually to preſerve the Rights and priviledges of the Parliaments, and the due liberties of the kingdomes, and to preſerve, and defend the Kings Majeſty his perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and liberties of the Kingdoms, that the world may bear witneſs with our conſciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſties juſt power and greatneſs.

We ſhall alſo with all faithfulneſs endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill inſtruments by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdomes from another, or making any faction or parties amongſt the people contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condign puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupream Judicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect ſhall judge convenient.

And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed peace between theſe Kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitours, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and ſetled by both Parliaments, we ſhall each one of us according to our place, and intereſt, endeavour that they remain conjoyned in a firme peace and union to all poſterity, and that juſtice may be done upon the wilfull oppoſers thereof in manner expreſſed in the precedent Article.

We ſhall alſo according to our places and callings, in this common cauſe of Religion, liberty, and peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt, and defend all thoſe that enter into this league and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly, or indirectly, by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion, or terrour to be divided, and withdrawn from this bleſſed Conjunction and union, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or neutrality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdomes, and honour of the King, but ſhall all the dayes of our lives zealouſly and conſtantly endeavour to continue therein againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power againſt all lets and impediments whatſoever; and what we are not able of our ſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which we ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many ſins and provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profeſs and declare

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declare before God and the world, our unfeined desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these Kingdoms, especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeined purpose, desire and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to goe before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavie indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit to this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoak of Anti-Christian Tyranny, to joyn in the same or like Association and Covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms, and Commonwealths.

We listen not to their fancy, who have reckoned the words in the *Covenant*, *six* [a] *hundred sixty six*, *Preface* and *Conclusion*, as only circumstantial appendants, not accounted, and esteeme him who trieth it, as well *at leisure* (*alias as idle*) as he that first made the observation. Much less applaud we their paralel, who (the number in branches agreeing) compare it to the superstitious and cruel *Six Articles* enacted by King *Henry* the Eighth. But let us consider the solid and serious exceptions alledged against it, not so light and slight as to be puffed away with the breath of the present age, but whose weight is likely to sink them down to the consideration of posterity.

[a] Rev. 13. 19.

Exceptions general to the whole.

14. First, seeing this *Covenant* (though not as first *penned*) as *prosecuted* had heavie penalties inflicted on the refusers thereof, such pressing is inconsistent with the nature of any *Contract*; wherein *consent*, not *constraint* is presumed. In a *Covenant* men should go of their own *good will*, or be led by perswasions, not drawn by frights and fears, much less driven by forfeits and punishments.

Made without the Kings consent.

15. Secondly, Subjects are so far from having the *express* or *tacit* consent of the King for the taking thereof, that by publick Proclamation he hath forbidden the same. Now seeing Parents had power by the [b] law of God to rescind such vows which their children made without their privity: by the equity of the same law this *Covenant* is void, if contrary to the flat command of him who is *Parens Patriæ*.

[b] Num. 30. 6.

Full of doubtful words.

16. Many words occur in this *Covenant*, some obsure, others of doubtfull meaning, viz. *Common enemies*, *Best-Reformed-Churches*, *Malignants*, *Highest Judicatories of both Kingdoms* &c. Untill therefore the *obscure* be *cleared*, the *doubtfull stated* and *fixed*, the same cannot (as it ought) be taken in *judgement*.

Exceptions to the Preface.

Therein it is suggested, that *Supplications*, *Remonstrance*, *Protestations* to the King, were formerly used; which proving ineffectual, occasioned the trying of

of this *Covenant*, as the laſt hopefull means to *preſerve Religion from ruine* &c. Now, ſeeing many joyned neither with their hands nor hearts in preſenting theſe writings, ſuch perſons ſcrupled this *Covenant*, which they cannot take *in truth*, becauſe founded on the failing of the aforeſaid means, to the uſing whereof they concurred not in the laaſt degree.

Pretended ancient, yet unprecedented.

17. It is pretended in the *Preface*, that this *Covenant* is *according to the commendable practice of theſe Kingdoms in former times*. Whereas indeed it is new in it ſelf, following no former Precedents; a grand Divine [a] of the Parliament-party publickly profeſſing, that, *We read not either in Divine or Humane Hiſtories, the like Oath extant in any age, as to the matter, perſons, and other circumſtances thereof.*

[a] *Phil. Nye* Covenant with *Narrat.* pag. 12.

Exceptions to the *Firſt Article*.

Cannot be taken knowingly.

18. They are unſatisfied to ſwear, to maintain the *Preſervation of the Reformed Religion of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government*, as being ignorant (ſuch their diſtance thence, and ſmall intelligence there) of the particulars thereof. They are loath therefore to make a *blind* promiſe, for fear of a *lame* performance.

Nor without a double ſcandal.

19. As for the *Reforming of Religion* (which neceſſarily implies a changing thereof) of *England*, and *Ireland*, in *Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline*, and *Government*; they cannot conſent thereunto without manifeſt ſcandal, both to *Papiſts* and *Separatiſts*. For (beſides that they ſhall deſert that *juſt cauſe*, which many pious *Martyrs, Biſhops*, and *Divines* of our *Church*, have defended both with their *inke* and *blood*, *writings* and *ſufferings*) hereby they ſhall advantage the *cavils* of *Papiſts* againſt our Religion, taxing it of uncertainty, *not knowing where to fix our feet*, as allways altering the ſame. Yea, they ſhall not only ſupply *Papiſts* with *pleas* for their *Recuſancy*, Sectaries for their *Separation*, acknowledging ſomething in our *Church-Doctrine* and *Service*, not well agreeing with *Gods-word*; but alſo ſhall implicitly confeſs *Papiſts* unjuſtly puniſhed by the *Penal-Statutes*, for not conforming with us to the ſame *Publick-Service*, wherein ſome things are by our ſelves, as well as them, miſliked and diſallowed.

Injury to themſelves.

20. Nor can they take this *Covenant* without *injury* and *perjury* to themſelves. *Injurie*, by inſnaring their conſciences, credits, and eſtates, if endeavouring to reform *Religion* (under the notion of faulty and vicious) to which formerly they had ſubſcribed, enjoyned thereto by the [b] Law of the Land, not yet abrogated, never as yet checked by the regrets of their own conſciences, nor confuted by the reaſons of others for the doing thereof.

[b] 13. *Eliz.* cap. 12.

Perjury to their ſouls.

21. *Perjury*, as contrary to the *Proteſtation* and ſolemn vow they had [c] lately taken, and *Oath* of *Supremacy*, ſwearing therein to defend all the Kings Rights and Priviledges, whereof His Spiritual Juriſdiction in reforming *Church-matters*, is a principal. Now, although a latter oath may be *corroborative* of the former, or *conſtructive* of a new obligation conſiſtent therewith, yet can it not be *inductive* of a tie, contrary to an oath lawfully taken before.

[c] May the 5. 1641.

Exceptions to the *Second Article*.

Ill but forc'd equipage of Prelacy.

22. It grieveth them therein to ſee *Prelacy* ſo *unequally yoak'd*; *Popery* being put before it; *Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſme*, and *Prophaneneſs* following after. Such the pleaſure of thoſe that placed them, though nothing akin in themſelves. But a captive by the power of others may be fettered to thoſe whom he hates and abhorres.

Conſent

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Foure reasons against extirpation of Prelacy.

Consent they cannot to the extirpation of *Prelacy*, neither in respect,

1 *The thing it self*, being perswaded that neither *Papal Monarchie*, nor *Presbyterian Democracie*, nor *Independant Anarchie* are so conformable to the Scriptures as *Episcopal Aristocracy*, being if (not of *Divine* in a strict sence) of *Apostolical Institution*, confirmed with *Church-practice* (the best Comment on Scripture when obscure) for 1500 years, and bottomed on the same foundation with *Infants-Baptisme*, *National Churches*, *observing the Lords-day*, and the like.

Of
- 2 *Themselves*, of whom,
  - 1 All when taking degrees in the Universitie.
  - 2 Most, as many as are entred into *Holy-Orders*
  - 3 Not a few when lately petitioning the Parliament for the continuing of Episcopacy
  - 4 Some being members of Cathedral, and Collegiate Churches

  have subscribed with their hands, and with their corporal oaths avowed the justification and defence of that government.
- 3 *Church of England*, fearing many mischiefs from this alteration, (felt sooner than seen in all great and sudden changes) especially becaufe the Ecclesiastical Government is so interwoven in many Statutes of the land. And, if Schisms so encrease on the *Suspension*, what is to be expected on the *Extirpation* of Episcopacy.
- 4 *His Majesty*,
  - as contrary to their *Oath* of Supremacy, wherein they were bound
    - *Priviledges*, amongst which a principal is, that *He is Supreme moderator over all Causes and Persons Spiritual*, wherein no change is to be attempted without his consent.
  - to maintain His
    - *Dignity*, *The Collations of Bishopricks and Deanries*, with their profits in their vacancies belonging unto Him, and the *First-fruits* and *Tenths* of *Ecclesiastical Dignities*, a considerable part of the *Royal Revenue*.

Here we omit their Plea, whose chief means consisting of *Cathedral preferment*, alledge the like not done *from the beginning of the world*, that men (though deserving *deprivation* for their offences) should be forced to swear *sincerely*, *seriously*, *and from their souls*, to endeavour the rooting out of that, whence their best livelihood doth depend.

Exceptions against the *Third Article*.

23. It grieveth them herein to be sworn, to the *Preservation of the Priviledges of Parliament*, *and liberties of the Kingdom*, at large and without any restriction, being bound in the following words to defend the *Kings person and Authority*, as limited *in the preservation and defence of true Religion*, *and the Liberties of the Realm*; enlarging the former, that the later may be the more confined.

24. They are jealous what should be the cause of the inversion of the method, seeing in the *Solemn Vow and Protestation*, the *Defence of the Kings Person and Authority* is put first, which in this *Covenant* is postposed to the *Priviledges of Parliament*. However, seeing the *Protestation* was first taken,

the *Covenant* as the *younger* cannot disinherit the *elder*, of the possession which it hath quietly taken in mens consciences.

Anno Dom. 1643. Anno Regis Carol 19.

Exceptions to the *Fourth Article*.

25. They are unsatisfied whether the same imposeth not a necessity for children to prosecute their Parents even to death, under the notion of *Malignants* against all rules of Religion and humanity. For even in case of Idolatry, children under the old * law were not bound publickly to accuse their Parents, so as to bring them to be stoned for the same; though such unnaturall cruelty be foretold by our * Saviour, to fall out under the Gospell, of those that shall *rise up against their Parents, and cause them to be put to death*.

* Deut. 13.6.

* Mat. 10.21.

Exceptions to the *Fifth Article*.

26. They understand not what is meant therein by the *happiness of a blessed peace betwixt these Kingdoms*, whereof *Ireland* must needs be one, whilest the same is rent with a wofull warr, and the other two lands distracted with homebred discords: whereof no settlement can be hoped untill first all interests be equally stated, and the *Kings Authority, Priviledges of Parliament*, and *Liberties of Subjects* justly bounded, and carefully preserved.

Exceptions to the *Sixth Article*.

27. They are unsatisfied therein as wholy hypothetical, supposing what as yet is not cleared by solid arguments, *viz.* that this is *the common cause of Religion, Liberty, and peace of the Realms* &c. And if the same be granted, it appeareth not to their conscience, that the means used to promote this *Cause*, are so lawfull and free from just objections which may be raised from the Laws of God and man.

Exceptions to the *Conclusion*.

28. They quake at the mention, that the taking of this *Covenant* should *encourage other Churches groaning under the yoak of Antichristian Tyranny*, to joyn in the same, fearing the dangerous consequences this may produce to forraign *Protestants*, and inrage Popish Princes (in whose Dominions they live) to cruelty against them, as disaffected to their Government. Besides, when Divine Providence layeth such burthens on his servants, even *the yoak of Antichrist* is then *the yoak of Christ*, not to be thrown off with force, but to be born with the confession of the truth, prayers, patience, and Christian courage.

29. So much concerning the *Covenant*, which some three moneths after began to be rigorously and generally urged. Nor have I ought else to observe thereof, save to adde in mine own defence, that I never saw the same, except at distance as hung up in Churches, nor ever had any occasion to read, or hear it read, till this * day in writing my History, what ever hath been reported and printed to the contray, of my taking thereof in *London*, who went away from the *Savoy* to the Kings quarters, long before any mention thereof in *England*.

* July 1 1654.

The Authors plea in his own just defence.

30. True it is, there was an *Oath* which never exceeded the *Line of Communication*, meeting with so much opposition that it expired in the infancy thereof, about the time when the plot was discovered, for which Mr *Tomkins* and Mr *Chaloner* suffered. This was tendered to me, and taken by me in

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in the Veſtry of the *Savoy-Church*, but firſt proteſting ſome limitations thereof to my ſelf. This not ſatisfying was complained of by ſome perſons preſent, to the Parliament, where it was ordered, that the next *Lords-day* I ſhould take the ſame oath in *terminis terminantibus*, in the face of the Church, which not agreeing with my conſcience, I withdrew my ſelf into the Kings parts, which (I hope) I may no leſs ſafely, than I do freely confeſs, becauſe puniſhed for the ſame with the loſs of my livelihood, and ſince (I ſuppoſe) pardoned in the *Act of Oblivion*.

The Parliaments purge to the Clergy.

31. Now began the great and generall purgation of the *Clergie* in the *Parliaments quarters*, many being outed for their *misdemeanours* by the *Committee* appointed for that purpoſe. Some of their offences were ſo foul, it is a ſhame to report them, crying to Juſtice for puniſhment. Indeed *Conſtantine* the *Chriſtian Emperour* was wont to ſay; *If I ſee a Clergie-man offending, I will cover him with my cloak*, but ſurely he meant ſuch *offences* as are *frailties*, and *infirmities*, no *ſcandalous enormities*. Such unſavoury ſalt is good for nothing * *no not for the dunghil*, becauſe as the *ſavour* is loſt which makes it uſefull, ſo the *fretting* is left, which makes it uſeleſs, whereby it is ſo far from being good compoſt to fatten ground, that it doth rather embarren it. Let *Baal* therefore plead for it ſelf, nothing can be ſaid in their *Excuſe*, if (what was the main matter) their crimes were ſufficiently proved.

* Luke 14.33.

The expelled Clergies plea.

32. But as to the point, hear what the *Royaliſts* at *Oxford* ſay for their *Friends*, whilſt they conceive themſelves to take juſt exceptions at the proceedings againſt theſe *Miniſters*.

1. Some of their faults were *ſo foule*, that the * *foulneſs* of them, is all that can be pleaded for them. For being *Capital*, the perſons deſerved to be outed of *life*, not of *living*, which leaves a ſuſpicion of imperfect proof.

* Centu. p. 1.

2. The *Witneſſes* againſt them were ſeldom depoſed on *oath*, but their bare complaints beleeved.
3. Many of the *Complainers* were *factious people* (thoſe moſt accuſing their Sermons who leaſt heard them) and who ſince have deſerted the *Church*, as hating the *Profeſſion* of the *Miniſtery*.
4. Many were charged with delivering *falſe-Doctrine*, whoſe *poſitions* were found, at the leaſt diſputable. Such thoſe accuſed for preaching that *Baptiſm Wafheth away Original ſin*, which the moſt *Learned*, and *honeſt* in the *Aſſembly* in ſome ſenſe will not deny, namely, that in the *Children* of God it cleanſeth the *condemning*, and *final peaceable* commanding power of *Original ſin*, though the *ſtain* and *blemiſh* thereof doth ſtill remain.
5. Some were merely outed for their affections to the Kings cauſe, and what was *malignity* at *London*, was *Loyalty* at *Oxford*.

Yea many moderate men of the *Oppoſite Party*, much bemoaned ſuch ſeverity, that ſome *Clergie-men*, *blameleſs* for *life*, and *Orthodox* for *Doctrine*, were only ejected on the account of their faithfulneſs to the *Kings Cauſe*. And as much *corruption* was let out by this *Ejection* (many *Scandalous Miniſters* deſervedly puniſhed) ſo at the ſame time the *veins* of the *Engliſh Church* were alſo emptied of much *good blood* (ſome *inoffenſive Paſtours*) which hath made her *Body* Hydropical ever ſince, ill humors ſucceeding in the room, by reaſon of too large and ſuddain evacuation. But others of a more violent temper excuſed all, *the preſent neceſſity of the Cauſe* requiring it. All *Pulpits* in the *Parliament quarters* muſt be made like the *whole earth* before the

building of *Babel*, *of one language, and of one speech*, or else all may be destroyed by the mixture of other *Doctrines*. And better a mischief to few, then an inconvenience to all. Safer that some (suppose unjustly) suffer, then that the success of the whole cause should be endangered.

Anno Dom. 1643. Anno Regis Carol 19.

The first Century why without a second.

33. Then came forth a *Book called* the *First Century*, containing the names of an *hundred Divines* sequestred for their faults with a promise of a *second*, which to my knowledge never came forth. Whether because the *Author* of the former was sensible that the subject was generally odious, or because the death of Mr *White*, *Licenser* thereof, prevented any addition, or whether because disswaded from the *Designe*, suspecting a *retaliation* from *Oxford*. Sure I have been informed, that when some solicited his *Majesty* for leave to set forth a *Book* of the vicious lives of some *Parliament Ministers*, His *Majesty* blasted the designe, partly because *recrimination* is no *purgation*, partly least the *Publick enemy* of the *Protestant Religion* should make an advantage thereof.

Nov. 19.

Vacant livings how supplied.

34. To supply the vacant places, many young *Students* (whose *Orders* got the speed of their *Degrees*) left the *Universities*. Other *Ministers* turned *Dualists* and *Pluralists*, it being now *charity*, what was formerly *covetousness*, to hold two or three *Benefices*. These could plead for themselves, the practice of * Mr *Sanders* the *Martyr*, who held two *Livings* at good distance, because he could not resigne one but into the hands of a *Papist*, as these men would not surrender them to *Malignants*. Many *Vicaridges* of great *Cure*, but small *value* were without *Ministers*, (whilst rich matches have many *Suitors*, they may die Virgins that have no portions to prefer them) which was often complained of, seldom redressed, it passing for a currant maxime, it was safer for people to *fast* then to *feed* on the *poyson* of *Malignant* Pastours.

* *Fox Act. & Mon.* p. 1494. in *An.* 1555.

Dissenting Brethren first appear in the Assembly.

35. Let us now look a little into the *Assembly* of *Devines*, where we shall not finde them (as we might justly expect) *all of one tongue and of one language*, there being some not concurring with the major part, and therefore stiled *Dissenting Brethren*. I know the *Scotch Writers* call them of the *Separation*, but because *mollifying terms* are the best *Poultesses* to be applyed to the *first swellings* of *Church-differences*, we decline these *words of distast*. They are also commonly called *Independents*, though they themselves (if summoned by that name) will return no *Vous avez* thereunto, as to a word *odious* and *offensive* in the common *sound* and *notation* thereof. For *Independency* taken for *absolute subsistence*

Without relation to { 1 God, 2 King or State, 3 Other Churches, 4 Particular Christians } is { Prophane & Blasphemous, Seditious and Treacherous, Proud and Ambitious, Churlish and Uncharitable. }

These *Dissenting Brethren* or *Congregationalists* were but five in the *Assembly*, though many more of their judgements dispersed in the land.

1 Namely, *Thomas Goodwin* bred first in *Christs-Col.* then fellow of *Katherine Hall* in *Cambridge*. } all three still alive.
2 *Philip Nye*, who had his education in *Oxford*. }
3 *William Bridge*, fellow of *Emanuel Colledg* in *Cambridge*. }
4 *Sidrach Simson*, of Queens *Col.* in *Cambridge*, both deceased.
5 *Jeremiah Burroughs*, of *Emanuel* }

It

Anno Regis Carol 19. Anno Dom. 1643.

It is our unhappiness, that in writing their story, we have little save what we have collected out of the writings of pens professedly engaged against them, and therefore the less credit is to be given thereunto However in this *Narration* there is nothing of my own, so that if any falsehoods therein, they must be charged on their account whom the Reader shall behold cited in the margin. Otherwise I confess my personal respects to some of the afore named *dissenters*, for favours received from them.

36. Some *ten years* since the *sinful corruptions* (to use their own [a] language) *of the worship and government in this Church, taking hold on their consciences*, unable any longer to comport therewith, they deserted their *Native Country*. This we beleeve the true cause of their departure, not what [b] some suggest, that one for debt, and another for danger (to answer some ill interpreted words concerning the *Scots*) were forced to forsake the *Land*. And although I will not say they *left not an hoof* of their Estates behinde them here, they will confess they conveyed over the most considerable part thereof. Many *wealthy Merchants* and their *families* went over with them, so that of all *Exiles* (for so they stile themselves) these may seem most like *Voluntary Travellers* for good company, though of all *Travellers* most like to *Exiles*.

The cause of their first departing the land.

a Apostolical narration p. 1.

b Mr Edwards in his Answer to the Apol. Narr.

37. Their reception beyond the seas in *Holland* was faire and civill, where the *States* (who though they *tolerate*, *own* not all *Religions*) were interpreted to acknowledge them and their *Churches* by many signs of their favour. First,

Are kindly entertained in *Holland*.

By granting them their own *Churches* to assemble in for *Divine Worship*, where their own *Country men* met also the same day (but at different hours) for the same purpose.

By permitting the ringing of a [c] *Bell* to call people to their *Publick meetings*, which loudly sounded the *States* consent unto them, as not allowed to such *clandestine Sects*, which shelter themselves rather under the *permission*, then *Protection* thereof.

c *Apol. Nar.* pag. 7.

By assigning a full and liberal maintenance annually for their *Ministers*, as also wine for their *Communions*.

Nor can there be a better evidence of giving the *right hand of Fellowship* then to give the *full hand* of liberality. A moitie of this people fixed at *Rotterdam* where they landed, the other travelled up higher for better aire to *Wiarden*, and thence, soon after removed to *Arnhein*, a sweet and pleasant *City*. No part of *Holland* (largely [d] taken) affording more of *England* therein, resembled in their letters to their *Friends* to *Hertford*, or *Bury* in *Suffolk*.

d Otherwise *Arnhein* is in *Gelderland*.

38. Then fall they to consult of *Church-Discipline*, professing themselves a mere *tabula rasa*, with Virgin judgements, longing only to be married to the truth. Yea they looked *upon the word of Christ* (*Reader*, it is their own [e] expression) *as unpartially and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and blood are like to in any juncture of time that may fall out, the place they were in, the condition they were in, and company they went with, affording no temptation to byasse them any way.*

How qualified to finde out the truth.

e *Apol. Nar.* pag. 3.

39. And first they lay down two grand ground-works, on which their following *Fabrick* was to be erected.

Their two chief ground-works.

1. Only to take what was held forth in *Gods word*, leaving nothing to *Church-practice*, or *humane prudence*, as but the *Iron legs* and *Clay toes* of that *Statue*, whose *head* and *whole body* ought to be of pure *refined Gold*.

2. As to make their *present judgement* binding unto them for the future.

Their

Anno Dom. 1643. Anno Regis Caroli 19.

Their adversaries cavil hereat, as a *reserve* able to rout all the *Armys* of *Arguments* which are brought against them, that because *one day knocketh another*, they will not be tyed on *Tewsday morning*, to maintain their *Tenents* on *Munday night*, if a new discovery intervene.

Coordination of Churches.

40. In pursuance of these *principles* they pitched on a *middle way* (as generally the *posture of truth*) betwixt *Presbytery*, as too *regardes*, *imperious*, and *conclusive*, and *Brownisme*, as too *vage*, *loose*, and *uncertain*. Their main platform was, that *Churches* should not be *subordinate*, *Parochial* to *Provincial*, *Provincial*, to *National*, (as *Daughter* to *Mother*, *Mother* to *Grandmother*,) but *Coordinate*, without *Superiority*, except *Seniority* of *Sisters*, containing no powerfull influence therein. Thus the *Church* formerly like a *Chain* with *links of dependency* on one another, should hereafter become like an *heap of rings*, each entire in it self, but (as they thought) far purer then was ever seen before.

The manner of their Church-service. a *Apol. Nar.* pag. 8.

41. The manner of their *Church-service*, according to their own [a] relation, was performed in form following.

1. Publick and solemn prayers for *Kings* and all in Authority.
Reading the *Scriptures* of the *Old* and *New Testament* with exposition thereof on occasion.
Administration of the two *Sacraments*, *Baptisme* to *Infants*, and the *Lords Supper*.
Singing of *Psalms*, and collection for the *Poor* every *Lords-day*.
For *Publick Officers* they had *Pastors*, *Teachers*, and *Ruling Elders* (not *Lay* but *Ecclesiastick persons*) and *Deacons*.

b *Apol. Nar.* pag. 9.

As for *Church-censures*, they resolved only on *Admonition* and *Excommunication*, the latter whereof was never handselled in their [b] *Church*, as no reason that the rod (though made) should be used where the *Children* are all quiet and dutifull. *Synods they account usefull, and in some cases necessary, yet so that their power is but Official, not Authoritative, whereby they may declare the truth, not enjoyn obedience thereunto.* Or take it in the language of one of their *Grandees*. [c] *Actus regiminis à Synodis debent porrigi non peragi*, the latter belonging to the liberty of several Congregations. Their Adversaries object, that none can give in an exact account of all their opinions, daily capable of alteration and increase. Whilst such Countries, whose unmoveable *Mountains*, and stable *Valleys* keep a fixed position, may be easily surveyed, no *Geographer* can accurately describe some part of *Arabia*, where the flitting sands d[illegible] with the winds have their frequent removals; so that the *Traveller* [illegible] *hole* at his return, where he left a *hill* at his departure. Such [illegible]inty of these *Congregationalists* in their judgements, only they plea[illegible]selves, it is not the *winde of every* [d] *Doctrine*, but the *Sun of the Truth* which with its *New lights* makes them renounce their old, and embrace new resolutions.

c *Responsio Jo. Norton.* pag. 114.

d Mr *Cotton* his preface to Mr *Norton* Book. are always for new lights. d Eph. 4. 15.

42. Soon after a heavie *Schism* happened in the Church of *Roterdam*, betwixt Mr *Bridge*, and Mr *Simson*, the two *Pastors* thereof. Insomuch, that the latter rent himself saith one [e] from Mr *Bridge* his *Church* to the great offence thereof, though more probable, as another [f] reporteth, Mr *Simson* *dismissed with the consent of the Church.* However many bitter letters passed betwixt them, and more sent over to their *Friends* in *England* full of *invectives*, blackness of the tongue always accompanying the paroxismes of such distempers. Their *Presbyterian Adversaries* make great use hereof to their disgrace. If such *Infant Churches*, whilst their hands could scarce hold any thing fell a scratching [illegible] feet spurning and kicking one another, before

A Schism in *Roterdam* Church. e Mr *Edwards* Antipha. p. 35. f Mr *John Goodwin* in answer to Mr *Edwards* pag. 238. g pag. 245.

[illegible] in that tongue

[illegible] at *Fe*

before they could well goe alone, how ſtubborn and vexatious would they be when arrived at ripe years.

43. This *Seaſm* was ſeconded with another in the ſame *Church*, wherein they depoſed one of their *Miniſters* (Mr *Ward* I conceive his name) which was beheld as a bold and daring deed, eſpecially becauſe herein they conſulted not their *Sister-Church* at *Arnhein*, which publickly was profeſſed mutually to be done in caſes of concernment. Here the *Presbyterians* triumph in their conceived diſcovery of the nakedneſs and weakneſs of the *Congregationall way*, which for want of *Eccleſiaſtical Subordination* is too ſhort to reach unto redreſs to ſuch grievances. For ſeeing *par in parem non habet poteſtatem*, Equalls have no power over their Equalls, the *agrieved party* could not right himſelf by any appeal unto a *Superior*. But ſuch conſider not the end, as well as the beginning of this difference, wherein the *Church* of *Arnhein* interpoſing (not as a *Judge* to puniſh *Offenders*, but as a *Brother* to check the failings of a *Brother*) matters were ſo ordered, (that Mr *Ward* was reſtored to his place, when both he and the Church had mutually confeſſed their ſinful carriage in the matter, but enough, (if not too much hereof) ſee we every thing *put* in a *Pamphlet* is not fit to be *recorded* in a *Chronicle*.

A ſecond Schiſm in the ſame Church.

a *Apol. Nar.* pag. 21.

44. More concord crowned the Congregation at *Arnhein*, where Mr *Goodwin* and Mr *Nye* were *Paſtors*, wherein beſides thoſe *Church-Ordinances* formerly mentioned, *actually admitted* and exerciſed, ſome others ſtood *Candidates*, and fair *Probationers* on their good behaviour, namely, if under *Tryal* they were found convenient; Such were

The practice of *Arnhein* Church.

1. The b *Holy Kiſs*.
2. *Prophe ſying* c when *Private Chriſtians* at fit times made publick uſe of their parts and gifts in the *Congregation*.
3. *Hymns* d and, which if no better *Divinity* then *Muſick*, might much be ſcrupled at.
4. *Widdows* e as Eſſential *She-Miniſters* in the *Church*, which if it be ſo, our late *Civil-Wars* in *England* have afforded us plenty for the place.
5. *Anointing* of dying people, as a ſtanding *Apoſtolical* f *Ordinance*.

b 1 Cor. 16. 20.
c 1 Cor. 14.
d Eph. 5. 19. & Col. 3. 16.
e 1 Tim. 5. 9.
f James 5. 14.

45. Other things were in agitation, when now the news ariveth, that the *Parliament* ſiting at *Weſtminſter* had broken the yoak of *Ceremonies*, and proclaimed a year of *Jubilee* to all tender conſciences. Home then they haſted with all convenient ſpeed: For only *England* is *England indeed*, though ſome *parts* of *Holland* may be like unto it. Over they came in a very good plight and Equipage, which the *Presbyterians* (and thoſe I aſſure you are quick-ſighted when pleaſed to prie) took notice of. Not *a hair of their head ſinged*, nor any *ſmell of the fire of perſecution* upon their *Clothes*. However they were not to be blamed, if *ſetting their beſt foot forward* in their return, and appearing in the handſomeſt and chearfulleſt faſhion for the *credit of their cauſe*, and to ſhow that they were not dejected with their ſufferings.

The five Exiles return home.

46. Preſently they fall upon gathering of *Congregations*, but chiefly in or about the *City* of *London*. *Trent* may be good, and *Severn* better, but oh the *Thames* is the beſt for the plentifull taking of fiſh therein. They did *pick* (I will not ſay *ſteal*) hence a *Maſter*, thence a *Miſtreſs* of a *Family*, a *Son* out of a *Third*, a *Servant* out of a *Fourth Pariſh*, all which met together in their *Congregation*. Some prevented *calling* by their *coming*, of OLD *Pariſhioners* to become NEW *Church-Members*, and ſo forward were they of themſelves, that they needed no force to compell, nor art to perſwade them. Thus a new *Inne* never wanteth *Gueſts* at the firſt ſetting up, eſpecially if hanging out a fair *Signe*, and promiſing more cleanneſs and neatneſs then is in any of their *Neighbours*.

Gather Churches in *England*.

47. The

The Presbyterians offended.

47. The *Presbyterians* found themselves much agrieved hereat. They accounted this practise of the *Dissenting Brethren* but *Ecclesiastical felonie*, for at the best, that they were but *Spiritual Interlopers* for the same. They justly feared (if this fashion continued) the falling of the *Roof*, or foundring of the *Foundations* of their own *Parishes*, whence so many *Corner Stones*, *Pillars*, *Rafters*, and *Beams*, were taken by the other to build their *Congregations*. They complained that these new *Pastors* though slighting *Tithes* and *set maintenance*, yet so ordered the matter by gathering their *Churches*, that these *gleanings of Ephraim* became better then the *Vintage* of *Abi-ezer*.

Dissenting Brethren crave a Toleration.

48. Not long after when the *Assembly* of *Divines* was called, these five *Congregationalists* were chosen *members* thereof, but came not up with a full consent to all things acted therein. As accounting that the pressing of an exact occurrence to the *Presbyterian Government*, was but a kinde of a *Conscience-Prison*, whilst accurate conformity to the *Scotch Church* was the very *Dungeon* thereof. A *regimine ecclesiastico* (say * they) *uti nunc in Scotia viget longius distamus, quippe quod* (*ut nobis videtur*) *non tantum à scripturis, sed ab ecclesiarum reformatarum suorumque Theologorum sententijs* (*qui sub Episcoporum tyrannide diu duriterque passi sunt*) *plurimum distet*. No wonder therefore if they desired a *Toleration* to be indulged them, and they excused for being concluded by the Votes of the *Assembly*.

* In their epistle to the Reader prefixed to Mr Nortons book.

Opposed by others.

49. But the *Presbyterians* highly opposed their *Toleration*, and such who desired most ease and liberty for their sides when bound with *Episcopacy*, now girt their own government the closest about the consciences of others. They tax the *Dissenting Brethren* for *Singularity*, as if these men (like the *five senses of the Church*) should discover more in matter of *Discipline* then all the *Assembly* besides, some moving their ejection out of the same, except in some convenient time they would comply therewith.

But favoured by the *Parliament*

50. Hopeless to speed here, the *Dissenters* seasonably presented an *Apologetical narrative* to the *Parliament*, stiled by them *the most sacred refuge or Asylum* [a] *for mistaken and misjudged innocence*. Herein they petitioned *Pathetically* for some favour, whose conscience could not joyn with the *Assembly* in all particulars, concluding with that pittifull close (enough to force tears from any tender heart) that *they* [b] *pursued no other interest or designe, but a subsistence* (*be it the poorest and meanest*) *in their own land, as not knowing where else with safety health and livelihood to set their feet on earth*, and subscribed their names.

[a] *Apol. Nar.* pag. 2.
[b] *Ib.* p. 31.

Thomas Goodwin. *Sidrach Simson.*
Philip Nye. *Jeremiah Burroughes.* *William Bridge.*

If since their condition be altered and bettered, that they (then wanting where to set their feet) since *lie down at their length in the fat of the land*, surely they have returned proportionable gratitude to God for the same. Sure it is that at the present these *Petitioners* found such favour with some potent persons in *Parliament*, that they were secured from farther trouble, and from lying at a *posture of defence*, are now grown able not only to encounter but invade all opposers; yea to *open* and *shut* the *dore* of *preferment* to *others*, so unsearchable are the *dispensations* of Divine Providence in making suddain and unexpected changes, (as in whole nations) so in private mens estates, according to the *Counsel* of *his will*.

New-England Churches Congregationalists.

51. Such as desire further instruction in the Tenents of these *Congregationalists*, may have their recourse to those many *Pamphlets* written *pro* and *con* thereof. The worst is, some of them speak so loud, we can scarce understand

Anno Regis Caroli 19. Anno Dom. 1643. understanding what they say, so hard is it to collect their judgements, such the violence of their passions. Only I will adde, that for the main, the Churches of *New-England* are the same in Discipline with these *Dissenting Brethren*.

52. Only I will add, that of all the *Authors* I have perused concerning the *opinions* of these *Dissenting Brethren*, none to me was more *informative*, then Mr *John Norton*, (One of no less *learning* then *modesty*) *Minister* in *New-England* in his answer to *Apollonius Pastor* in the Church of *Middleborrough*.

The rest referred to Mr *Nortons* book.

20. 1644. 53. Look we now again into the *Assembly* of *Divines*, where we finde Dr *Cornelius Burges*, and Mr *Herbert Palmer* the *Assessors* therein, and I am informed by some (more skilfull in such niceties then my self) that *Two* at the least, of that *Office*, are of the *Quorum* Essential to every lawfull *Assembly*. But I miss Dr *William Twiss* their *Prolocutor* lately deceased; He was bred in *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, good with the *Trowell*, but better with the *Sword*, more happy in *Polemical Divinity*, then *edifying Doctrine*. Therefore he was [a] chosen by the *States* of *Holland* to be *Professor* of *Divinity* there, which he thankfully refused. Mr *Charles Herle* Fellow of *Exeter Colledge* of *Oxford* succeeded him in his place, one so much *Christian*, *Scholer* and *Gentleman*, that he can unite in *affection* with those who are disjoyn'd in *judgement* from him.

Mr *Herle* succeedeth Prolocutor to Dr *Twisse*.

a See his dedication to them in his book called *Vindiciæ gratiæ*.

54. The *Assembly* met with many difficulties, some complaining of Mr *Selden*, that advantaged by his skill in *Antiquity Commonlaw*, and the *Oriental tongues*, he imployed them rather to *pose* then *profit*, *perplex* then *inform* the members thereof, in the *fourteen queries* he propounded. Whose intent therein was to humble the *Jure-divino-ship* of *Presbytery*, which though *Hinted* and *Held forth*, is not so *made out* in *Scripture*, but being too *Scant* on many occasions it must be *peeced* with prudential *Additions*. This great Scholer, not over loving of *any* (and lest of *these*) *Clergie-men*, delighted himself in raising of scruples for the vexing of others, and some stick not to say, that those who will not *feed* on the *flesh* of *Gods-word* cast most *bones* to others, to *break* their *teeth* therewith.

Mr *Seldens* puzling Queries.

55. More trouble was caused to the *Assembly* by the *Opinions* of the *Erastians*, and it is worth our enquiry into the first *Author* thereof. They were so called from *Thomas Erastus* a Dr of *Physick*, born at *Baden* in *Switzerland*, *lived Professor* in *Hidelbridge*, and *died* at *Basil* about the year one thousand five hundred eighty three. He was of the Privie *Counsel* to *Frederick*, the first *Protestant Prince Palatine* of that name, and this *Erastus* (like our Mr *Perkins*) being [b] lame of his *right*, wrote all with his *left* hand, and amongst the rest, one against *Theodor. Beza*, *de Excommunicatione*, to this effect, that the power, and excommunication in a *Christian State*, principally resides in *secular power* as the most competent Judge, when and how the same shall be exercised.

Erastians why so called, and what they held.

b *Thuanus in Obit. vir. illustr. Anno* 1583.

56. Mr *John Coleman* a modst and learned man, beneficed in *Lincolnshire*, and Mr *John Lightfoot*, well skilled in *Rabinical Learning* were the chief members of the *Assembly*, who (for the main) maintained the *tenents* of *Erastus*. These often produced the *Hebrew Original* for the power of *Princes* in *ecclesiastical matters*. For though the *New Testament* be silent of the *Temporal Magistrate*, (*Princes* then being *Pagans*) his intermedling in Church-matters, the *Old* is very *vocal* therein, where the Authority of the *Kings* of *Judah*, as *nursing fathers to the Church* is very considerable.

The *Erastians* in the Assembly.

57. No wonder if the *Prince Palatine* (constantly present at their debates) heard the *Erastians* with much delight, as wellcoming their *Opinions* for *Country sake*, (his *Natives* as first born in *Hidelbridge*) though otherwise in his own *judgement* no favourer thereof. But other *Parliament men* listned very favourably to their *Arguments* (*Interest* is a good quickner of *Attention*)

Favourably listned to.

hearing their own power enlarged thereby, and making use of their *Erastian* for a *Check*, to such who prelled conformity to the *Scotch Kirke* in all particulars. Anno Dom. 1644. Anno Regni Caroli 20.

The Assembly shrewdly checkt.

58. Indeed once the *Assembly* stretched themselves *beyond their own line*, in medling with what was not committed by the *Parliament*, to their cognizance and consultation, for which they were afterward *kept down*, *and tied up with a shorter tedder*. For though the wise *Parliament* made use of the *Presbyterian zeal and activity*, for the extirpation of *Bishops*, yet they discreetly resolved to hold a strickt hand over them; as not *coming* by their own power to *advise*, but called to *advise* with the *Parliament*. Nor were they to *cut out* their own work, but to *make up* what was *cut to their own hands*, and seeing a *Præmunire* is a *rod*, as well for a *Presbyter*, as a *Prelate* (if either trespass on the state by their over activity) though they *felt not* this rod, it was *shewed to them*, and *shak'd over them*, and they shrewdly and justly shent for their over-medling, which made them the wiser and warier for the time to come.

The Scotch discipline in vain strived for.

59. Indeed the major part of the *Assembly* endeavoured the setling of the *Scotch Government* in all particulars, that though *Tweed* parted their *Countries*, nothing might divide their *Church Discipline*, and this was laboured by the *Scotch Commissioners* with all industry and probable means to obtain the same; But it could not be effected, nor was it ever setled by *Act* of *Parliament*. For as in *Heraldry* the same seeming *Lions* in *colour* and *posture*, *rampant* and *langued* alike,) are not the selfe-same, if the one be *armed* with *nails* and *teeth*, the other deprived of both, so cannot the *English* be termed the same with the *Scotch-Presbytery*, the former being in a manner absolute in it self, the latter depended on the *State* in the *Execution* of the power thereof.

Coercive power kept in the Parliament.

60. Insomuch that the *Parliament* kept the *Coercive power* in their own hands, not trusting them to carry the KEYS AT THEIR GIRDLE, so that the power of excommunication, was not intrusted with them, but ultimately resolved into a *Committee* of eminent persons of *Parliament*, whereof *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* (presumed *present* because *absent* with leave beyond the seas) is the *first person* nominated.

Uxbridge fruitless Treaty.

61. A Treaty was kept at *Uxbridge* betwixt the *Commissioners* of the *King* and *Parliament*, many well meaning people promising themselves good success thereby, whilst others thought this Treatie was *born* with a *dying* countenance, saying there wanted a third to interpose to make their distances up by powerfull perswasion, no hope of good in *either* without condescention in *both* parties. One may smile at their inference, who presumed that the *Kings Commissioners*, coming to *Uxbridg*, *two* parts of *three* to meet those of the *Parliament*, would proportionably comply in their yieldings. A weak *Topical conjecture*, confuted by the formerly going of the *Parliaments Commissioners* clean through to *Oxford*, and yet little condescention to their propositions. 1644 Feb. 5.

Mr Love's indiscretion.

62. Here Mr *Christopher Love* (waiting on the *Parliament Commissioners* in a general relation) gave great offence to the *Royalists* in his *Sermon*, shewing the impossibility of an agreement, such the dangerous errors, and malicious practises of the *opposite party*; many condemned his want of charity, more of discretion in this juncture of time, when there should be a cessation from invectives for the time being. But mens censures must fall the more lightly upon his memory, because since he hath suffered, and so satisfied here for his faults in this or any other kinde.

The conference of Divines.

63. with the *Commissioners* on both sides, certain *Clergie-men* were sent in their presence to debate the point of *Church-government*.

For

Anno Regis Carol 20. Anno Dom. 1644.

For the King.	*For the Parliament.*
Dr *Steward* *Shelden* *Benjamin Laney* *Henry Hammond* *Henry Ferne*	Mr *Steven Marshall.* Mr *Richard Vines.*

These, when the Commissioners were at leasure from civil affairs, were called to a conference before them.

64. Dr *Laney* proffered to prove the great benefits which had accrewed to *Gods Church* in all *Ages* by the *Government* by *Bishops*, but the *Scotch-Commissioners* would in no wise heare him, whereupon the Doctor was contentedly silent. Some *discourses* rather then *disputes* passed betwixt Dr *Steward*, and Mr *Marshal*, leaving no great impressions in the memories of those that were present thereat. Dr *Laney* might not be heard.

65. Only Mr *Vines* was much applauded by his own party, for proving the sufficiency of ordination by *Presbiters*, because *Ministers* made by *Presbyterian Government* in *France* and the *Low-Countreys*, were owned and acknowledged by our *Bishops* for lawfully ordained for all intents and purposes, both to *Preach* and *Sacramentize*, and no reordination required of them. Thus the goodness of Bishops in their charity to others, was made use of against themselves, and the necessity of the Episcopal function. An argument *ad homines* if not *ad causas*.

66. To return to the *Assembly*; the *Monuments* which they have left to posterity of their meeting, are chiefly these, *Articles of Religion* drawn up by them, and a double *Catechism*, one the *lesser*, the other the *greater*, whereof at first very few were printed for *Parliament men*, meaner folk not attaining so great a *Treasure*, besides their *Directory* whereof hereafter. Books made by the Assembly.

67. As for the conclusion of this *Assembly* it *dwinled* away by degrees though never legally *dissolved*. Many of them after the taking of *Oxford* returning to their own cures, and others living in *London* absented themselves, as disliking the managing of matters. Such as remained, (having survived their great respect) and being too few to maintain the dignity of an *Assembly*, contented themselves with the notion of a Committee, chiefly employed to examine their abilities, and good affections, who were presented to livings. Till at last as in Philosphy, *accidentia non corrumpuntur, sed desinunt*, they vanish with the *Parliament*, and now the execution of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* comes next under our pen, whose triall being most of civill concernment. is so largely done in a book of that subject, that by us it may be justly omitted. The Assembly rather sinketh then endeth.

21. 1645. Jan. 10. 68. Next followed the execution of the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, Sherif *Chambers* of *London*, bringing over night the warrant for the same, and acquainting him therewith. In preparation to so sad a work, he betook himself to his own, and desired also the prayers of others, and particularly of Dr *Holdsworth* fellow prisoner in that place for a year and half; though all that time there had not been the least converse betwixt them. On the morrow he was brought out of the Tower to the Scaffold, which he ascended with a chearfull countenance, (as rather to gain a *Crown*, then lose an *Head*) imputed by his *friends* to the *clearedness*, by his *foes* to the *searedness* of his Conscience. The *Beholders* that day were so divided betwixt *Bemoaners* and *Insulters*, it was hard to decide which of them made up the major part of the company. The Arch-Bishop prepares for death.

And preacheth his own funeral sermon.

69. He made a *Sermon-Speech*, taking for his Text the two first verses of the 12. Chap. of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. *Let us run with patience the race which is set before us; Looking unto Jesus the Author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.* Craving leave to make use of his notes, (for the infirmity of his aged memory) he dilated thereon about half an hour, which discourse, because common, (is publickly printed) we hear forbear to insert. For the main, He protested his own innocence and integrity, as never intending any subversion of Laws and Liberty, no enemy to Parliaments (though a misliker of some miscarriages) and a Protestant in Doctrine and Discipline, according to the established laws of the land. Speech ended, He betook himself awhile to his prayers, and afterwards prepared himself for the fatal stroak.

Questioned about the assurance of his salvation and dieth.

70. S^r *John Clotworthy* (a member of the *House* of *Commons*) being present interrogated him concerning his assurance of Salvation, and whereon the same was grounded. Some censured this interruption for uncivill and unseasonable, as intended to *ruffle* his soul with passion, just as he was fairly *folding* it up, to deliver it into the hands of his Redeemer. But the Arch-Bishop calmly returned, that his assurance was evidenced unto him by that inward comfort which he found in his own soul. Then lying down on the block, and praying *Lord receive my Soul*, the Executioner dexterously did his office, and at one blow severed his Head from his Body. Instantly his face (*ruddy* in the last moment) turned *white as ashes*, confuting their falsehoods, who gave it out that he had purposely painted it, to fortifie his cheeks against discovery of fear in the paleness of his complexion. His corps were privately interred in the Church of *Alhallows Barking* without any solemnity, save that some will say, He had, (in those dayes) a fair Funeral, who had the *Common-Prayer* read thereat.

His birth in *Reading*, breeding in *Oxford*.

71. He was born *Anno* 1573 of honest parents at *Reading* in *Bark-shire*, a place, for the position thereof, almost equally distanced from *Oxford* the *Scene* of his breeding, and *London* the principal stage of his preferment. His Mother was Sister to S^r *William Web*, (born also at *Reading*) *Salter*, and *Anno* 1591 Lord Major of *London*. Here the Arch-Bishop afterwards built an Almshouse, and endowed it with two hundred pounds *per annum*, as appeareth by his own *Diary*, which if evidence against him for his faults may be used as a witness of his good works. Hence was he sent to S^t *Johns* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he attained to such eminency of learning, that * one since hath ranked him amongst the greatest Scholers of our Nation. He afterwards married *Charls Blunt* Earl of *Devon-shire* to the Lady *Rich*, which proved (if intended an advantage under his feet, to make him higher in the notice of the world) a covering to his face, and was often cast a rubb in his way, when running in his full speed to preferment, till after some difficulty, his greatnesse at the last made a shift to stride over it.

* Dr *Heylin* in his last Edition of his Microcosm.

He chargeth thorough all Church preferments.

72. In some sort He may be said to have served in all offices in the Church, from a *Common-Souldier*, to a kinde of *General* therein. There was neither *Order*, *Office*, *Degree*, nor *Dignity* in *Colledge*, *Church* or *University*, but he passed thorough it.

1. Order, Deacon, Priest, Bishop, Arch-Bishop.
2. Office, Scholer, Fellow, President, of S^t *Johns* Colledge, Proctor, and Chancellor of *Oxford*.
3. Degree, Batchelor, and Master of Arts, Batchelor and Doctor of Divinity.
4. Dignity, Vicar, Prebendary of *Stanford*, Parson of *Ibstock*, Prebendary of *Westminster*, Arch-Deacon of *Huntington*, Dean

Anno Regis Carol. 21. Anno Dom. 1645.

Dean of *Colchester*, Bishop of S^t *Davids* in *Wales*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *London*, in *England*, and finally Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

It was said of D^r *George Abbot*, his Predecessor, that he suddenly started to be a Bishop, without ever having *Pastoral charge*, whereas this man was a great *Traveller* in all *Climates* of *Church preferment*, sufficient to acquaint him with an experimental knowledge of the conditions of all such persons who at last were subjected to his Authority.

73. He is generally charged with Popish inclinations, and the story is commonly told and beleeved, of a Lady (still alive) who turning Papist, and being demanded of the Arch-Bishop the cause of her changing her religion, tartly returned, *My Lord it was because I ever hated a crowd.* And being desired to explain her meaning herein, *I perceived* (said she) *that your Lordship and many others, are making for* Rome *as fast as ye can*, and therefore to *prevent a press, I went before you.* Be the tale true or false, take *Papist* for a *Trent-Papist*, embracing all the derisions of that councel, and surely this Arch-Bishop would have been made Fewel for the Fire, before ever of that perswasion. Witness his book against *Fisher*, wherein he giveth no less account of his sincerity then ability to defend the most dominative points wherein we and the Papists dissent.

Charged unjustly to be a Papist.

74. However most apparent it is by severall passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the Church of *Rome*, so to compremise the difference, and to bring us to a *Vicinity*, if not *Contiguity* therewith, an impossible designe (if granted lawfully) as some every way his equals did adjudge. For composition is impossible with such, who will not agree except all they sue for, and all the charges of their suite be to the utmost farthing awarded unto them. Our reconciliation with *Rome* is clogged with the same impossibilities: She may be *gone* to, but will never be *met with*, such her *Pride* or as *Peevishness*, not to stir a step to obviate any of a different Religion. *Rome* will never so farr *un-Pope* it self, as to part with her pretended *Supremacy* and *Infallibility*, which cuts off all possibility of Protestants Treaty with her, if possibly without prejudice to Gods glory and the truth, other controversies might be composed. Which done, *England* would have been an Island as well in Religion, as Scituation cut off from the continent of Forraign Protestant Churches, in a singular posture by it self, hard to be imagined, but harder to be effected.

Yet endeavouring a reconciliation betwixt *Rome* and *England*.

75. Amongst his humane frailties, *choler* and *passion* most discovered it self. In the *Star-Chamber* (where if the crime not extraordinary, it was fine enough for one to be sued in so chargable a Court) He was observed always to concur with the severest side, and to infuse more *vineger* then *oyle* into all his *censures*, and also was much blamed for his severity to his Predecessor easing him against his will, and before his time, of his jurisdiction.

Over-severe in his censures.

76. But he is most accused for over-medling in State-matters, more then was fitting, say many, then needfull, say most, for one of his profession. But he never more overshot himself, then when he did impose the *Scotch Liturgie*, and was αλλοτριο-αρχιεπισκοπὸς over a free and forrain Church and Nation. At home, many grumbled at him for oft making the *shallowest* pretence of the *Crown deep* enough (by his powerfull digging therein) to drown the undoubted right of any private Patron to a Church-living. But Courtiers most complained, that he persecuted them, not in their proper places, but what in an ordinary way he should have taken from the *hands* of inferior officers, that He with a *long* and *strong Arm* reached to himself over

Over-medling in State matters.

over all their heads. Yet others plead for him, that he abridg'd their *bribes* not *fees*, and it vexed them that He ſtruck their *fingers* with the *dead-palſie*, ſo that they could not (as formerly) have a *feeling* for Church Preferments.

Conſcientious in keeping a Diary.

77. He was conſcientious according to the principles of his devotion, witneſs his care in keeping a conſtant Diary of the paſſages in his life. Now he can hardly be an ill huſband, who caſteth up his receipts and expences every night, and ſuch a ſoul is, or would be good, which [illegible] daily Scrutiny of his own actions. But ſuch who commend him [illegible] making, condemn him in keeping ſuch a Diary about him in ſo dangerous days. Eſpecially he ought to untongue it from talking to his prejudice, and ſhould have *garbled* ſome light trivial and joculary paſſages out of the ſame. Whereas ſure the omiſſion hereof argued not his careleſſneſſe but confidence, that ſuch his privacies ſhould meet with that favour of courſe, which in equity is due to writings of that nature.

Temperate and chaſt.

78. He was temperate in his diet, and (which may be preſumed the effect thereof) chaſt in his converſation. Indeed in his *Diary*, he confeſſed himſelf lapſed into ſome ſpecial Sin with E. B. for which He kept an *Anniverſary Humiliation*. Indeed his * Adverſary makes this note thereon, *Perchance he was unclean with E. B.* which is but an uncharitable ſuſpition. *Now an exact Diary is a window into his heart who maketh it*, and therefore pitty it is any ſhould look therein, but either the friends of the party, or ſuch ingenious foes as will not, (eſpecially in things doubtfull) make conjectural comments to his diſgrace. But, be *E. E.* male or female, and the ſin committed, of what kinde ſoever, his fault whiſpers not ſo much to his ſhame, as his ſolemn repentance ſounds to his commendation.

* Mr *Prin* in the breviate of his life. pag. 30.

An enemy to gallantry in Clergie-mens cloaths.

79. He was very plain in apparrel, and ſharply checkt ſuch Clergymen whom he ſaw goe in rich or gaudy cloaths, commonly calling them of the *Church-Triumphant*. Thus as *Cardinal Woolſy* is reported the firſt Prelate, who made *Silks*, and *Sattens* faſhionable amongſt clergy-men; ſo this Arch-Biſhop firſt retrenched the uſual wearing thereof. Once at a Viſitation in *Eſſex*, one in *Orders* (of good eſtate and extraction) appeared before him very gallant in habit, whom Dr *Laud* (then Biſhop of *London*) publickly reproved, ſhewing to him the plainneſs of his own apparrel. *My Lord* (ſaid the Miniſter) *you have better cloaths at home and I have worſe*, whereat the Biſhop reſted very well contented.

Not partial to his kindred.

80. He was not partial in preferring his kindred, except ſome *merit* met in them with his *alliance*. I knew a near kinſman of his in the Univerſity, Schollar enough, but ſomewhat wilde and lazie, on whom it was late before he reflected with favour, and that not before his amendment. And generally perſons promoted by him were men of learning and abilities, though many of them Arminians in their judgements, and I beleeve they will not be offended with my reporting it, ſeeing moſt of them will endeavour to juſtifie and avouch their opinions herein.

No whit addicted to covetouſneſs.

81. Covetouſneſs He perfectly hated, being a ſingle man and having no project to raiſe a name or Family, he was the better enabled for publick performances, having both a *price in his hand*, and an *heart* alſo to diſpoſe thereof for the general good. S[t] *Johns* in *Oxford*, wherein he was bred, was ſo beautified, enlarged, and enriched by him, that ſtrangers at the firſt ſight knew it not, yea, it ſcarce knoweth it ſelf, ſo altered to the better from its former condition. Inſomuch that almoſt it deſerveth the name of *Canterbury-Colledge*, as well as that which *Simon Iſlip* founded, and ſince hath loſt its name, united to *Chriſt-Church*. More buildings he intended, (had not the ſtroke of one *Axe* hindred the working of many *hammers*) chiefly on Churches, whereof the following paſſage may not impertinently be inſerted.

Anno Regis Caroli 21. Anno Dom. 1645.

81. It happened that a *Visitation* was kept at S^t *Peters* in *Corn-hill*, for the Clergy of *London*. The Preacher discoursing of the painfulness of the Ministerial Function, proved it from the Greek deduction of Διάκονος or *Deacon*, so called from κόνις *dust*, because he must *laborare in avena in pulvere*, *work in the dust*, doe hard service in hot weather. Sermon ended, Bishop *Lind* proceeded to his charge to the Clergy, and observing the Church ill repaired without, and slovenly kept within, *I am sorry* (said He) *to meet here with so true an Etymologie of Diaconus, for here is both dust and dirt too, for a Deacon* (or Priest either) *to work in. Yea it is dust of the worst kind, caused from the want of care of this ancient house of God, so that it pitieth his* * *servants to see her in the dust.* Hence he took occasion to press the repairing of that, and other decayed places of divine worship, so that from this day we may date the generall mending, beautifying and adorning of all English Churches, some to decency, some to magnificence, and some (if all complaints were true) to superstition.

The grand cause of the repairing of Churches.

* Psal. 102. 14.

82. But the Church of S^t *Pauls*, (the only Cathedral in Christendom dedicated to that *Apostle*) was the master piece of his performances. We know what * one Satyrically said of him, that *he pluckt down Puritans, and Presbytery, to build up Pauls and Prerogative.* But let unpartial Judges behold how he left, and remember how he found that ruinous fabrick, and they must conclude that (though intending more) he effected much in that great designe. He communicated his project to some private persons, of taking down the *great Tower* in the middle, to the *Spurrs*, and rebuild it in the same fashion, (but some yards higher) as before. He meant to hang as great and tuneable a ring of bels, as any in the world, whose sound advantaged with their height and vicinity of the *Thames*, must needs be loud and melodious. But now he is *turned to his dust*, and all *his thoughes have perished*, yea that Church, formerly approached with due reverence, is now entred with just fear, of falling on those under it, and is so far from having its old decays repaired, that it is daily decayed in its new reparations.

Principally of S. *Pauls*.

* Lord F.

83. He was low of Stature, little in bulk, cheerful in countenance, (where gravity and quickness were well compounded) of a sharp and piercing eye, clear judgement, and (abating the influence of age) firme memory. He wore his hair very close, and though in the beginning of his greatness, many measured the length of mens strictness by the shortness of their hair, yet some will say, that since out of Antipathy to conform to his example, his opposites have therein indulged more liberty to themselves. And thus we take our leave of him, whose estate, (neither so great as to be envied at, nor so small as to be complained of) he left to his heir and Sisters Son S^r *John Robinson* Merchant of *London*, though he first to compound with [illegible] before he could peaceably enjoy the same.

His personal character.

84. [illegible] with this *Arch-Bishop*, died another *Diotrephes*, (though of a different temper, no less esteemed amongst men of his own perswasion, viz. [illegible] who (in the midst of troublesome times) quietly withdrew himself to heaven. He was born at *Shotledge* in *Cheshire* (the youngest of seven children) bred in *Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and at his first Commencement he was so *facetiously solid* (mild, yet *sweet* [illegible] brought forth before *grasted* with *grace*) that *Oxford*-[illegible] courted him home with them, and would have planted [illegible] there, but he declined it.

The blush and breeding of Mr Dod.

85. He was a *Pious Nonconformist*, not loving any one the *worse* for [illegible] about *Ceremonies*, but all the *better* for their unity of affections in [illegible] and *Vnderth.* He used to retrench some hot spirits when [illegible], telling them how *God* under that government had given many [illegible] to the Gospell, and that godly men might comfortably [illegible] under which *learning* and *religion* had so manifest

One peaceable in our Israel.

[illegible] the
[illegible] ontril
[illegible] affionat
[illegible] in m
[illegible] cone

fest an *Improvement*. He was a good *Decalogist*, and is conceived to study ing day (how roughly soever used by the opposite party) to stick to his own judgement of what he had written on the *fifth Commandement*, of *Obedience to lawful Authority*.

Improveth all to piety.

87. Some *riotous Gentlemen* casually coming to the [illegible]le of St *Anthony Cope* in *Hanwell* were *half-starved* in the midst of a *feast*, because refraining from *swearing* (*meat* and *drink* to them) in the presence of Mr *Dod*; of these *one* after dinner ingeniously professed, that he thought it had been impossible for himself to forbear *oaths* so long a time. Hereat Mr *Dod* (the *flame* of whose *zeal* turned all accidents into fuel) fell into a pertinent and seasonable discourse, (as more better at *occasionals*,) of what power men have more then they know of themselves to refrain from sin, and how active Gods restraining grace would be in us to bridle us from wickedness, were we not wanting to our selves.

Youth will away. * Judg 16.20.

83. Being stricken in years, he used to compare himself to Samson when his hair was cut off. I rise saith he in a morning as *Samson* did and [illegible] *I will go out as at * other times, goe, walk, work, [illegible] young man. But alas! he quickly found an alteration, and so do I, [illegible] stoop to age, which hath clipt my hair and taken my strength away.*

God seen at the first hand in nature, but at the second in art.

89. Being at *Holdenby*, and invited by an *Honourable person* to see [illegible] stately house built by Sr *Christopher Hatton*, (the Masterpiece of [illegible] Architecture in that age) he desired to be excused, and to sit still looking on a *flower* which he had in his hand. *In this Flower* (saith he) *I can see my God, more in all the beautiful buildings in the world.* And at this day as his *flower* is long since withered, That magnificent *Pile* (that *fair flower* of *Art*) is altogether blasted and destroyed.

An innocent deceiver. * In a list written by Mr *Clark*.

90. It [illegible] he was but courtly used of the *Cavaliers*, who (they say) plund[illegible] his linnen * and houshold-stuff, though (as some tell me) if so disp[illegible]ght have redeemed all for a very small matter. However the good man [illegible] remembred his old maxime, *Sanctified affliction are good Promotions*, and I have been credibly informed, that when the souldiers brought down his sheets out of the Chamber, into the room where Mr *Dod* sate by the fire side; He (in their absence to search after more) took one [illegible] and clapt them under his Cushion whereon he sat, much pleasing himself after their departure that he had (as he said) *plundred the plunderers*, and by a *lawfull felony* saved so much of his own to himself.

Excellent Hebrician.

91. He was an excellent scholer, and was as causlesly accused, as another *John*, of his name (Mr *John Fox* I mean) for *lacking of latin*. He was also an exquisite *Hebrician*, and with his society and directions in one Vacation taught that tongue [illegible] *John Gregorie* that rare Linguist, and Chaplain of *Christs-Church* [illegible]ed him but one * year, and now they both together praise God [illegible]ge, which glorified *Saints* and *Angels* use in heaven.

* Dying at *Katlington*, Mar. 14. 1646. and was buried in *Christ-Church Oxford*. Farewell old Puritan.

92. He was buried [illegible]*sby* in *Northampton-shire*, with whom the *Old Puritan* may seem to expire, and in his grave to be interr'd. Humble, Meek, Patient, Hospital, Charitable as in his censures of, so in his alms to others. Would I could truly say but half so much of the next Generation.

SECT.

Section X.

To the right Worshipful *Roger* [illegible] Esq; High Sheriffe of *Buckingham*-[illegible]re.

SEa-men observe, that the water *is the more troubled the nearer they draw on to the* Land, *because broken by* repercussion *from the* Shore. *I am sensible of the same danger, the nearer I approach* our times, *and the* End *of this* History.

Yet fear not Sr, that the least wrong may redound to You, *by my indiscretion in the writing hereof; desiring* You *only to* Patronize *what is* acceptable *therein, and what shall appear* otherwise, *is left on* my account *to answer for the same.*

Anno Regis Carol. 21. Anno Dom. 1645.

1. YOu may know, that amongst the most *Remarkables*, effected by the *Assembly* of *Divines*, the compiling of the *Directory* was one, which although composed in the *former yeare*, yet because not as yet meeting with *universal Obedience*, it will be seasonable enough now to enter on the consideration thereof. The *Parliament* intending to abolish the *Liturgie*, and loath to leave the *Land* altogether at a *loss*, or *deformity* in *publick service*, imployed the *Assembly* in drawing up a *model* of *Divine worship*. Herein no direct forme of *Prayer Verbis conceptis* was prescribed, no *outward* or *bodily worship* enjoyned, nor people required in the *Responsals* (more then in **Amen**) to *bear a part* in the *Service*, but all was left to the discretion of the *Minister*, not enjoyned *what*, but directed *to what purpose*, he ought to order his devotions, in *publick-prayer* and *administring Sacraments*.

The *Directory* drawn up by the *Assembly*.

To which the dissenting Brethren at last assent.

2. The *dissenting Brethren* (commonly call'd *Independents*) were hardly perswaded to consent to a *Directory*. Even *libera custodia*, (though it be the *best* of *Restraints*) is *but* a *restraint*; and they suspected such a *Directory* would (if inforced) be an infringing of the *Christian-liberty*. However, they consented at last, the rather because a *Preface* was prefixed before it, which did much *moderate* the matter, and *mitigate* the rigorous imposition thereof.

A discreet and charitable Preface.

3. In this preface, respectful terms are (no less discreetly than charitably) afforded to the first *compilers* of the *Liturgie*, allowing them *wise* and *pious*, *in redressing many things which were vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous*, affirming also, that many *Godly* and *Learned* men of that age, *rejoyced much in the Liturgie at that time set forth*; But adding withall, that they would *rejoyce more*, had it been their *happiness* to behold this *present reformation*, they themselves were perswaded, that these *first Reformers* (*were they now alive*) *would joyn with them in this work of advancing the Directory*.

The Directorie inforced by ordinance of Parliament.

4. The *Assemblie-work* of the *Directorie* thus ended, the *Lords* and *Commons* began therewith, prefixing an *Ordinance* thereunto (made much up of *forms* of *repeal*) laying down the motives inclining them to think, the *abolishing* of the *Common-Prayer*, and *establishment* of this *Directory* necessary for this Nation. First, the consideration of the many inconveniences risen by that book in this *Kingdom*. Secondly, their *Covenant-Resolution* to reform *Religion* according to *Gods* word and the best *reformed Churches*. Thirdly, their consulting with the *learned*, *pious*, and *reverend Divines* for that purpose.

A good price if well paid.

5. The *Benefit* of *Printing* the *Directorie* was bestowed on Mr *Rowborough*, and Mr *Byfield Scribes* to the *Assembly*, who are said to have sold the same for some hundreds of pounds. Surely the *Stationer* who bought it, did not with the *dishonest* * *Chap-man*, first *decry the worth thereof*, and *then boast of his penniworth*. If since he hath proved a *loser* thereby, I am confident, that they who sold it him, carried such a *Chancery* in their *bosoms*, as to make him fair satisfaction.

* Pro. 20. 14.

A Second Ordinance to back the former.

6. Now because it was hard to *turn* people out of their old *track*, and *put them* from a beaten *path*, (such was, call it *constancy* or *obstinacy*, *love* or *doting*, of the *generality of the Nation*, on the *Common-Prayer*) the *Parliament* found it *fit*, yea *necessary* to back their former *Ordinance* with a second, dated twenty third of *August* 1645. And *entitled an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the more effectual putting in execution the Directorie* &c. Wherein *directions* were not only given for the dispersing and publishing of the *Directory*, *in all Parishes*, *Chappelries*, and *Donatives*, *but also for the calling in*, *and suppressing of all books of Common-Prayer*, *and several forfeitures and penalties to be levied and imposed upon conviction before justices of Assize*, *or of Oyer and terminer*, &c.

The Kings Proclamation contrary to the Parliaments Ordinance.

7. But in opposition hereunto, the *King* at *Oxford* set forth a *Proclamation* (bearing date the thirteenth of *November* 1645.) enjoyning the use of *Common-Prayer according to the Law*, *notwithstanding the pretended ordinances for the new Directory*. Thus as the waves, commanded one way by the *Tide*, and countermanded another with the *wind*, know not which to obey; so, people stood amused betwixt these two forms of service, *line upon line*, * *precept upon precept*, being the easiest way to edifie, whilst *line* against *line*, *precept* against *precept*, did much disturb and distract.

* Isa. 28. 10.

Arguments pro and con. to the Directory.

8. The *King* and *Parliament* being thus at difference, no wonder if the *pens* of the *Chaplains* followed their *Patrons*, and engaged violently *pro* and *con* in the controversy. I presume it will be lawful and safe for me, to give in a breviat of the *Arguments* on both sides, reserving my private opinion to my self, as not worthy the readers taking notice thereof; for as it hath been permitted in the *height* and *heat* of our *Civil war*, for *Trumpeters* and *Messengers*, to have fair and free passage on both sides, pleading the

Priviledge

Anno Regis Carol. 21. Anno Dom. 1645.

Priviledge of the *publick faith*, provided they do not intereſt themſelves like parties, and as *ſpies* forfeit the *protection*, ſo ſubjecting themſelves juſtly to the ſevereſt *puniſhment*: So *Hiſtorians* in like manner in all ages have been permitted to tranſmit to *poſterity* an unpartial account of actions, preſerving themſelves *Neuters* in their indifferent relations.

Againſt the Liturgie.

1. Sad experience hath made it manifeſt, that the *Liturgie* uſed in *England*, (notwithſtanding the religious intentions of the compilers thereof) hath proved an *offence* to many godly people.

2. *Offence* thereby hath alſo been given to the reformed *Churches* abroad.

3. Mr *Calvin* himſelf diſliked the *Liturgie*, in his letter to the *Lord Protector*; charitably calling many things therein *tolerabiles ineptias*.

4. The *Liturgie* is no better, then confining of the *Spirit*, tying it to ſuch and ſuch words, which is to be left alone to its own liberty, *uſe praying*, and *have praying*, the *extemporary gift* is improved by the practice thereof.

5. It being a compliant with the *Papiſts*, in a great part of their *Service*, doth not a little confirm them in their *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*.

6. It is found by experience that the *Liturgie* hath been a great means to make an idle and an unedifying *Miniſtry*.

For the Liturgie.

1. Such offence (if any) was *taken*, not *given*, and they muſt be *irreligious miſtakes* which ſtand in oppoſition to ſuch *religious intentions*.

2. No forrain *Church* ever in print expreſſed any ſuch *offence*, and if ſome *particular man* have diſliked it, as many and as eminent have manfeſted their approbation thereof.

3. Mr *Calvin* is but *one man*. Beſides, he ſpake againſt the *firſt draught* of the *Liturgie*, *Anno* 1. of *King Edw.* the ſixth, which afterwards was reviewed in that *Kings Reign*, and again in the *firſt* of Queen *Elizabeth*.

4. The ſame charge lieth againſt the *Directorie*, appointing though not the *words* to be prayed *with*, the *matter*, to be prayed *for*. Poor liberty to leave the ſpirit only to ſupply the place of a *Vocabulary*, or a *Copia Verborum*. And ſeeing *Senſe* is more conſiderable then *Language*, the preſcribing thereof reſtraineth the Spirit as much, as appointing the words of a prayer.

5. It complieth with the *Papiſts* in what they have *retained* of *Antiquity*, and not what they have *ſuperadded* of *Idolatry*, and therefore more probably may be a means of converting them to our *Religion*, when they perceive us not poſſeſſed with a *Spirit of oppoſition* unto them, in ſuch things wherein they cloſe with the *Primitive Times*.

6. The *Uſers* of the *Liturgie* have alſo laboured in *Preaching*, *Catechiſing*, and ſtudy of *Divine Learning*. Nor doth the *Directorie* ſecure any from *Lazineſs*, ſeeing nothing but *Lungs* and *ſides* may be uſed in the delivery of any *extemporary prayer*.

Anno Dom. 1645. Anno Regis Caroli 21.

Against the Liturgie.	*For the Liturgie.*
7. It is tedious to the people with the unneceſſary length, taking up an hour at leaſt, in the large and diſtinct reading thereof.	7. Some obſervers of the *Directorie*, to procure to their *parts* and *perſons* the repute of *ability* and *piety*, have ſpent as much time, in their extemporary devotions.
8. Many *Ceremonies*, not only unprofitable but burthenſome are therein impoſed on peoples conſciences.	8. This is diſproved by ſuch who have written volums in the vindication thereof. But grant it true, not a total *abſolution*, but a *reformation* therof may hence be inferred.
9. Diverſe *able* and *faithful Miniſters*, have by the means of the *Liturgie* been debar'd the exerciſe of their Miniſtry, and ſpoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their family.	9. The *Directorie*, if enforced to ſubject the refuſers to penalties, may ſpoil as many, and as well deſerving of their *Miniſtry*, and livelihood.

Such as deſire to read deeper in this Controverſie, may have their recourſe to the manifold *Tractats* written on this ſubject.

A query for conſcience ſake.

9. But leaving theſe diſquiets, the *Common-Prayer* daily decreaſed, and *Directorie* by *the power* of *Parliament* was advanced. Here ſome would fain be ſatisfied, whether the *Aboliſhing* of the main body of the *Common-Prayer* extendeth to the prohibition of every expreſſion therein, (I mean not ſuch which are the *numerical* words of *Scripture*, whereof no queſtion) but other ancient paſſages, which in the *Primitive Times*, were laudably (not to ſay neceſſarily) put in practice.

A word in due ſeaſon.

10. I know a *Miniſter* who was accuſed for uſing the *Gloria Patri* (conforming his practice to the *Directorie* in all things elſe,) and threatned to be brought before the *Committee*. He pleaded the words of Mr *Cartwright* in his defence, * *confeſſing the* Gloria Patri *founded on juſt, cauſe that men might make their open profeſſion in the Church of the Divinity of the Son of God, againſt the deteſtable opinion of* Arrius *and his Diſciples. But now* (*ſaith he*) *that it hath pleaſed the Lord to quench that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould be uſed.* But ſeeing, (ſaid the *Miniſter*) it hath pleaſed *God* for our ſins to condemn us to live in ſo licentious an age, wherein the *Divinity* both of *Chriſt* and the *Holy-Ghoſt* is called frequently and publickly into queſtion, the ſame now (by Mr *Cartwrights judgement*) may lawfully be uſed, not to ſay can well be omitted. I remember not that he heard any more of the matter.

* His reply againſt *Whitgift.* p. 107. Sect. 4.

A farewell to the ſubject.

11. It is now high time to take our farewel of this tedious ſubject, and leave the iſſue thereof to the obſervation of *Poſterity*. The beſt *Demonſtration* to prove, whether *Daniel* and his *Fellows* (the *Children of the Captivity*) ſhould thrive better by *plain pulſe* (to which formerly they had been uſed) or the *new diet* of *diverſe* and *dainty diſhes*, was even to put it to the *Trial* of ſome * dayes experiment, and then a *Survey* taken of their *Complexions*, whether they be impaired or not; ſo when the *Directorie* hath been practiſed in *England* ninty years (the world laſting ſo long) as the *Liturgie* hath been, then *Poſterity* will be the competent *Judge*, whether the *Face* of *Religion* had the more *lively*, *healthful*, and *chearful looks*, under the one, or under the other.

* 1 Dan. 1. 13.

12. The

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12. The next news engroſſing the talk of all tongues, was about Dr *Williams* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, no leſs ſuddenly than ſtrangely metamorphoſed, from a zealous *Royaliſt* into an active *Parliamentarian*; being to relate the occaſion thereof, we will enter on the brief hiſtory of his life, from the cradle to the grave, repeating nothing formerly written, but only adding thereunto. Arch-Biſhop *Williams* ſtrangely altered.

13. None can queſtion the gentility of his extraction, finding him born at *Aberconway* in *Carnarvon-ſhire* in *Wales*; of a family rather ancient than rich. His Grandfather had a good eſtate, but aliened (it ſeems) by his heirs, ſo that this Doctor, when Lord-Keeper, was fain to repurchaſe it. Surely it was of a conſiderable value, becauſe he complaineth in his * letter to the *Duke* (who encouraged him to the purchaſe) that he was forced to borrow money, and ſtood indebted for the ſame. Born in *Wales* of good parentage.

* *Cabala pag.*

14. He was bred in St *Johns College* in *Cambridge*, to hold the ſcales even with St *Johns in Oxford*, wherein Arch-Biſhop *Laud* had his education. Dr *Gwin* was his tutor, his chiefeſt, if not his only eminency, and afterwards the occaſion of his preferment. For as this *Tutor* made his *Pupil* Fellow; this *Pupil* made the *Tutor* Maſter of the Colledge. Next was Mr *Williams* made *Proctor* of the Univerſity, excellently performing his *Acts* for the place in ſo ſtately a poſture, as rather but of *duty*, thereby to honour his *Mother-Univerſity*, than *deſire* to credit himſelf, as taking it only in his paſſage to an higher employment. Bred in Saint *Johns*, and Proctor of *Cambridge*.

15. He was Chaplain (or Councellor ſhall I ſay?) to *Thomas Egerton Lord Chancellor*, who imparted many myſteries of that place unto him. Here an able *Teacher* of *State* met with as apt a Scholar, the one not more free in powring forth, then the other capable to receive, firm to retain, and active to improve what was infuſed into him. So dear was this Doctor to his Patrone, that this Lord dying on his death-bed, deſired him to chooſe what moſt acceptable legacy he ſhould bequeath unto him. Dr *Williams*, waving and ſlighting all mony, requeſted foure Books, being the collections of the Lord his induſtry, learning, and experience, concerning The Lord *Egerton* his boon to this his Chaplain.

1. *The Prerogative Royall.*
2. *Privuledges of Parliaments.*
3. *The proceedings in Chancery.*
4. *The power of the Starr-Chamber.*

Theſe were no ſooner aſked then granted; and the Doctor afterwards copied out theſe foure Books into his own brains. Books which were the *foure elements* of our *Engliſh State*, and he made an abſolute Maſter of all the materials, that is, of all the paſſages therein, ſeeing nothing ſuperfluous was therein recorded.

16. By the Duke of *Buckingham* (whom he had married to the daughter of the Earle of *Rutland*) he preſented theſe Books to King *James*. Then did His Majeſty firſt take notice of his extraordinary abilities, ſoon after preferring him by the Dukes mediation, to the Deanry of *Weſtminſter*, Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and *Keepers* place of the *Great Seal*, till he loſt the laſt in the firſt of King *Charls*, as hath formerly been related. The means of his ſpeedy and great preferment.

17. I dare confidently avouch what I knowingly ſpeak, that the following paſſage was the *motus primò primus* of the breach betwixt him and the Duke. There was one Dr *Theodore Price* a Welſh man, highly beloved both by Biſhop *Williams* and Bp *Laud*, ſo that therein the rule did not hold, *Thoſe that agree in one third agree among themſelves*; theſe two Prelates mutually mortal enemies meeting in the love of this Doctor. Now the Archbiſhoprick of *Armagh* in *Ireland* falling vacant, Biſhop *Williams* moved the Duke for Dr *Price*, his country man: to whom the Duke anſwered, that King The original breach betwixt the Duke and Lord Keeper.

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King *James* had by promiſe fore-diſpoſed the place on the Biſhop of *Meath*, Dr *James Uſher*, one whoſe deſerts were ſufficiently known. Not ſatisfied herewith, Biſhop *Williams* by his own intereſt endeavoured to bring Dr *Price* into the place. The Duke underſtanding that he, who formerly profeſſed a *ſubordination* to, at the leaſt a *concurrence* with his deſires, ſhould now offer to conteſt with him, reſolved, that ſeeing the *Lord-Keeper* would not own himſelf to ſtand by his love, the world ſhould ſee he ſhould fall by his anger; and this miniſtred the firſt occaſion to his ruine. And when once the *Alarum* was *ſounded* of the Dukes diſpleaſure, no Courtier ſo deaf and drowſie, but did take the ſame; And all things concurred to his diſadvantage. This is that Dr *Theodore Price*, who afterwards died a profeſſed Catholick, reconciled to the Church of *Rome*.

Not contented with his own wiſh. * *Cabala*, or *Scrinia Sacra* part. 1 p. 59.

18. Yet after his reſigning the *Seal*, faire preferment was left unto him, could he have confined his large heart thereunto. I meet with a paſſage in a * letter from this *Lord-Keeper* to the Duke, wherein he profeſſeth calling God to witneſs, that the *Lord-Keeper* (troubled with many miſeries wherewith ſuddain greatneſs is accompanied) envied the fortunes of one Dr *Williams*, late Dean of *Weſtminſter*. Be this a truth or a complement, what he formerly *envied* now he *enjoyed*, returned to a plentifull privacie; not only of the *Deanry* of *Weſtminſter*, but *Biſhoprick* of *Lincoln*, which he held with the ſame. But alaſs, when our deſires are forced on us by our foes, they do not delight but afflict. The *ſame ſtep* is not the *ſame ſtep*, when we take it *aſcendendo* in hopes to higher preferment, and when we light upon it *deſcendendo*, or are remitted unto it as falling from higher advancement. The Biſhop is impatient for being leſs than he had been; and there wanted not thoſe ſecret enemies to improve his diſcontents to his disgrace, almoſt deſtruction, as fining in the *Star-Chamber*, and long impriſoning in the *Tower*.

Enlarged out of the *Tower* and made Arch-Biſhop of *York*.

19. Now came that Parliament ſo much wiſhed for, that many feared it would never begin, and afterwards (oh the mutability of deſires, or change of things deſired!) the ſame feared it would never have an end. Then is Biſhop *Williams* ſent for out of the *Tower*, brought to *Parliament*, advanced to the Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*, and is the *Anteſignanus* of the *Epiſcopal party*, to defend it in the *Houſe of Lords* (as beſt armed with his power and experience) againſt a volly of affronts and oppoſitions. 1640.

His pleaſant anſwer to the King.

20. Once when His Majeſty ſaw him earneſt in the defence of Epiſcopacy then oppoſed by Parliament, *My Lord* (ſaith the King) *I commend you that you are no whit daunted with all diſaſters, but are zealous in defending your Order.* *Pleaſe it your Majeſty* (returned the Arch-Biſhop) *I am a true* Welſhman, *and they are obſerved never to run away, till their Generall do firſt forſake them. No fear of my flinching whileſt your Highneſs doth countenance our cauſe.* But ſoon after he was impriſoned about the *Biſhops Proteſtation* to the *Parliament*, and with great difficulty obtained his liberty, as was afore obſerved.

Retires into North-Wales and ſinks by degrees into diſfavour.

21. Retiring himſelf into *North-Wales* (where his birth, eſtate, alliance, but chiefly hoſpitality did make him popular) he had a great, but endeavoured a greater influence on thoſe parts. It gave ſome diſtaſt, that in all conſultations he would have his adviſe paſs for an oracle, not to be conteſted with, much leſs controled by any. But vaſt the difference betwixt his *Orders* in *Chancery*, armed with power to enforce obedience, and his counſell here, which many Military men (as in their *own element*) took the boldneſs to contradict; *Buff-coats*, often rubb'd and grated againſt this Prelats *ſilk Caſſock*, which (becauſe of the ſofter matter) was the ſooner fretted therewith. Indeed he endeavoured as much as might be to preſerve his country from taxes (an acceptable and ingratiating deſigne with the people) but ſometimes inconſiſtent with the Kings preſent and preſſing neceſſities. All his words and deeds are repreſented at *Oxford* (where his Court-

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Court-interest did daily decline) to his disadvantage, and some jealousies are raised of his cordialness to the *Royal Cause*.

22. At last some great *Affronts* were put upon him (increased with his tender resenting of them,) being himself (as I have been informed) *put out of Commission*, and another placed in his room. A disgrace so much the more insupportable to his high Spirit, because he conceived himself much meriting of his *Majesty*, by his *loyalty*, *industry*, *ability*, and *expence* in his Cause, who hitherto had spared neither care nor cost in advancing the same, even to the impairing of his own estate. Incensed with great affronts.

23. But now he entereth on a designe, which had I *line* and *plummet*, I want skill to manage them in measuring the depth thereof. He sueth to the Parliament for favour, and obtained it, whose General in a manner he becomes in laying siege to the Town and Castle of *Abercon-way*, till he had reduced it to their *service*, and much of the Town to his own possession. Takes a Commission from the Parliament.

24. And now *Meruit sub Parliamento in Wallia* is the wonder of all men. I confess he told his kinsman, who related it to me, that if he might have the convenience to speak with his Majesty but one half-houre (a small time for so great a task) he doubted not but to give him full satisfaction for his behaviour. Sure it is, those of the Royall Party, and his own Order, which could not *mine* into his invisible motives, but surveyed only the sad surface of his actions, condemn the same as irreconcileable with the principles he professed. And though hereby he escaped a Composition for his estate in *Goldsmiths-Hall*, yet his memory is still to compound (and at what rate I know not) with many mouths, before a good word can be afforded unto it; But these, perchance, have never read the well latined *Apologie* in his behalf. And although some will say, that they that need an *Apologie* come too near to fault, the word (as commonly taken) sounding more of *excuse* then *defence*, yet surely in its genuine notation, it speaks not guilt, but allwayes greatness of enemies and opposers. Condemned by all Royalists.

25. Of all English Divines since the Reformation, he might make the most experimental Sermon on the Apostles words, *By honour and dishonour, by ill report and good report*, though the *method* not so applyable as the *matter* unto him, who did not close and conclude with the general good esteem, losing by his last compliance his old friends at *Oxford*, and in lieu of them finding few new ones at *London*. Humane inconstancy.

26. Envie it self cannot deny, but that whithersoever he went, he might be traced by the footsteps of his benefaction. Much he expended on the repair of *Westminster-Abby-Church*, and his answer is generally known, when pressed by Bishop *Laud* to a larger contribution to S. *Pauls*, that *he would not rob* Peter *to pay* Paul. The *Library* of *Westminster* was the effect of his bounty, and so was a *Chappel* in *Lincoln-Colledge* in *Oxford*, having no other relation thereunto, than as the *name-sake** of his Bishoprick: so small an invitation will serve to call a coming charity. At S. *Johns* in *Cambridge* he founded two *Fellowships*, built a fair *Library*, and furnished it with books, intending more, had his bounty then met with proportionable entertainment. But Benefactors may give money, but not gratefull minds to such as receive it. His acts of charity.

*I believe He also was *Visitor* thereof.

27. He was very chast in his conversation, whatsoever a nameless author hath written on the contrary: Whom his *Confuter* hath stiled, *Aulicus Coquinaria*, or, *The Courtier out of the kitchin*, and that deservedly for his unworthy writings, out of what *Dripping-pan* soever he licked this his sluttish intelligence. For most true it is, (as I am certainly informed from such who knew the *privacies* and *casualties* of his infancy,) this Arch-Bishop was but one degree removed from a *Misogyniſt*, yet to palliate *his infirmity* to noble females, he was most compleat in his courtly addresses. Purged from unjust aspersion.

28. He

A perfect Anti-Papist.

28. He hated Popery with a perfect hatred: and though oft declaring freedom and favour to imprisoned Papists, as a Minister of state, in obedience to his office; yet he never procured them any courtesies out of his proper inclinations. Yea, when Dr the new Bishop of Canterbury at the end of King *James* His Reign first arrived in *England*, he gave the Duke of *Buckingham* * advice (in case other circumstances conveniently concurred) that the Judges should presently proceed against him, and being thus out of the way, and the King cast the blame on Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, or himself, prepared (it seemeth) to undergo his Royal displeasure therein.

* *Cabala* part. 1. pag. 81.

Favour of some Non-conformists.

29. Not out of Sympathy to Non-conformists, but Antipathy to Bishop *Land*, he was favourable to some select persons of that opinion. Most sure it is, that in his greatness he procured for Mr *Cotton* of *Boston* a toleration under the *Broad Seal*, for the free exercise of his Ministry, notwithstanding his dissenting in Ceremonies, so long as done without disturbance to the Church. But as for this Bishop himself, he was so great an honourer of the English Liturgie; that of his own cost, he caused the same to be translated into Spanish, and fairely printed, to confute their false conceit of our * Church, who would not beleeve, that we used any *Book of Common Prayer* amongst us.

* *Cabala* part. 1. pag. 79.

The character of his person.

30. He was of a proper person, comely countenance, and suitable complexion, having a stately garbe and gate by nature, which (suppose him prouder then he should be) made him mistaken prouder then he was. His head was a well filled Treasury, and his tongue the faire key to unlock it. He had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgement; so quick his parts, that his extempore-performances equalled the premeditations of others of his profession. He was very open, and too fast in discourse, disdaining to lie at a close guard, so confident of the length and strength of his weapon.

His favoury speech.

31 Thus take we our farewell of his memory, concluding it with one of his speeches (as savourie I beleeve as ever any he uttered) wherein he expressed himself to a grave Minister coming to him for Institution in a living. *I have* (saith he) *passed through many places of honour and trust, both in Church and State, more then any of my Order in* England *this seventy years before. But were I but assured that by my preaching I had converted but one soul unto God, I should take therein more spiritual joy and comfort, than in all the honours and offices which have been bestowed upon me.*

His death on our Lady-day.

32. He died as I take it, *Anno* 1649. Sure I am on the 25. of *March*, leaving a *leading case* (not as yet decided in our *Law*) whether his *half years rents* (due after *Sunrise*) should goe with his *Goods* and *Chattels*, unto his *Executor*, or fall to his *Heir*; The best was, such the *Providence* of the *Parties* concerned therein, that before it came to a *Suite* they seasonably compounded it amongst themselves.

A list of Parliament Ordinances touching Religion.

33. Come we now to present the *Reader* with a *List* of the principal *Ordinances* of the *Lords* and *Commons*, which respected Church-matters. I say *principal*, otherwise to recite all, (which wear the *countenance* of an *Ecclesiastical Tendency*, some of them being mingled with *civil affairs*) would be over-voluminous. Yea I have heard, that a great * *Antiquary* should say, that the *Orders* and *Ordinances* of this *Parliament* in *bulke* and *number*, did, not only equall, but exceed all the *Laws* and *Statutes*, made since the *Conquest*, it will be sufficient therefore to recite *Titles* of those most material, going a little backward *in Time*, to make our History the more entire.

* Sr. Simons D'ewes.

Die Martis Augusti. 19. 1645.

Directions of the Lords and Commons (after advice had with the Assembly of Divines) for the election and chusing of Ruling Elders, *in all the Congregations*

Anno Dom. 1645.

under the Classical Assemblies for the City of London *and* Westminster, *and the several Countries of the Kingdom. For the speedy setling of the* **Presbyteriall Government.**

Die Lunæ. Oct. 20. 1645.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons together with Rules and Directions concerning suspension from the Sacrament of the **Lords Supper,** *in cases of Ignorance and Scandal. Also the names of such Ministers and others that are appointed Elders and Judges of the ability of Elders in the twelve Classes with the Province of* London.

Die Sabbathi March 14. 1645.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for keeping of scandalous persons from the Sacrament of the **Lords Supper,** *the enabling of the Congregation for the choosing of* **Elders,** *and supplying of defects in former ordinances and directions of Parliament concerning* **Church Government.**

Die Veneris June 5. 1646.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the present setling (without further delay) of the **Presbyterial Government** *in the Church of England.*

Die Veneris August 28. 1646.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the Ordination of Ministers by the Presbyteries within their respective bounds, for the several Congregations in the Kingdom of England.

Die Sabbathi Jan. 29. 1647.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the speedy dividing and setling of the several Counties of this Kingdom into distinct **Classical Presbyteries,** *and Congregational Churches.*

An order for the fift part for Ministers Wives and Children.

14. Great was the clamorous importunity of the *Wives* and *Children* of [illegible] ready to starve for want of maintenance. I had almost called them the *Widows* and *Orphans* of those *Ministers*, because having their *Fathers* not living to them, their *Means* were not *living* to their *Fathers*, and they were destitute of a livelihood. Indeed there was an *Ordinance of Parliament* made 1644, impowring their *Commissioners* in the Country to appoint means (not exceeding a **fift part**) to the *Wives* and *Children* of all sequestred Persons, but seeing *Clergie-men* were not therein specified by name, such who enjoyed their *Sequestrations* refused to contribute [illegible] Whereupon the *House of Commons* compassionately regarding the distresses of the foresaid *complainers*, made an *Order* more particularly to enjoyn the *Clergy*, and (seeing it is *hard to come by*) I receive it a *charitable work*, have to insert a *Copy* thereof.

Die Jovis. Nov. 11. 1647.

The Copy thereof.

That the Wives and Children of all such Persons as are or have been or shall be sequestred, by Order of either House of Parliament, shall be comprehended within the Ordinance, that deals with a fift part for Wives and Children, and shall have their **fift part** [illegible] *and the Committee of Lords and Commons for sequestration, and the Committee for plundered Ministers, and all other Committees are required to take notice hereof, and yield Obedience hereunto accordingly.*

H. Elsing Clericus Parliamenti Domus Communis.

Several ways endeavoured to frustrate this order.

35. But *Covetous passe* will *wriggle* it self out at a *small hole*. Many were the *Evasions* whereby such *Clergie-men* possest of their livings do frustrate and defeat the effectual paiment of the **fift part** to the aforesaid *wives* and *Children*. Some of which *starting-holes* we will here present, not to the end that any should unjustly *hide* themselves herein, but that for the future they may be *stopped up*, as obstructing the true performance of the *Parliaments* intended *Curtesie*.

First evasion.

36. First they plead that *Taxes* being first deducted, *Tythes* are so hardly paid, they cannot live and maintain themselves if they must still pay a **fift part** out of the remainder. Such consideration, if themselves cannot live on the **whole Grist**, how shall the *Families* of such *sequestred Ministers* subsist on the **Tole**.

Second evasion.

37. Secondly, if the forelaid *Minister* had [illegible] without *Children*, or *Children* without a *wife*, or but *one Child*, they deny paiment, as not within the *Letter* (though the *Equity*) of the Order; though *one Child* is as unable to live on *nothing*, as if there were *many more*.

Third evasion.

38. Thirdly, if the *sequestred Minister* hath any temporal means of his own, or *since his sequestration* hath acquired any place wherein he *officiateth* (though short of a comfortable subsistence) they deny paiment of a **fift part** unto him.

Fourth Evasion.

39. Fourthly, they affright the said *sequestred Minister*, threatning to *new article* against him for his former faults. Whereas, had he not been reputed a *malignant*, not a **fift part**, but all the **five parts** were due unto him.

Fift Evasion.

40. Fiftly, many who have *livings* in *great Towns* (especially *Vicarages*) disclaim the receiving of any *Benefits* in the *nature of Tithes*, and accept them only in the *notion* of *Benevolence*. Then they plead nothing due to the *sequestred Minister*, out of the free *gratuities* which only are bestowed upon them.

Sixt Evasion.

41. Sixtly, they plead, that nothing can be demanded by vertue of the said *Ordinance*, longer then the sitting of the said *Parliament* which made it, which long since is dissolved; now though this be but a dilatory plea, (themselves enjoying the **foure parts** by vertue of the same *Order*) yet though it doth not finally *blast*, it doth much *set back* the **fift part**, and whilst the same *groweth*, the *Ministers Wives* and *Children* *starve*.

Seventh Evasion.

42. Lastly, of late, since the setting forth of the *Proclamation that all who disquiet their peaceable possession, who are put into livings by the Parliaments Order, should be beheld as enemies to the State*. Such *sequestred Ministers* who only sue the refusers to pay the **fift part** unblameable in all things else, are threatned (though they humbly conceived contrary to the true intent of the *Proclamation*) with the foresaid penalty if they desist not in their suite. Many more are their subterfugies (besides vexing their *wives* with the tedious attendance to get *Orders* on *Orders*) so that as one truly and sadly said, *the* **fifts** are even *paid at sixes and sevens*.

Remember the Poor.

43. I am sorry to see the *pittiful* and *pious intentions* of the *Parliament*, so abused and deluded by the indirect dealings of others, so that they cannot attain their intended ends, for the relief of so many poor people, seeing no doubt therein, they desired to be like *the best of beings*, who as closely applieth his *lenitive*, as *corrasive plasters*, and that his *mercy* may take as true effect as his *justice*. Sure if the *present Authority* (when at leisure from higher imployment) shall be pleased to take the groans of these poor souls into its consideration, the voice of their *hungry bowels* will quickly be turned to a more *pleasant tune*, from *barking for food*, *to the blessing of those who procured it*. Not let any censure this a digress from my History, for though my estate will not suffer me with * *Job* to be *eyes* to the *blind*, and *feet* to the *lame*, I will endeavour what I can to be a *Tongue* for the *Dumbe*.

* Job. 29.15.

SECT.

SECTION XI.

To the Noble Lady *Elianor Roe*, relict to the Honorable Sr. *Thomas Roe*.

Madam,

I finde that my name-sake * Thomas Fuller was Pilot in the ship called the Desire, wherein Captain Cavendish furrounded the world.

* *Hackluits voyages 3. part pag. 825.*

Far be it from me to compare these my weak undertakings to his great adventures. Yet I may terme this my Book the Desire, as wherein I desire to please, and profit all, justly to displease none. Many rocks and storms have I passed by Gods blessing, and now am glad of so firme an Anchorage, as a Dedication to your Ladiship.

I believe Madam none of your Sex in our Nation, hath travelled farther then your self. Yet this Section of our History, may afford you a rarity not seen before. I know you have viewed the Tombe of St. Polycarpus, but here the Herse is presented unto you of one, whose death cannot be paralell'd in all particulars,

Anno Regis. Carol. 24. Anno Dom. 1648.

1. LAtely certain *Delegates* from the *University* of *Oxford* pleaded their *Priviledges* before the *Committee* of *Parliament*, that they were onely *Visitable* by the *King*, and such who should be deputed by him. But their allegations were not *of proof* against the *Paramount power* of *Parliament*, the rather because a passage in an *Article* at the *Rendition* of *Oxford*, was urged against them, wherein they were subjected to such a *visitation*. Whereupon many *Masters* were *ejected* their Places, new *Heads* of *Houses made*, and soon after *new Houses* to those *Heads*, which produced great alteration.

Great alterations by the Visiters in *Oxford*.

Anno Dom. 1648. Anno Regis Caroli 24.

Clergiemen meeting in the Isle of Wight.

2. Come we now to the *Church-part* of the *Treaty* in the *Isle* of *Wight*, as the sole Ecclesiastical matter remaining; Here appeared of the Divines chosen by the *King*, *James Usher Arch-Bishop of Armagh*, *Brian Duppa Bishop of Salisbury*, *Doctor Sanderson*, *Doctor Sheldon*, *Doctor Henry Ferne*; As for *Doctor Brounrig Bishop of Exeter*, (when on the way) he was remanded by the *Parliament*, because *under restraint*, and it was reported that *D. Prideaux Bishop* of *Worcester* wanted (the more the pitty) wherewith to accommodate himself for the journey. Mr *Steven Marshall*, Mr *Joseph Caryll*, Mr *Richard Vines*, and Mr *Lazarus Seaman*, were present there by appointment from the *Parliament*.

All matters managed in writing.

3. It was not permitted for either side, personally to speak, but, partly to prevent the impertinencies of orall debates; partly that a more *steddy aime* might be taken of their *mutual Arguments*, all things were transacted in *scriptis*; His *Majesty* consulted with his *Chaplains* when he pleased; The *Kings Writings* were publickly read before all, by Mr *Philip Warwick*, and Mr *Vines* read the *Papers* of his *Fellow-Divines*, the substance whereof we come here to present.

The effect of his majesties first paper.

4. His *Majesty* began, the effect of whose first *Paper* was to prove, that the *Apostles*, in their own persons, by *Authority* [a] derived from *Christ* exercised their power in *Ordinations*, *giving Rules* and *Censures*. Obj. 2.

[a] Joh. 20. 21.

[b] Tit. 1. 5.

2. That *Timothy* and [b] *Titus*, by *Authority* derived from the *Apostles*, did or might actually exercise the same power, in the three Branches specified.

3. That the *Angels* of the seven *Churches*, *Rev.* 2. 3. were so many *personæ singulares* of such as had a *Prelacy*, as well over *Pastors* as People.

From the premises, his *Majesty* inferred, that our *Bishops* succeed to the function of the Persons afore named. The rather because the same plainly appeareth out of the *History* of the *Primitive Church*, the writings of *Ignatius* and other ancient Authors. In conclusion his *Majesty desired* to be satisfied from them, what were the *Substantials* of *Church-government*, appointed by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and in whose hands they are left, and whether they binde to a perpetual observation thereof; or may upon occasion be altered in whole or in part.

The Parliament-Divines answer thereunto.

5. The next day the *Parliament-Divines* put in their *Answer* to the *Kings Paper*, wherein they confessed, that the places of Scripture cited by him, proved in those Persons by him named, a power respectively to do the three things specified. But they utterly denied that the foresaid *Persons* were *Bishops* as distinct from *Presbyters*, or exercised the Government in that sense. Obj. 3.

1. To the Instance of the *Apostles* they answered, that they had an *extraordinary calling*, and so nothing thence can be inferred to prove modern *Bishops*.

[f] 2 Tim. 4. 5.

2. That *Timothy* and *Titus*, were *Evangelists*, and the [f] first is expressly so termed, nor could they be *Bishops*, who resided not in one Diocess, but often removed from place to place.

3. That the denomination of the *Angels* of the *Churches*, being *Allegorical* no firme Argument can be taken thence, nor weight laid thereon. Besides, those Epistles of *S. John*, though directed to *One*, were intended to the *whole body* of the *Church*.

They

Anno Regin. Elizæ. 24. Anno Dom. 1648.

They denyed that the *Apoſtles* were to have any *ſucceſſours* in their *Office*, affirming but *two ſtanding Officers*, in the *Church*; *Preſbyterians*, *Deacons*. They cited *Philippians* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. for the proof thereof; where there is no mention of *Biſhops* as diſtinct from *Preſbyters*, but of the *two Orders* only, of *Biſhops* or *Preſbyters*, and *Deacons*.

6. As for the ſucceeding ages to the *Apoſtles*, ſeeing *Scripture* reacheth not unto them, they can but beget a *humane Faith*, which is uncertain and fallible; Beſides, ſuch the *darkneſs of thoſe Times*, in reſpect of *Church-Hiſtory* that little certainty can be thence extracted; Yet it appeareth in *Clement himſelf*, that he uſeth the ſame word for *Biſhop* and *Preſbyter*; and as for *Ignatius* his *Epiſtles*, little credit is to be given unto them.

7. Laſtly, there is a great difference between *Primitive Epiſcopacy* and the *Preſent Hierarchie*, as much enlarged in their Power, and Priviledges by many Temporal acceſſions, whereof no ſhaddow or pretence in Scripture. In concluſion, they humbly beſought his *Majeſty*, to look rather to the *Original* of *Biſhops*, in *holy Writ*, then to their *ſucceſſion* in *Humane Hiſtory*.

8. As to the point of *Subſtantials* in *Church Government*, appointed by *Chriſt*, (wherein his *Majeſty* deſired ſatisfaction) the return was ſhort and generall, that ſuch *Subſtantials* were in the *Scripture*, not deſcending to any particulars. Whether out of policy, foreſeeing it would Miniſter matter of more debate, or obedience to the *Parliament*, as aliene from the work they were deſigned for, who were only to oppoſe *Epiſcopacy*, as qualified in the *Bill* preſented to his *Majeſty*.

Octo. 6. 9. Three days after, the *King* gave in his anſwer, to this firſt paper of the *Divines*. Wherein he acknowledged, that the word *Epiſcopus*, (denoting an *Overſeer* in the generall ſenſe,) agreeth as well to *Preſbyters*, as *Miniſters*, in which reſpect they are ſometimes in *Scripture* confounded, both meeting in the *joynt-function* of *overſeeing Gods Flock*. But ſoon after *Common uſage*, (the beſt *Maſter of words*) appropriated *Epiſcopus* to the *Eccleſiaſtical Governor*, leaving *Preſbyter* to ſignifie the *Ordinary Miniſter*, or *Prieſt*, as in the antient *Fathers*, and Councils doth plainly appear.

The Kings rejoynder to the Parliament Divines.

10. As to the *Extraordinarie Calling* of the *Apoſtles*, he confeſſed their *Unction extraordinary*, conſiſting in their miraculous gifts, which ſoon after ceaſed when *Churches* were planted, but he urged their *miſſion* to *govern* and *teach*; to be *ordinary*, *neceſſary*, and *perpetual* in the *Church*, the *Biſhops* ſucceeding them in the *former*, the *Preſbyters* in *later Function*.

11. Their *Evaſion* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangeliſts*, and not *Biſhops*, is clearly refuted by *Scultetus*, *Gerard*, and others, yea (as his *Majeſty* is informed) is rejected, by ſome *rigid Preſbyters*, as *Gilleſpee*, *Rotherford* &c. Beſides, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Biſhops*, is confirmed by the *conſentient Teſtimony* of Antiquity, (*S. Hierome* himſelf recording them made by *S. Pauls Ordination*) as alſo by a *Catalogue* of *twenty ſeven Biſhops* of *Epheſus*, *lineally ſucceeding* from *Timothy*, as is avouched by *D. Reinolds* againſt *Hart*.

12. If the *Angels* mentioned in the *Revelations*, were not *ſingular perſons*, who had a *Prelacy* over the *Church*, whether were they the *whole Church*, or ſo many *individual Paſtors* therein, or the *whole Colledge* of *Preſbyters*, or *ſingular Preſidents* of thoſe *Colledges*; for into ſo many opinions theſe few are divided amongſt themſelves, who herein divide themſelves from the ancient Interpretation of the *Church Government*.

13. Concerning *Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles*, his *Majeſty* confeſſeth it but a *humane Faith*, which is begotten on *humane Teſtimonies*, yet ſo that in *matter of Fact*, it may be *infallible*, as by the Credit of Hiſtory we infallibly know that *Ariſtotle* was a *Greek Philoſopher*.

14. The *objected obſcurity* of *Church-Hiſtory*, in *primitive Times*, is a ſtrong Argument for *Epiſcopacy*, which notwithſtanding the darkneſs of

thoſe

those times, is so clearly extant by their unquestionable Catalogues. Anno Dom. 1648. Anno Regni Caroli 24.

15. It is plain out of *Clement*, elsewhere, even by the Confession of * one (not suspected to favour the *Hierarchie*) that he was accounted a Bishop as distinct from a Presbyter. As for *Ignatius* his Epistles, though some out of partial disaffection to *Bishops*, have indeavoured to discredit the whole *Volume* of them without regard of *Ingenuity* or *Truth*; yet sundry of them attested by antiquity, cannot *with any forehead* be denied to be His, giving *Testimony* of the *Prelacy* of a *Bishop* above a *Presbyter*.

* *Vedelius exc. 8. In. Ignat. cap. 3.*

16. As for the difference between *Primitive Episcopacy* and *present Hierarchie*, his Majesty did not conceive that the Additions granted by the favour of his *Royall Progenitors* for the enlarging of the power and priviledges of *Bishops*, did make the *Government* substantially to differ from what it was, no more then Arms and Ornaments make a body really different from it self, when it was naked and devested of the same.

17. Whereas they besought his *Majesty*, to look rather to the *Original*, then *succession* of *Bishops*, he thought it needful to look at both, the latter being the best *Clue* in such intrinsick cases to finde out the former.

18. Lastly, he professed himself unsatisfied in their answer, concerning the *perpetual* and *unalterable substantials* of *Church Government*, as expecting from them a more particular resolution therein, then what he had received.

The return of the Parliament Divines to the King.

19. *Eleven dayes* after the *Parliament Divines* put in their answer to his *Majesties* last paper: Herein they affirmed, they saw not by what warrant this *Writ of partition* of the *Apostles office* was *taken forth*; that the *Governing part* should be in the hands of the *Bishops*; the *Teaching* and *Sacramentizing* in the *Presbyters*, *Scripture* making no such *Inclosure* or *Partition-wall*. Besides, the challenge of *Episcopacy* is grown to more then it pretended to in ancient times; some * *Fathers* acknowledging that *Bishops* differed from *Presbyters*, only in matter of *Ordination*.

Oct. 27.

* *S. Chrysost. S. Hieron* and of modern, *Bp. Bilson.*

20. The *Abetters*, say they, of this challenge, that they might resolve it at last into *Scripture*, ascend by the *scale of succession* going up the *River* to finde the *head*, which like the head of *Nile* cannot be found. Such who would carry it higher, endeavour to *impe* it into an *Apostolical Office*, and at last call it a *Divine institution*, not by force of any expres precept, but implicite practise of the *Apostles*.

21. They also returned that his *Majesties* definition of *Episcopal Government*, is extracted out of the *Bishops* of *later date* then *Scripture-times*.

21. Concerning the *Ages* succeeding the *Apostles*. However *Episcopal Government* was generally *current*, yet the *superscription* thereof was not judged *Divine*, by some of those which were themselves *Bishops*, or lived under that Government.

22. As they firmly believed, (as to matter of fact) that *Chrysostome* and *Augustine* were *Bishops*, as that *Aristotle* was a *Philosopher*, so they would rather call such a *beleef* (grounded upon *humane Testimonies* uncontroled) *certain* than *infallible*.

23. The darkness of the *History* of the *Church* in the times succeeding the *Apostles*, had an influence on the *Catalogue-makers*, who derived the *Series* of the *succession* of *Bishops*, taken much from *tradition* and *Reports*. And it is a great blemish of their Evidence, that the *nearer* they come to the *Apostles* times (wherein this should be most clear to establish the *succession firme* at the *first*) they are most doubtfull and contradictory one to the other.

24. They granted that a *succession* of men to feed and govern those *Churches* which by *Ecclesiastical Writers, in compliance with the language of their own times*, were called *Bishops*, but not distinct from *Presbyters*. So that if

Anno Regis Caroli 14. Anno Dom. 1648.

if such a succession from the Primitive times, *Seriatim* were proved, they would either be found *more* then *Bishops*, as *Apostles* and *extraordinary persons*; or *less*, as meerly *first Presbyters*, not having the *three Essentials* to *Episcopal Government* insisted on by his *Majesty*.

25. As for *Ignatius*, he cannot distinctly be known in *Ignatius* his *Epistles*, such their *Insincerity*, *adulterate mixture*, and *Interpolations*, and take him *in gross*, he is the *Patron* of such *Rites*, as the *Church* in that *Age* never owned.

26. They professed, that in their *last Answer*, they related not to a *School-Nicety*, *Utrum Episcopatus sit Ordo vel Gradus*, the question being stated by *Popish Authors*, to whom they had no *Eye* or *Reference*.

27. They humbly moved His *Majesty*, that the *Regiments* of *Humane Testimonies* on both sides might be *discharged the field*, and the point of dispute tried alone by *dint* of *holy Scripture*.

28. They honoured the *pious intentions*, and *Magnificence*, of his royal *Progenitors*, acknowledging the *Ornamental Accessions* to the *Persons* made no *Substantiall change* in the *Office*; but still is remained to be proved that *Primitive Episcopacy*, and *Present Hierarchie* are the same.

29. They affirmed also that the power of *Episcopacy* under *Christian* and *Pagan* Princes, is *one*, and *the same*, though the *exercise* be not; but acknowledging the *subordination* thereof, to the *soveraign power* with their accountableness to the *Laws* of the Land.

30. They conclude with thanks to his *Majesties* condescension in vouchsafing them the *Liberty* and *Honour* in examining his learned reply, praying *God* that a *Pen* in the *hand* of such *Abilities*, might ever be employ'd in a *subject* worthy thereof.

31. Some dayes after, his *Majesty* returned his last paper, wherein he not only acknowledgeth the great pains of these *Divines* to informe his *judgement*, according to their perswasions, but also took especiall notice of their *Civilities* of the *Application*, both in the *beginning* and *body* of their *Reply*.

32. However he told them they mistook his meaning when they—— of a *Writ of Partition*, as if his *Majesty* had cantoned out the *Episcopal Government*, one part to the *Bishops*, another to the *Presbyterians* alone, whereas his meaning was that the Office of *teaching* is common to *both* alike, but the other of *Governing* peculiar to *Bishops* alone.

33. I know not what *Truth* there was in (and by consequence what *Truth* is to be given to) their *intelligence*, who have reported and printed that in Order of a *pacification* his *Majesty* condescended. *Tanta fides, quantus Author.*

1. That the Office of *Ordination* for the space of *three years*, should not be exercised by the *Bishops* without the assent of the *Presbyterie*, and if this did not please;
2. That it should be suspended until *twenty* of his own *Nomination*, consulting with the *Synod*, (assembled by the appointment of the *Houses*) should determine some certainty, touching some *Ecclesiastical Government*.
3. That in the mean time, the *Presbyterie* should be setled for experiment-sake.
4. That though he would not suffer *Bishops Lands* to be *sold*, and *alienated* from the *Church*, yet he permitted them to be *Let out* for *ninety nine years*, *paying* a small price yearly in *Testimony* of their *Hereditary Rights* for the maintenance of *Bishops*.
5. That after that time expired, they should return to the *Crown*, to be employed for the use of the *Church*.

Here

Here some presumed to know his *Majesties* intention, that he determined with himself, in the interim to redeem them, by their own *Revenues*, and to refund them to *Ecclesiastical uses*, which is proportionable to his * *large heart*, in matters of that nature. Anno Dom. 1648. Anno Regis Caroli 24.

* For he gave the Duke of *Richmond*, the entire revenues of the Arch-bishoprick of *Glascough* in *Scotland*, to hold them until he should furnish him with lands of the same value, expressing then his resolution to restore them to the Church.

34. * Many now did hope for a happy Agreement betwixt the *King* and *Parliament*, when *Divine Providence*, (whose *wayes* are *often above Reason*, but *never against Right*) had otherwise ordered it; and seeing it was *Gods will*, it shall be *ours* to submit thereunto. Oh what *can* * *a day bring forth*! especially some *pregnant day* in the *Crisis* of Matters, *producing more than* what many *barren years before* beheld. The *Kings person* is seized on, and brought up to *London*, arraign'd before a select *Committee* for that purpose, indicted, and upon his refusal to own their Authority, finally condemned. But these things belong to the *Historian of the state*, and this *subject* in it self is not so *amiable* and *tempting*, as to *invite* us to *trespas* in the *property* of others, in *Courting* the prosecution thereof.

* The King fetch'd from the Isle of *Wight* and condemned at *London*.

35. * My *Cue of entrance* is to *come in*, where the *State-writer* doth go *out*, whose Pen hath alwayes followed the *Confessors*, into the *Chambers* of *dying people*; and now must do its last *Devoire* to my *gracious Master*, in describing his *pious death*, and *Solemn Burial*.

* Prov. 27. 1.

36. * Having received in himself the sentence of death, D^r *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, preached privately before Him, at *S. James* on the Sunday following; his text *Romans* 2. 16. *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.* Jan. 28. Sund.

* *Extremum hunc concede mihi.*

* He heareth the last sermon.

37. Next *Tuesday* being the day of His dissolution, in the morning alone He received the *Communion*, from the hands of the said Bishop. At which time he read for the second lesson, the 27^th Chapter of S. *Matthew*, containing the history of the death and passion of our Saviour. Communion ended, the King heartily thanked the Bishop for selecting so seasonable, and comfortable a portion of Scripture, seeing all humane hope and happiness is founded on the sufferings of our Saviour. The Bishop modestly disavowed any thanks due to himself, it being done merely by the direction of the Church of *England*, whose *Rubrick* appointeth that Chapter the second *morning-lesson* for the thirtieth of *January*. Jan. 30. Tues.

And receives the Communion.

Is patient when affronted.

38. His houre drawing nigh, He passed thorough the Parke to *White-Hall*. As He alwayes was observed to walk very fast, so now He abated not any whit of His wonted pace. In His passage a sorry fellow, (seemingly some mean Citizen,) went abrest along with Him; and in an affront, often stared His Majesty in the face, which caused Him to turn it another way. The Bishop of *London* (though not easily angred) was much offended hereat, as done out of despiteful designe, to discompose Him before His death, and moved the Captain of the guard, he might be taken away, which was done accordingly.

His last question.

39. Entring on the *floore of death*, He asked of Collonel *Tomlingson* who attended there, whether He might have the liberty to dispose of His own body, as to the place and manner of the burial thereof? The Collonel answered that he could give his Majesty no account at all therein.

And Speech falsely printed.

40. His Majesty held in his hand a small piece of paper, some four inches square, containing heads whereon in His speech He intended to dilate; and a tall souldier looking over the Kings shoulders read it, as the King held it in His hand. As for the speech which passeth in print for the Kings, though taken in short-hand, by one eminent therein, it is done so defectively, it deserveth not to be accounted His speech, by the testimony of such as heard it. His speech ended, He gave that small paper to the B^p of *London*.

Trouble well prevented.

41. After His death, the officers demanded the paper of the Bishop; who, because of the depth of his pocket, smallness of that paper, and the

Anno Regis Carol. 24. Anno Dom. 1648.

mixture of others therewith, could not ſo ſoon produce it as was required. At laſt he brought it forth, but therewith the others were unſatisfied (jealouſie is quick of grouth) as not the ſame which His Majeſty delivered unto him. When preſently the ſouldier, whoſe rudeneſs (the bad cauſe of a good effect) had formerly over-inſpected it in the Kings hand, atteſted this the very ſame paper, and prevented farther ſuſpicions, which might have terminated to the Biſhops trouble.

Feb. 7. wednesday. 42. On the *Wedneſday* ſennight after, His Corpſe embalmed, and coffined in lead, was delivered to the care of two of His ſervants, to be buried at *Windſor*. The one *Anthony Mildmay*, who formerly had been His *Sewer*, as I take it: the other *John Joyner*, bred firſt in His Majeſties Kitchin, afterwards a Parliament-Captain, ſince by them deputed (when the *Scots* ſurrendred His perſon) Cook to His Majeſty. This night they brought the Corpſe to *Windſor*, and digged a grave for it in *S. George* his Chappel, on the South ſide of the Communion-Table.

His Corpſe carried to *Windſor*.

8. Thurſday. 43. But next day the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earles of *South-Hampton*, and *Lindſey* (others, though ſent to, declining the ſervice, ſo far was their feare above their gratitude to their dead Maſter) came to *Windſor* and brought with them two Votes, paſſed that morning in Parliament; Wherein the ordering of the Kings buriall, for the form and manner thereof, was wholy committed to the Duke of *Richmond*, provided, that the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. Coming into the Caſtle, they ſhewed their Commiſſion to the Governor Colonel *Wichcot*, deſiring to interr the Corpſe, according to the Common-Prayer-Book of the Church of *England*. The rather, becauſe the Parliaments total remitting the manner of the Buriall to the Dukes diſcretion, implied a permiſſion thereof. This the governor refuſed, alledging, it was improbable that the Parliament would permit the uſe of what ſo ſolemnly they had aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act.

The Lords follow after it.

44. The Lords returned, that there was a difference betwixt *deſtroying* their own act, and *diſpenſing* with it, or *ſuſpending* the exerciſe thereof. That no power ſo bindeth up its own hands, as to diſable it ſelf in ſome caſes, to recede from the rigour of their own acts, if they ſhould ſee juſt occaſion. All would not prevaile, the Governour perſiſting in the negative, and the Lords betook themſelves to their ſad employment.

The Governors reſolution.

45. They reſolved not to interre the Corpſe in the grave which was provided for it, but in a Vault, if the Chappel afforded any. Then fall they a ſearching, and in vain ſeek for one in King *Henry* the eighth His Chappel (where the tombe, intended for Him by Cardinal *Wolſey*, lately ſtood) becauſe all there was ſolid earth. Beſides, this place at the preſent, uſed for a Magazine, was unſuiting with a ſolemn ſepulture. Then with their feet they tried the Quire, to ſee if a ſound would confeſs any hollowneſs therein, and at laſt (directed by one of the aged *poore Knights*) did light on a Vault in the middle thereof.

The Lords with much ſearching finde a vault.

46. It was altogether darke (as made in the middeſt of the Quire) and an ordinary man could not ſtand therein without ſtooping, as not paſt five foot high. In the midſt thereof lay a large leaden coffin (with the feet towards the *Eaſt*) and a far leſs on the left ſide thereof. On the other ſide was room, neither to ſpare nor to want, for any other coffin of a moderate proportion.

The deſcription thereof.

47. That one of the Order was buried there, plainly appeared by perfect pieces of purple-velvet, (their proper habit) remaining therein. Though ſome pieces of the ſame velvet were fox-tawnie, and ſome cole-black (all eye of purple being put out therein,) though all originally of the ſame cloath, varying the colour, as it met with more, or leſs moiſture, as it lay in the ground.

One of the Order buried therein.

Presumed to be K. *Henry* the eight.

48. Now a concurrence of presumptions concluded this great Coffin to contain the Corpse of King *Henry* the eighth, though there was neither Armes, nor any inscription to evidence the same.

See it in the end of K. *Henry* His Reign.

1. The place exactly corresponds to the designation of His burial, mentioned in His last Will and Testament.
2. The small Coffin, in all probability was His Queens, *Jane Seymour* (by whom in His Will He desired to be buried) and the room on the other side seems reserved, for His surviving Wife, Queen *Katherine Parr*.
3. It was never remembred, nor recorded, that any Subject of that Order, was interred in the body of that Quire, but in by-Chappels.
4. An herse stood over this vault, in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, which (becaufe cumbering the passage) was removed in the reign of King *James*.

I know a tradition is whispered from mouth to mouth, that King *Henry*'s body was taken up, and burned in the reign of Queen *Mary*, and could name the Knight (Her Privie-Councellor, and then dwelling not far off) that ordered to be employed in this inhumane action. This prevailed so far on the Lord *Herberts* belief, that he closeth his History of King *Henry* the eighth with these suspicious words. *To conclude, I wish I could learn His present grave.* But there is no certainty hereof, and more probable that he quietly was reposed. The lead-coffin, being very thin was at this time casually broken, and some yellow dust, altogether sentless, like powder of gold, taken out of it (conceived some efficacious gumms wherewith He was embalmed) which the Duke caused to be put in again, and the Coffin closed up.

The leaden inscription on His Coffin.

49. The Vault thus prepared, a scarfe of lead was provided of some two foot long, and five inches broad, therein to make an inscription. The Letters the Duke himself did delineate, and then a workman called them out with a Chesil. It bare some debate, whether the letters should be made in those *concavities* to be cast out, or in the *solid lead* between. The latter was concluded on, because such vacuities are subject to be filled up with dust, and render the inscription less legible, which was

KING CHARLES 1648.

The Plummer souldred it to the Coffin, about the brest of the Corpse within the same.

The Corpse deposited.

50. All things thus in readiness, the Corpse was brought [illegible] being borne by the souldiers of the Garrison. Over it a [illegible] *cloth*, the foure labels whereof the foure Lords did support. [illegible] of *London* stood weeping by, to tender that his service [illegible] not be accepted. Then was It deposited in silence and [illegible] vacant place in the vault (the herse-cloth being cast [illegible] after it) [illegible] of the clock in the afternoone; and the Lords that night (though [illegible] turned to *London*.

FINIS.

